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On account of Congress week there was no issue on Jan. 4 and this is consequently issued as a double number.

The Congress Week

Perfect Order

All the depressing prophecies, that the sharp differences of opinion would break forth into indiscipline and disorder as at Surat in 1907 happily proved untrue. How far we have moved forward was clearly seen in the perfect order and good feeling that were preserved through the deliberations both in the Subjects Committee and in the open Sessions. This is a triumph of which we may well be proud. The vast assembly that filled the Pandai had throughout the proceedings perfect self-control. The delegates as well as visitors completely observed the Gandhian discipline of meetings. There were over 3800 delegates registered and 1000 Kisan visitors allowed at a reduced charge for tickets. Besides these, there were 1000

political prisoners, 260 men of the Oraon, Munda and other jungle tribes, 100 Hindu Sadhus and 50 Mussalman Ulema. Two hundred Akalis with their black turbans and military bearing formed a sombre centre of attention. There were, then the Reception Committee and a vast number of the usual visitors. This huge assembly was managed as easily as if it had been a gathering of only a thousand men. There was no difficulty in securing silence and attention for every speaker. The audience followed the proceedings with care as shown by their claiming more than once that certain amendments should be more clearly explained than they had been. This was done and votes taken again by show of hands. From the point of view of discipline and behaviour, the session was, as Desha-bandhu put it in the course of a private talk, a perfect success.

The Mussalman meetings

The Khilafat Conference Proceedings were as real and absorbing as the Congress session. Dr. Ansari and the other Mussalman leaders had a difficult task to perform, to attend to the deliberations of both bodies which were equally important and claimed their service and guidance with equal insistence. The Jamiat-ul-ulema had its Subjects Committee proceedings and its full session, and finished its duties promptly. Naturally all Mussalmans were anxiously awaiting the result of its deliberations. They decided almost unanimously against the proposal to relax the Council-boycott, not more than five or six members voting for contest of elections, while over seventy the Subjects Committee and almost the whole body of the Ulema in the full meeting held that it was not permissible even to contest the elections and were for retaining the boycott in entirety. This decision had been arrived at and was known to the audience even when the President of the Congress was reading that part of his address wherein he stated: "It is needless to point out that should the Ulema come to the conclusion that under the present circumstances it should be an offence against their religion to enter the Councils, the Congress should unhesitatingly accept their decision." It makes no difference in the situation that this sentence was as seen from newspapers subsequently corrected, substituting the Khilafat Committee for the Ulema, for the question being one of religious prohibition, the verdict of the Ulema would be the last word for the Mussalmans in India.

The Akalis

The Akali camp was a feature by itself with its free kitchen for all-Hindus, Sikhs, Mussalmans, or

istians. All creeds and castes sat and partook of the Guru's *prasad*. The Akalis completed by this beautiful arrangement the debt under which they laid the whole of the people of India by their example in flesh of the triumph of non-violence. There was legitimate pride and joy in the air whenever the sombre turban of an Akali was seen.

The Exhibition

The Khaddar Exhibition was a great success from all accounts. Many claim it to have been more successful than the Ahmedabad Exhibition. It was strictly restricted to hand-spun and hand-woven articles. No mill-made Swadeshi was allowed. Silk and woolen as well as numerous varieties of cotton Khadi were exhibited. There were Silk exhibits from Assam, Bhagalpur, Murshidabad and Bilaspur, woolen goods from Kashmere, Ludhiana, Bikaner and Bihar centres and cotton Khadi goods from all parts of India. The chief feature was that the finest productions exhibited were also shown in the process of manufacture. Demonstrators had come from Kashmir, Assam, Bhagalpur and Andhra. Dr. P. C. Roy's assistants had come from Bengal and demonstrated indigenous dying processes. There were also printing and dying demonstrators from Ajmere, Jeypore and Baroda.

The popularity of the Exhibition was proved by the number of visitors of whom there were no less than 50,000. The Exhibition authorities sold Rs. 7000 worth of four-anna tickets besides admitting a vast number of visitors free of charge.

Accommodation of Guests

Swarajyapuri and Khilafatabad provided accommodation for delegates. The Reception Committee showed commendable energy and care in looking after their guests. Gaya is comparatively a small place, and it could not have been an easy task for the Reception Committee to have so well discharged their duties. Babu Rajendraprasad and Babu Brajkishore stood the test as only they could do, with their inimitable and ailing sweet temper.

C. R.

the judgment delivered forms a fitting close to a gruesome picture. Sergeant Andrews and the five accused have been let off on a technicality. This is how the trying magistrate has summed up the case:—

"Sergeant Andrews had not sufficient reasons to take steps to rescue the prisoners from a desperate situation in which the accused were not responsible. Even if an accused had heard something of prisoners' crying it indicating distress, which has not been proved, he would have been justified in regarding it as mere noise and in omitting to act on it."

It would not be possible to write a bitterer parody of the present day administration of law in India. The story will go down to posterity as one of the many blood curdling tales 'made to kill time by fire in inter.' perhaps to send some day a cold shiver of horror among the hearers as it is narrated in an undertone to the children and children's children of the trying magistrate and the present day British administrators of India, assembled round an evening fire.

C. R.

The Death Waggon in Court

The story of the Malabar Death-Waggon is too well-known to need repetition. A hundred prisoners were put in a luggage van, the doors were shut and bolted and the hasp secured by wire outside. The train started at quarter past seven in the morning and reached a junction station at 12 noon. There, 56 dead bodies were taken out from the waggon and 14 more died subsequently. A Committee held an enquiry and made a report which an English paper described as a piece of sickening, shuffling hypocrisy. The Government of India absolved all the higher officials of blame and ordered the prosecution of the police-escort. Accordingly Police-sergeant Andrews and four Hindu Constables are now, one year after the occurrence, charged before the District Magistrate of Coimbatore for having caused death by negligence (maximum punishment: 2 years imprisonment). The trial commenced on Thursday last. Sergeant Andrews claimed and reserved the special rights which every European prisoner has in India.

The special privileges of a European offender in India are these:—

1. Unless the Magistrate is a District Magistrate he cannot try a European unless he is himself a European.
2. Magistrates other than District Magistrates cannot pass a sentence of more than three months' imprisonment and a District Magistrate cannot award more than six months' imprisonment on a European.
3. A Sessions Court cannot give more than a year's imprisonment.
4. If the Magistrate thinks there is a *prima facie* case, the prisoner can claim trial by a jury of which not less than half shall be Europeans.

The evidence recorded in the case and published in the newspapers is, as must be expected a sickening reminder of the hell that man is seeking to make of this earth. Two of those who survived the massacre gave sworn evidence, and here are some details. To the repeated shouts of the victims, the following was the reply: "If you are too thirsty, you may pass urine and drink it." "Some did so" continues the grim evidence, "while certain others drank perspiration strained out of their clothes." Again they cried out, "If you will not give us water at least, give us some air by opening the doors."

Escort said, "You may do anything; we can open the door only at Podanur."

The prisoners said, "We shall all die in this van."

But the escort replied that "they would remove those remaining alive only at Podanur."

This witness was "lying with his face down, as there was a little hole in the floor, through which he could get a little air when the train was in motion. On account of this he was not unconscious."

"At Shoranur, they knocked at the door and cried for water. Then the Sergeant came and warned them that if they made further noise they would be shot dead."

"By the time he had reached Madukarai, he passed urine four times and drank it."

Thus they journeyed on till noon, when the 56 dead bodies and 14 dying men were pulled out.

37th Indian National Congress

RESOLUTIONS

I Condolences

This Congress places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Babu Motilal Ghosh and offers its condolence to his family.

This Congress has learnt with grief of the death of Babu Ambikacharan Mozumdar, one of its ex-Presidents and places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country.

II Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi

This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the services of Mahatma Gandhi to the cause of India and Humanity by his message of Peace and Truth and reiterates its faith in the principle of non-violent non-cooperation inaugurated by him for the enforcement of the rights of the people of India.

III To Sufferers

This Congress places on record its profound appreciation of the service rendered to the national cause by all those brave citizens, who have suffered in pursuance of the programme of voluntary suffering and who, in accordance with the Congress advice, without offering any defence or bail, served and are serving various periods of imprisonment, and calls upon the Nation to keep alive this spirit of sacrifice and to maintain unbroken the struggle for freedom.

IV Akalis

This Congress records with pride and admiration, its appreciation of the unexampled bravery of the Akali martyrs and the great and the noble example of non-violence set by them for the benefit of the whole Nation.

V Khilafat

This Congress congratulates Ghazi Kamil Pasha and the Turkish Nation on their recent successes and further records the determination of the people of India to carry on the struggle till the British Government has done all in its power and removed all its own obstacles to the restoration of the Turkish Nation to free and independent status, and the conditions necessary for unhampered national life and effective guardianship of Islam, and the Jazirat-ul-Arab freed from all non-Muslim control.

VI Boycott of Councils

Whereas the boycott of Councils carried out during the elections held in 1920 has destroyed the moral strength of the institutions through which Government sought to consolidate its power and carry on its irresponsible rule;

And whereas it is necessary again for the people of India to withhold participation in the elections of the next year as an essential part of the programme of non-violent non-cooperation;

This Congress resolves to advise that all voters shall abstain from standing as candidates for any of the Councils and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of this advice; and to signify the abstention in such manner as the All-India Congress Committee may instruct in that behalf.

VII Repudiation of Debts

Whereas by reason of unjustifiable military expenditure and other extravagance, the Government has brought the national indebtedness to a limit beyond recovery; and whereas the Government still pursues the same policy of extravagance under cover of the authority of the so-called representative assemblies constituted without the suffrages of majority or any substantial fraction of the voters and despite their declared repudiation of the authority of such assemblies to represent the people;

And whereas if the Government is permitted to continue this policy, it will become impossible for the people of India ever to carry on their own affairs with due regard to the honour and happiness of the people and it has therefore become necessary to stop this career of irresponsibility;

This Congress hereby repudiates the authority of the legislatures that have been or may be formed by the Government in spite of the national boycott of said institutions in future to raise any loans or to incur any liabilities on behalf of the nation, and notifies to the world that on the attainment of Swarajya the people of India, though holding themselves liable for all debts and liabilities rightly or wrongly incurred hitherto by the Government, will not hold themselves bound to repay any loans or discharge any liabilities incurred on and after this date on the authority or sanction of the so-called legislatures brought into existence in spite of the national boycott.

VIII Civil Disobedience

This Congress reaffirms its opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion when every other remedy for preventing the arbitrary tyrannical and emasculating use of authority has been tried; and

In view of the wide-spread awakening of the people to a sense of the urgent need for Swarajya and the general demand and necessity for Civil Disobedience in order that the National goal may be speedily attained; and in view of the fact that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence has been preserved in spite of all provocation;

This Congress calls upon all Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering Civil Disobedience by strengthening and expanding the National organisation and to take immediate steps for the collection of at least Rs. 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge by a date to be fixed by the All-India Congress Committee at Gaya; and empowers the Committee to issue necessary instructions for carrying this resolution into practical effect.

[Note. The powers of the Provincial Committees under the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee passed at Calcutta on 20th November 1922 shall not be affected by this resolution.]

IX Turkish Situation

In view of the serious situation in the Near East which threatens the integrity of the Khilafat and the Turkish Government; and in view of the determination of the Hindus, Mussalmans and

all other peoples of India to prevent any such injury, this Congress resolves that the Working Committee do take steps in consultation with the Khilafat Working Committee in order to secure united action by the Hindus, Mussulmans and others, to prevent exploitation of India for any such unjust cause and to deal with the situation.

X Private Defence

This Congress declares that Non-co-operators are free to exercise the right of private defence within the limits defined by law except when carrying on Congress work or on occasions directly arising therefrom, subject always to the condition that it is not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence.

[Note: Using force in private defence in grave cases, e. g. insults to religion, outrages on the modesty of women or indecent assaults on boys and men is not prohibited under any circumstances.]

XI Boycott of Educational Institutions

With reference to the boycott of Government and Government aided educational institutions, this Congress declares that the boycott must be maintained and further resolves that every Province should be called upon to put the existing national institutions on a sound financial basis and to improve their efficiency in every possible way.

XII Boycott of Law Courts

This Congress declares that the boycott of Law Courts by lawyers and litigants must be maintained, and further resolves that greater efforts should be made to establish punchayets and to cultivate public opinion in their favour.

XIII Labour Organisation

Whereas this Congress is of opinion that Indian labour should organise with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent exploitation of Indian labour and of Indian resources. It is resolved that this Congress while welcoming the move made by the All-India Trade Union Congress and various Kisan Sabhas in organising the workers of India, hereby appoints the following Committee, with power to co-opt, to assist the Executive Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress for the organisation of Indian labour both agricultural and industrial.

Committee: 1. Mr. C. F. Andrews, 2. Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, 3. Mr. S. N. Haldar, 4. Swami Dinanand, 5. Dr. D. D. Sathaye, 6. Mr. M. Singaravelu Chettiar.

XIV Affiliation

This Congress resolves that the Natal Indian Congress Committee-Durban, the British Indian Association-Johannesburgh, the British Indian League-Cape Town and the Joint Indian Association-Durban, be affiliated with power to send ten delegates--this number to be allotted amongst themselves by agreement to be reported to the All-India Congress Committee. This Congress resolves that the Kabul Congress Committee be affiliated with power to send two delegates.

XV General Secretaries & Treasurers

This Congress places on record its grateful thanks for the valuable services rendered by the outgoing General Secretaries-Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr.

M. A. Ansari and Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar. This Congress appoints M. Moazzam Ali, Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and Sjt. Rajendra Prasad as General Secretaries for the next year. [Sjt. Rajendra Prasad will be the working Secretary and the All-India Congress office will be at Patna.]

This Congress reappoints Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Seth H. J. M. Chhotani as Treasurers. (Seth Jamnalal Bajaj will be the working Treasurer.)

XVI Next Session

This Congress resolves that the next sessions be held in Andhradesha.

The President's Resignation

The resolutions discussed in the Subjects Committee and then passed by the Congress this year have convinced me that there are at least two schools of thought with fundamental differences.

I do not feel oppressed by this fact at all, for such differences of opinion must arise in every healthy organisation. It is only natural that the experiences of the last two years should be interpreted differently by different temperaments and that such different interpretations should lead to different opposing schools of thought.

I take the differences of opinion amongst us as an indication of greater vitality, and although our activity must lie in different directions, there is no reason why all of us should not remain within the Congress.

I must, therefore, work with those who share the same views with me. Indeed I have no other alternative, as I cannot accept and cannot associate myself with most of the resolutions passed in the last session of the Congress. I must therefore either retire from public life or form a separate party within the Congress. I cannot retire from the fight for freedom as I have dedicated the rest of my life to the attainment of Swarajya. This has been the striving of my life for many years past and this must continue to be the striving of my life till I die. I must therefore work with those who believe in my programme. The majority has I admit, the same right to work on the programme in which they believe. They must appoint such members of the Working Committee and such office-bearers as will carry out their programme. That is their clear duty. I have no faith in that programme. It is equally my duty not to be associated with it. If I am mistaken time will convince me of my mistake. But in the meantime it is my duty to tender my resignation. I am not leaving the Congress. If I have to work separately I must still do so within the Congress, in the conviction that I shall be able to convert the minority into majority at no distant date. I must also point out that every reasonable proposal for compromise was rejected. Every suggestion for postponing the discussion of the Council question was negatived and in spite of repeated attempts to make Civil Disobedience practicable, the majority has passed a resolution which makes it difficult if not impossible.

Supposing war breaks out to-morrow, in my opinion it would be the duty of every Indian, Hindu or Mahomedan or of any other faith to withdraw all

cooperation with the Government and to start Civil disobedience at once. The war of Turkey is the war of Asiatic freedom. The Khilafat I am told has passed such a resolution. I regret to have to say that even a motion of adjournment for such discussion was rejected by the Congress.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to elect your President before you proceed with the business of today's meeting.

1-1-1923.

(Sd.) C. R. Das

Working Committee's Statement

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has issued the following statement in reply to the above:—

The consideration of Deshabandhu Das's resignation has been postponed by the All-India Congress Committee to its next meeting. Meanwhile the statement read by him at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on January 1 has appeared in the Press. Though the Working Committee would have preferred not to deal with the matter till the question of the resignation is finally decided, the publication of the statement has made it necessary for the Working Committee to refer to some of the observations contained in it in order to prevent misunderstanding on the part of the public.

The charge of not agreeing to reasonable proposals for compromise which Deshabandhu Das has made against the majority of the Congress is hardly consistent with his frank recognition of the fundamental differences in the two schools of thought. The only proposal put forward as a compromise was that requiring the Congress to give a mandate to Congressmen to take part in the elections and to endeavour to capture a majority of the seats in the Councils, but not to sit in them. It cannot be said to be unreasonable on the part of the majority in the Congress if it did not consider this as a compromise, or if, apart from all questions of surrender of principles involved in it, it considered the scheme as impracticable.

The Working Committee wishes to point out that the majority in the Congress felt that any further procrastination in the matter of the Council question meant the continued suspension of all Congress activities and would be injurious to the public interest. It was for this reason that they decided to deal with it finally at this session.

Civil Disobedience

It is not possible to see on what Deshabandhu bases the statement that, 'in spite of repeated attempts to make civil disobedience practicable, the majority has passed a resolution which makes it difficult—if not impossible'. Neither Deshabandhu nor Pandit Motilal Nehru suggested any resolution on the subject of civil disobedience. There was a proposition moved by Mr. Sen Gupta that in order to prepare the country for civil disobedience, the Congress should direct non-cooperators to seek election to the councils, but it is hardly likely that Deshabandhu Das could refer to this. If it is the question of relaxing conditions for starting civil disobedience, the Working Committee wishes to point out that the All-India Congress Committee has, at its meeting at Gaya given powers to the Working Committee to relax, if necessary, the conditions, in consultation with the Khilafat Working Committee.

The Near East

The Working Committee is surprised at the suggestion in the last part of Deshabandhu's statement that the Congress did not give sufficient attention to the urgent situation in the Near East. That a serious situation had arisen in the Turkish affairs was brought up after the Subjects Committee had accepted the boycott of the councils and had passed the civil disobedience resolution in the form in which it was adopted afterwards by the Congress. The motion for adjournment of the house to consider the Turkish situation was made by a delegate from the Punjab late in the afternoon of 30th Dec. 1922, when the Congress was in the middle of the debate on the boycott of the councils. The house cannot be condemned for rejecting the proposal especially in view of the fact that the Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee not only did not support but opposed the motion. No purpose in connection with the Turkish question could be served by a further postponement of the question as to whether the elections should be contested or not. The same evening that the councils resolution had been voted upon in Congress, Moulana Abdul Majid Sahib moved in the Subjects Committee a resolution regarding the urgent situation that had arisen in the Lousanne Conference. The Committee, after carefully discussing the matter, adopted Professor Kuchitani Sahni and Mr. Abbas Tyabji's suggestion that the matter might be considered next morning at a joint sitting of the Working Committee of the Khilafat and Congress. The two Committees met the next morning at the President's Camp and adopted a resolution, as suggested by the President, which was subsequently passed by the Congress without opposition for suggestion of amendment from any quarter. The resolution reads as follows:—

"In view of the serious situation in the Near-East which threatens the integrity of the Khilafat and of the Turkish Government and in view of the determination of the Hindus, Mussalmans and all other peoples of India to prevent any such injury, this Congress resolves that the Working Committee do take steps, in consultation with the Khilafat Working Committee, in order to secure united action by Hindus, Mussalmans and others to prevent exploitation of India for any such unjust cause and to deal with the situation".

It is needless to add anything more to show that the majority in the Congress was not only not indifferent, but has made adequate provision for any serious situation that may arise regarding Turkey.

Parvati Devi at Agra

Srinmati Parvati Devi of Punjab is being treated as an ordinary prisoner in the jail. She is clad in prison clothes, has two blankets, both of which she has to use for covering against the severe cold so that for bedding only a *moonj* cloth remains. The Meerut jail authorities had taken away her religious books and in consequence she had refused to touch food. At Agra she has been given the books again. In all other respects she is treated as an ordinary prisoner.

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Party Warfare

Deshabandu Das's statement of reasons for his resignation closes with a reference to the duty of all Indians to offer complete non-cooperation and immediate Civil Disobedience in case war is declared on Turkey. The statement issued by the Working Committee points out what provision the Congress and the A. I. C. C. have made for the contingency. It could not have proceeded beyond this with due sense of its responsibility.

Between non-cooperation in its ordinary forms and a movement of Civil Disobedience or non-payment of taxes, there is a vast difference. The former can be undertaken without danger of violence, whereas the latter is attended with that grave risk and consequently every possible care should be taken to ensure the first necessary condition of its success, viz the capacity of the people to disobey laws without a breach of the peace. Deshabandu is right if he means to warn in time and impress on the people the duty to be fully prepared and to arm themselves for a civil revolt in defence of the Khilafat; but if he intends that Civil Disobedience should be proclaimed whether we believe that the people are ready for it or not, the suggestion must be resisted with all firmness. Urgency can be a motive for quickened pace of preparation and determination, but cannot by itself be a substitute for preparedness. It would be nothing short of disaster to call on the people to declare "civil" disobedience as an automatic consequence of war with Turkey, even though no improvement in the national organisation and discipline is achieved.

If the occasion of a fresh and unjust attack on Turkey fires our cold hearts to the courage of sacrifice, as no doubt it must, there are a hundred ways in which a determined people can achieve their purpose without taking the chances of violence; and the two Working Committees will no doubt be able to meet and devise suitable measures. I cannot believe that if a fresh aggressive campaign is led by Britain against Turkey, the Mussalmans of India will continue to exhibit that lack of coordination between action and feeling that is the cause of our not achieving yet our goal. If the Mussalmans act as their conscience would dictate, it is certain that the Hindu and other peoples of India would no longer remain apathetic. The non-cooperation programme has been preserved intact and the Working Committee can after due consideration put into operation any of the measures that may be suitable for the contingency.

It is just possible that a division in the Congress camp might have been temporarily averted by the acceptance of the 'forward' policy enunciated by Mr. Das. But the true function and fruit of unity is mutual warning against error as well as to stand foot to foot in mutual support. The very object of unity would be frustrated if instead of trying to help the other party from being blown off there feet by panic we let ourselves be hustled into a wrong course. That would be a policy not of joint action but of joint disasters.

But the main issue, be it remembered, on which the minority has taken the very grave step of crystallizing

themselves into a party, is the Councils question. To seek to enter the 1924 Councils or at least to contest the seats and carry on an election campaign in 1923, on a definite understanding that the successful candidates should not take their seats,—this was the proposal on which the whole difference came to a head. If this proposal had been given up in view of the Near-East trouble—not merely postponed but given up—so that concentrated and united effort may be directed to non-cooperation and early Civil Disobedience, the situation would have been quite different. But that was precisely the thing that the minority never tried to do. The net effect of their proposals would have been simply to keep the Councils question hanging, that had already proved itself as the greatest hindrance in the way of any effective action for the last six months. For the minority, therefore, to suggest that the Congress has been unmindful of the urgent Khilafat situation is neither right nor just. I wish I were mistaken but I fear that it is but a phase of party warfare.

C. R.

The Gaya Congress

[By D. B. K.]

What did the Gaya Congress achieve? Being the first Congress after Mahatmaji's incarceration it gave the country an opportunity of freely discussing Mahatmaji's principles. In the absence of his towering and magnetic personality, we were able to find out our own moorings and discover for ourselves how far we agreed with him. The Gaya Congress proved that the bulk of the country is still with Mahatmaji. It also proved that although agreeing with the doctrine of non-violent Non-cooperation there is an influential body of Indian politicians who would apply that great principle through a programme different from Mahatmaji's. This section although in a minority hopes to convert the majority of Congressmen to its view ere long. It may be thought that this section has sprung into existence during the last six months. But many of these had their suspicions about the N.C.O. programme from the very first. Some openly said that they had agreed to Mahatmaji's plans with mental reservations in order to give him a trial. If this is true of many, the party cannot be said to have grown in these six months. All that we can infer is that they took six months to formulate their differences and organise themselves into a party.

We can well believe them when they say that they stand for non-violent non-cooperation. But the term conveys to them a different meaning from what Mahatmaji intended. They see no difference between non-cooperation and opposition or obstruction. All action is non-cooperation, they say, that has behind it no wish to aid the Government. They refuse to believe that a strong bureaucracy thrives on ineffective or partially effective opposition. They lay no emphasis on the fact that the Bureaucracy rests on our cooperation and not on its own strength. They seek therefore more to attack than to withdraw cooperation.

As for non-violence they are content if their action does not come under the category of direct violence. They would say, "We mean no violence. We would

promise to do no violence ourselves. We would regret if others resort to violence. But we do not see that we are bound to strain ourselves to prevent violence. Violence under the laws of nature is inevitable. We should neither encourage it nor fight shy of it."

And this non-violence the vast majority of them would maintain as policy simply because under the present circumstances of India violence is out of court.

Evidently, with this mentality, they do not see any utility or necessity of the Ahmedabad pledges for volunteers that would launch upon civil disobedience.

We on the other hand believe that non-cooperation is no obstruction but disassociation with the Government. Our dissociation may paralyse the Government, but we do not wish to punish the Government. If we come to grips with the Government as opposition our hands will naturally be locked in the struggle, leaving us impotent to help ourselves. We want to starve the Government by helping ourselves, by purifying ourselves, for it is a fundamental hypothesis with us that the present Government has no inherent strength of its own but subsists on our weaknesses. And as for non-violence we believe that non-violence as a policy does not differ from non-violence as a principle so long as the policy is maintained. Whether as policy or as principle, its acceptance must be full and honest, the only difference between the two positions being that if it is accepted only as policy, there is a possibility of reverting later on to methods other than non-violent. Another distinction is that those who accept non-violence as a policy pledge themselves to non-violence in political matters only. But wherever they accept non-violence it must be as whole-hearted, thorough and genuine as that of those who accept it as a creed.

The policy of non-violent non-cooperation can succeed only when we are able to control violence effectively if not to prevent it altogether. It is not enough that non-cooperators abstain from violence. The acid test of their capacity to control violence in the country is the Ahmedabad pledge. Drop the pledge and you drop the only guarantee against violence. It would not do to say that violence is natural or inevitable. We admit that under unjustifiable and barbarous repression violence is not unnatural; but we refuse to believe that even in the extreme case violence is not preventable or controllable.

Our reading of Indian history and Indian temperament has convinced us that it is not for India to wade to Swaraj through anarchy and chaos. That is why even at the risk of going into a minority and displeasing some of our best leaders we have set our face against any relaxation in the volunteers' pledge. The same reason steels us against any premature or immature civil disobedience. We are confident that as soon as any serious political situation arises the nation will hasten to finish the necessary preparatory programme. If it means to launch upon civil disobedience of Gandhian type the nation will not in its impatience ask for doing away with the pledge. The pledge is the formula containing within itself the highest political wisdom of to-day, and as such is a valuable contribution to the art of political warfare.

Much has been made of the C.D. Committee's finding that the country is not ready for civil disobedience. Now this unpreparedness may be due to want of

nerve to bear repression or want of discipline to restrain anger and violence. Those who are so very impatient for a fighting programme are perhaps the very persons who ridicule the idea of eschewing anger or hatred in our political programme. The justification of anger and hatred and the opposition to the volunteers' pledge that we see in so many speeches is a proof positive of the fact that some of us at least have not understood civil disobedience.

It was urged that voters being the tax-payers also, an electioneering campaign would afford a golden opportunity for 'Capturing' the electorate with a view to starting a no-tax movement. The fact, however, is that if the rate-payers are asked to vote at the elections their attention would naturally be directed towards the redress of wrongs and repression by 'constitutional' means. Our programme for the boycott of councils on the other hand will automatically educate the country for mass action.

An argument was advanced during the discussion on the repudiation of debts that we cannot ask others to refuse loans so long as we continue to pay taxes ourselves. But a little consideration will show that there is risk of violence in non-payment of taxes, but none in refusing to advance loans. But for these loans a crisis would be inevitable even though we may not stop paying taxes. If the Government got no loans they would have either to exercise retrenchment or to increase the taxation, and heavy taxation would open the eyes of the people to the grim reality that faces them. That is one of the reasons why we are anxious to repudiate all future debts incurred by the Government for wasteful military expenditure.

The Gaya Congress has proved that the majority is with us. But it is yet to be proved that it is not a barren majority. The vote in the Congress must not record merely an opinion. It must connote the will of the voter to carry out the policy he has voted for. Mahatmaji got uniform support from Congressmen all these years; and however splendid the response of the country might have been, it is difficult to say that action was commensurate with the vote. A barren vote in addition to deceiving the leaders serves as a drag upon them.

A word about the programme of preparation. The first year's crore or Tilak Swaraj fund has shown that with necessary efforts we can collect the necessary funds. We should not, therefore, this year begin with the collection of money. We should rather hasten to enlist volunteers and with their aid to increase the number and activities of Congress centres. This work will naturally induce funds to pour in just as some machines pump the water necessary for them. Thus volunteers, Congress centres and collection of funds should form the natural order of work. As soon as we have completed the tale we will be ready for action. The pace depends on our faith and energy and on impending events.

Wrong Reports

The Report that appears in the *Modern Review* of January that the resolution about the boycott of British goods was passed by the Congress is erroneous. Even the *Servant* had such a wrong report.

Young India

11-1-23

Shall We Retrace?

"Had Mr. Das been true to his political instincts and his political friends, Bengal at least would have stood valiantly out of the futilities of the last two years, and without the help of the Bengali Nationalists, even Mahatma Gandhi would have found it impossible to conquer India and drag practically the entire body of active politicians behind his chariot-wheel. The defection of Mr. Das had been responsible for the wild unreason of the Congress leadership during the last two years. If only Mr. Das had stuck to the old guns, there are many others who would not have so madly rushed after the new gods. Will he be able to gather them again in his new party?"

So writes Babu Bipin Chandra Pal in the *Englishman*. The new party's programme may refer to many matters, but the vital thing is the contesting of the Council elections. It is on this issue that the grave step of organising an opposition party has been really undertaken and it must stand or fall on this question. The proposal to hark back to parliamentarianism in one form or another is a proposal to revert to Demonstration. The capture of Council seats and trying to keep them vacant, as well as the creation of deadlocks from inside really amount to proposals to enter into a competition with the Government in a game of law-making on the one side and legal acumen on the other. To secure Swarajya as a result of such an intellectual game of chess is too vain a hope. The proposals thus amount to a mere demonstrative programme. How does such policy fit into our present position?

"I am aware that the adoption of this resolution will make a definite change in the policy that this country has hitherto adopted for the vindication of the rights that belong to it and its honour."

These were the words with which Mahatma Gandhi introduced his Non-cooperation resolution in the Congress at Calcutta. This change of policy was the greatest event in Indian politics up till now. It was a change from petitions and protests to action. It was resisted vigorously, both consciously and unconsciously by those who had served as the leaders of the country till Mahatma Gandhi's time. It was opposed by those who felt that the people who had hitherto taken a part in the political struggle of the country could not exhibit the moral strength, courage and determination necessary for the success of the new policy. It was also resisted by those who without consciously thinking thus, were unable to get out of the grooves of political life to which they had been accustomed, and saw only inaction in the abstinence from protests and petitions and only self-immolation in the new policy of suffering. The opposition though most strenuous was of no avail and Mahatma's

programme was adopted, the old policy of the Congress yielded to an entirely new one. We were no longer to petition like the Moderates or protest like the Nationalists but to act.

What was the new programme of action to be?

Violence was ruled out. The programme of action took two interdependent shapes. If wrong is not to be passively accepted, but opposed without violence, the result is voluntary suffering. Again, foreign domination in India indisputably rested on the people's cooperation. The withdrawal of this cooperation must bring the structure down. The programme conceived by Mahatma and accepted by the people thus consisted of two parts, non-cooperation and suffering. These two forms of action were to replace the old policy of demonstration. They are based on two corresponding physical facts and are calculated to produce their effects with the same certainty as physical force. Suffering is the first point of liberty. Surrender to wrong results in painless slavery. If there is a refusal to surrender, the result is suffering. The moral law on which the whole programme of suffering is based is that a wrong cannot continue in the face of the pain it causes, whereas physical resistance, retaliation and avoidance are the life and sustenance of wrong.

This aspect of the new national policy is the key to the programme of imprisonments, fines, sequestration and other forms of suffering undertaken as the result of non-violent resistance to the foreign domination and its incidents. The true character and effect of such action can best be realised by keeping the moral basis of the plan always before one's mind.

Every one has admitted and realised that foreign domination rests always on the cooperation of the subject people, yet it is too easily forgotten, and needs constant insistence. In the case of India, with its three hundred and thirty millions of population ruled and tyrannised over by a microscopic foreign element, the voluntary co-operation of the subject is not only the ultimate basis but the daily nourishment of the Government which is imposed on the people. The withdrawal of the voluntary co-operation of the people in any one of the many departments of Governmental life must bring the machinery down. The process was conceived as the quickest and the easiest form of bloodless revolution. The difficulty of giving effect to the plan was however exaggerated and a want of faith and firmness of purpose vitiated the working of the programme. But it is the most scientifically planned and still the safest and most effective programme before the country. The final and complete attainment of the national goal must one day be achieved only through this programme. Our success so far has laid the foundation for a fresh attempt; and our failures in the single short campaign we conducted have given us the experience necessary for a more successful effort. It is impossible for the nation to go back from the policy of action to a policy of demonstrative agitation; as impossible as it is for a child to try to move on all fours after it has learned to stand erect. The nation must stand and walk on its legs though it may occasionally fall in the effort, but it cannot go back to the "normal" "sane," political life of the pre-Gandhian days.

C. R.

Congress Notes

An Inconvenience

The Nagpur Congress Constitution, has brought about certain results which were not quite expected. According to the old constitution, after the president delivered his address the delegates elected their representatives to the Subjects Committee who thereupon proceeded to frame draft resolutions for the Congress. Under the present system the Subjects Committee is elected from the Provinces and not by the assembled delegates. The All India Congress Committee members elected in November meet some days before the Congress as Subjects Committee and draft resolutions for the Congress. In this arrangement, it will be seen, the President's lead as contained in his address is necessarily not available to the drafting Committee. The President-elect no doubt presides over the Subjects Committee, but there is no provision made for placing the presidential address at the disposal of the Subjects Committee. The practical difficulty in this arrangement is considerable. At Gaya, the Subjects Committee, was commenced to meet so early as 23rd December and had sittings for three days before the commencement of the open sessions, yet the President had to postpone discussion on the most important questions till the address had been delivered. The Subjects Committee really began its work after first day's proceedings of the open sessions. If the present system by which the resolutions should be discussed and passed by the Subjects Committee well in time before the beginning of the full Congress Session, is to work satisfactorily, some arrangement should be made for distributing the presidential address in advance among the Committee members, so that the President-elect's views may be considered when drafting the national programme.

Mr. Das's Programme

The programme in the presidential address, was practically the same as the one enunciated in the statement issued by Deshabandhu in November. Deshabandhu accepts the method of Non-violent Non-cooperation as the sure and certain method, in fact the only method which we must follow to secure our objects. The only question is how best to apply the method to the present circumstances.

"I do not agree with those who think that the spirit of the nation is so dead that non-violent non-cooperation is no longer possible. I have given the matter my earnest thought, and I desire to make it perfectly clear that there is absolutely no reason for entertaining any feelings of doubt or despair. The outward appearance of the people to-day is somewhat deceptive. They appear to be in a tired condition and a sense of fatigue has partially overcome them. But beneath all this exterior of quietude, the pulse of the nation beats as strongly as before and as hopefully as at the beginning of this movement. We have to consolidate the strength of the nation. We have to devise a plan of work which will stimulate their energy so that, we can accelerate our journey towards Swarajya. I shall place before you one by one the items of work which, in my opinion, the Indian National Congress should prescribe for the nation."

Then follow suggestions for a declaration of the rights of different communities, for framing a clear scheme of the system of Government which we demand, for carrying on foreign propaganda, participation in an Asiatic federation, labour organisation and contesting of elections to enter and break the Reformed Councils. On all these matters I have already offered my remarks at the time Deshabandhu's statement appeared in November.

The presidential address accepts the view of the Enquiry Committee as to the present unpreparedness of the country for Civil Disobedience on a large scale. Unlawful laws which are "an outrage on humanity and an insult to God" may and should be resisted by disobedience. But apart from this, Deshabandhu is silent in the presidential address about any aggressive Civil Dis-obedience for Swarajya or Khilafat. This is in striking contrast with the emphatic attitude taken up by Deshabandhu after the Congress Session when tendering his resignation. No doubt the apprehended breakdown of the Lausanne Conference is a subsequent situation. But so long as the Jazirat-ul-arab is there the Khilafat question is just the same before as after the Lausanne negotiations so far as the Indian Mussulmans are concerned and as for Swarajya the situation is always urgent.

Civil Disobedience

Mrs. Naidu has rightly explained to a press representative that the Congress resolution about Civil Disobedience does not contemplate mass action. It is a fact that all steps calculated to add to the political consciousness of the people and to help to organise them and furnish examples to make them realise their capacity to resist wrong and undergo voluntary suffering make us more ready than we are at present for the civil revolt against authority, called Mass Civil Disobedience. But the immediate object of the Congress resolution is not mass action, but individual suffering in order to maintain the sacrifice-aspect of our struggle constantly before us. The form in which this individual suffering is to be undertaken will be settled when the country has responded to the call. The Government and its laws are such that there are innumerable channels wherein patriotism and self-respect can be commuted into honourable suffering. Meanwhile our duty is to answer to the call and collect the men and the money wanted.

The Call

What the Congress has asked for is indeed a very moderate demand—twenty-five lakhs rupees and fifty thousand men. The quota for each Province has been allotted by the Working Committee and will be communicated in due course. The money is wanted more than anything else for establishing popular confidence in the Congress work. The volunteers must be picked men promising to be non-violent in word and deed and earnestly to endeavour to be non-violent in intent, to promote unity among all communities of India, to render service to the submerged classes and to look upon untouchability as an evil, and to be prepared to undergo all manner of suffering for the cause.

The men thus enrolled should immediately take up constructive work in convenient centres, preferably

rural. This will at once help the strengthening of the National organisation. Every model village carrying on through the Congress organisation the activities chalked out in the Bardoli Programme will be an example for emulation and become a centre of automatic influence for self-government. No aggressive civil disobedience should be undertaken except when instructions are issued to that effect. If constructive work brings repression by itself the suffering should of course be cheerfully undertaken. But till called out by proper Congress authority under instruction from the working Committee, it is advised that every volunteer enrolled under the Gaya resolution should be devoting himself, in the area allotted to him, to the work of education and popularising the spinning wheel, the manufacture and spread of Khaddar, and service to the submerged classes, temperance propaganda, organising arbitration panchayets and other essential Congress activities.

How to get back the Leaders

There is only one way to back the affection of our leaders and to bring them again to lead us, and that is to carry out the resolutions we have passed, and prove thereby our sincerity of purpose and strength of resolve. If we collect the twenty-five lakhs rupees and give the fifty thousand men within the date fixed i. e. 30th April next and undergo the suffering that we have programmed for ourselves I am certain we shall bend their affection to us once again. All our faith in the efficacy of suffering would be a delusion if it should fail to conquer the searing anger of our leaders and restore them to us.

Dashbandhu and Non-Violence

At the Delhi All-India Congress Committee meeting of 25th February 1922, the Maharashtra members led a demand for a Committee of enquiry to inquire into the working of the non-cooperation programme with a view to overhaul it, if necessary. The proposal was not accepted then; but the "Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee" afterwards did what in effect had been demanded at Delhi. After the Delhi meeting, the sub-committee appointed by the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee made a report embodying fundamental differences. They complained that the Congress was worked to teach and propagate a code of morals and a doctrine of self-immolation instead of advancing Swarajya. What was thought to be the keystone of the arch by those who accepted Mahatmaji, viz., non-violence was to the Nagpur sub-committee an irrelevant thing which ought to be taken down.

All the elements which revolted against the doctrine of non-violence and all those who saw no relevancy in the conditions laid down for launching Civil Disobedience have crystallised into and form the main strength of the new party that has been formed by Mr. C. R. Das.

Yet no portion of Dashbandhu's presidential address is more striking than that which emphasises the principle of non-violence. "I am one of those who hold to non-violence on principle" says Mr. Das. But the new party that has risen to being under his banner consists almost entirely of men whose one theme of opposition whenever the occasion came has

been their want of faith in this doctrine. These always felt and often expressed that non-violence was an enunculating creed and at least was an unnatural foundation of and for any political programme to be built thereon. It is one of the ironies of political accidents that scepticism of fundamentals should crystallise round one whose faith in the Gandhian creed was expressed in the following words:—

"The only method by which Freedom can be attained in India at any rate, is the method of non-violent non-co-operation. Those who believe in this method to be impracticable would do well to ponder over the Akali movement. When I saw the injuries of the wounded at Amritsar and heard from their lips that not one of them had even wished to meet violence by violence in spite of such grave provocation, I said to myself, 'Here was the triumph of non-violence.'

"Non-violence is not an idle dream. It was not in vain that Mahatma declared 'put up thy sword into the sheath.' Let those who are 'of the truth' hear his voice as those others heard a mightier voice two thousand years ago."

British Goods

The first assault on the Gandhian programme was the resolution for adopting Boycott of British goods. The C. D. Enquiry Committee had adopted this recommendation by a majority of 5 against 1. It was referred without any finding by the All-India Congress Committee that met at Calcutta, for consideration at Gaya. The decision on this question of course did not coincide with that over the Councils. More people supported the adoption of an aggressive boycott of British goods than a change in the programme regarding Councils. Those who stood by Mahatmaji's opposition to this boycott, felt from the beginning that in the absence of their chief they were fighting a losing battle. It was easy and natural to find this vent for the just anger of India, while it was a difficult task to restrain it. The Subjects Committee adopted the Boycott of British goods in spite of a plucky opposition. But the voting was close; 146 votes for the boycott and 129 against. Though the resolution was carried in the Subjects Committee, those who resisted it found by the result that they were not as weak as they thought they were. The hold which Mahatmaji's principles continue to have on the people was proved beyond doubt in the open session of the Congress, where in spite of the Subjects Committee's recommendation, the resolution was thrown out by a large majority.

This was a clear vindication of Satyagraha and proof that the nation holds fast to the teachings of its imprisoned leader in spite of every temptation.

The Boycott of British goods has been rejected, but the boycott of all foreign cloth is still there as an essential part of the national programme.

To remove all possible doubts that may have been created by some of the speeches, for there was a certain amount of mixing up of "Foreign" and "British", the All-India Congress Committee has at its meeting held immediately after the Congress session reiterated the principle and passed the following resolution which ought to be prominently placed before the people by all Congress journals and speakers.

"The All India Congress Committee earnestly appeals for further vigorous efforts to complete the boycott of all foreign cloth and yarn and to spread hand-spinning and hand-weaving in order that the complete economic independence of the nation may be secured and the speedy attainment of Swarajya thereby be secured."

From the point of view of effect, those who desire to enforce a boycott of British goods have no reason to think that the Gandhian programme has been ineffective. *Commerce and Finance* (New York) in its issue of 8th November last, says that only 35 out of 75 Lancashire Cotton spinning mills paid dividends in October, and notes a severe depression in the spinning and weaving industries of Glasgow and West Scotland. Mr. A. J. Leech member of the Executive Committee of the Madras Chamber of commerce in a speech made at its last annual meeting said, "Lancashire has been brought to her knees on the question of price, and to keep her mills going, has had to cut to the bone. Even as it is, pretty well half her looms are idle today."

Councils

The Congress finally adopted by an over-whelming majority the boycott of councils by voters as well as candidates. Attempts at postponement of the issue to a special session of the Congress were almost summarily rejected in the Subjects Committee and were not pressed in the open session. Babu Bhagwandas sought to record in the shape of a resolution the admitted right of minorities. He moved an amendment that such Congressmen as desired to stand for the elections may stand as candidates and voters may vote for them, but Congress funds should not be used and the candidates should not be taken to represent Congress. This amendment though permissive in form would really dissolve the boycott so far as voters were concerned; and on the other hand, not being positive or mandatory it would not secure the conditions necessary for the success of the Councils contest. It received little support and was ultimately not pressed. Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's amendment by which the contesting of elections should be on the distinct pledge that the successful candidates should refuse to take the seats received more support than Motilalji's original proposition that the Congress policy should be left over for decision to the session of December 1923. In fact in the open session the division was only on Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's amendment. Panditji not even pressing his amendment to a decision. Malaviyaji spoke no doubt for actual entry into Council, but this view contented itself in cowering behind Motilalji's amendment and took no more definite shape.

The Congress decision is thus clear and definite in that all voters are asked to abstain from standing as candidates and from voting for any candidate. The duty of those who accept the decision is clear. They should help to make the boycott effective. The greatest difficulty will be to resist the temptation of supporting a 'good' candidate should any such offer himself, and allow a 'bad' candidate, to succeed in the elections. The end in view, viz. the isolation of the people from the institutions set up to register the will of the Executive Government should be kept before our minds and every bait and temptation of immediate advantage, that would nullify this main object firmly resisted.

The "electorate", i. e., the people who are invited by Government to support the institutions should be asked systematically to refuse to participate in the elections. The Provincial Committees will when the time arrives issue detailed instructions in respect of the procedure to be adopted. Meanwhile the policy decided should be made clear to all.

For those who have differed from the majority decision, there are three courses open. One is to accept the majority decision as to the form in which the boycott is to be given effect to, as a matter of Congress discipline not involving surrender of principles. Another course is to continue to agitate inside the Congress in order to bring opinion round without taking any action contrary to the Congress resolution. The third course is to refuse to be bound by the majority view and to stand for the Councils. There can be cases where even during acute national struggles, a minority in the National organisation may not only cultivate opinion but also take action contrary to the decision of the majority. But the leaders of the minority should consider carefully whether there is a case for such revolt in the present circumstances. I respectfully submit there is not.

The Voting on the Council Question

For Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's amendment in the Subjects Committee there were 107 votes in favour of it, 189, against in the Congress the voting being 890 against, 1740, for. In the case of Motilalji's amendment, in the Subjects Committee 85 voted in favour of the amendment against 203; in the Congress it was not pressed to a division. It is not possible to give an analysis of the votes in the open session as the voting under the present constitution not being by provinces, the voting papers were taken and counted irrespective of provinces. In the Subjects Committee, Bombay, Karnatak, Andhra, Utkal, Sindh, Behar, Ajmere and Burma were solid, not a single member from these provinces voting for Motilalji's amendment, the case of Tamil Nadu and Gujerat was practically the same voting being as 19 against 4 in the former and 11 against 1 in the latter province.

Bengal Members of the Subjects Committee were divided, 15 for Pandit Motilalji's amendment and 25 for full boycott. Punjab members were also similarly divided, 13 for Motilalji's amendment and 17 for full boycott. The United provinces supported Motilalji's amendment by a majority of 18 against 14. Maharashtra also was 8 against 7. Berar's representatives 5 in number all voted for Motilalji's proposition.

Reputation

Elsewhere will be found an article extracted from the *Bombay Chronicle* defending me on the subject of Repudiation of loans. The National Congress has adopted my suggestion that clear warning should be given that credit given in future to the Government of India cannot claim recognition of the people. The idea is naturally ridiculed. But ridicule cannot deliver us from bankruptcy. I fully expected this ridicule. Hard fact cannot be got over by reason, but ridicule is a winged creature that can jump over such obstructions. If but international justice could laugh,

it would burst its sides at the idea that this continuous military impost and a quasi-military civil service should be imposed on this poor country and the two ends of the budget made to meet year after year by loans or by impracticable taxation.

One paper remarks that the Congress has risen to the height of its irresponsibility by adopting the resolution. Yet a few lines below in the same leading article, it confesses about loans that they should not be used for current expenditure, and that the practice temporarily adopted by the Government of India should be unhesitatingly condemned. We are told by Sir Montague Webb, a European Member of the Legislative Assembly, with reference to the military charges, that "India singly cannot support an expenditure of this scale. The fact that India is now for the fifth year in succession face to face with a huge deficit in spite of the yearly increased taxation which by the way yielded a yearly diminishing return means that unless the Legislature and the Government put matters right, the State finances must lapse into bankruptcy."

Forgetting the realities of the case a paper writes that "our loans are ordinarily utilised for Railways, Irrigation schemes and so on." Beautiful pictures are drawn of reclaiming marshy and feverish areas, of huge national industrial enterprises, of irrigation projects rendering green arid wastes of land; and the question is asked whether such debts could be repudiated. Excepting Railways all other developmental outlays including Irrigation finance are charged to Provincial Governments. The Imperial budget is unaffected by them. Taking the Railways, of the 298 miles opened in 1920-21, more than half the length is a military investment, and the balance is made up of branch lines mostly financed by Indian states and branch-line companies.

Whole lines solely constructed for military reasons like the North Western Frontier Railway are charged to Productive Public Works accounts instead of being honestly put down to the account of the military department. Men who have examined the whole situation and who are not non-cooperators have expressed as their clear opinion that borrowing of capital for outlay on Indian Railways should be suspended. If things go on as at present, there is not the least doubt that the starving people of India must necessarily repudiate. The only question is whether an honest warning may be given now, and further addition to the debt prevented, or whether the bankrupt career should be allowed to have its full run. It is easy for a slave to ridicule himself for thinking of freedom. Why, was there anything but ridicule from some quarters when it was said that boys should give up Government education, or when it was said that lawyers should actually cease to go to Courts?

But of one thing there must be no doubt, if we mean by Swarajya the understanding of the responsibility of governing our own country, we must have it, under conditions, wherein the undertaking is capable of performance.

Independent Testimony

Mr. K. T. Shah, Bombay University professor of Economics, has prepared a memorandum for the Retrenchment Committee, which is worthy of studying by all those who would ridicule my resolution. Mr. Shah is not a non-cooperator.

To those who may not get at his booklet, the following summary may be instructive:—

The total expenditure of India-Imperial, Home and Provincial, was in 1905-06, 106 crores. In 1920-21, it was 232 crores, i.e. much more than double. In 1913-14 it was 125 crores. The expenditure in 1920-21 was 80 per cent in excess of the figures of 1913-14.

The expenditure on military service was in 1913-14 a little less than 32 crores. In 1920-21, it was a little over 94 crores. The budget estimate for 1922-23 is nearly 75 crores. This is above 52 per cent of the total Imperial expenditure for the year. We must add to this the debt charges. Putting aside debts incurred for Railways, Irrigation, etc. and taking only debts incurred for purely military purposes and for covering deficits resulting from military charges, we have to add for interest on unproductive debt a sum of over 17 crores to the 75 crores above stated. Thus the total military charge for the year is 92 crores as against a budgetted total revenue of 133 crores. Thus the Government spends nearly 80 per cent of India's revenues to meet the military charge. The united kingdom spends less than 45 per cent of her revenues on the Army, Navy, Air forces and all the Debt services. Canada spends only 20 per cent.

No part of the cost of the army in India is borne by Great Britain. Yet the Esher Committee writes that they cannot consider the administration of the army in India otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the Empire. A standing army far in excess of India's requirement is permanently maintained. The "gift" of 11,000 million pounds voted in March 1917 and again of another 45 million pounds voted in September 1918 have increased India's permanent military charges 50 per cent, over the pre-war level. The whole of extra debt incurred for the war is in equity a charge on the British revenues.

The root cause of the evil is that from the Company's days up to the present, the army in India has been organised on a war footing. There is no separate peace establishment as distinguished from the War establishment. There are no military reserves. The people are not armed or trained and the sole means of national defence is the paid standing army. The climax of the misfortune is not only charges, but it keeps India ever unfit to undertake its own defence.

The public debt at the close of the Company Era was 63 crores. This was the amount spent by the British to conquer India. On the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown, this sum together with 12 million pounds by way of compensation to the East India Company was saddled on India as her National debt. India has therefore paid for her own conquest in full.

The ordinary debt has increased from 20 crores in 1914 to nearly 500 crores now—all due absolutely to the European War.

Says Mr. Shah: "The fairest and noblest, the truly imperial and strictly honest means would be for Britain to take over that portion of India's debt which has been incurred on her behalf and for her benefit." "Sooner or later some policy of cancellation of international indebtedness must be adopted." "In any event the ordinary unproductive debt must be wiped out, in the shortest possible time; in order to guard against the imminent possibility of extreme nationalist politicians embracing the radical solution of a complete repudiation of our national debt."

C. R.

The Nature of the Non-cooperation Movement

[The following from the pen of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, that appears in the *Modern Review* of January will be read with interest especially in view of the fact that the writer has never subscribed to the creed of non-cooperation. The reader will appreciate his observations the better if he once realises that Mahatmaji insisted upon self-purification not to establish our claim to Swarajya but to evolve sufficient power to wrest the same from the hands of an unwilling alien bureaucracy. Suffering by offering Civil Disobedience was made the central arch of our programme because passive acquiescence in wrong has been our greatest vice and there is no greater purifier of the spirit and consequently no greater source of potential energy than genuine heart-sorrow.]

Asstt Editor Y. I.]

We think we have given not less than its due importance to Mr. C. R. Das's address. Hence, it is to be hoped we shall not be mis-understood if we make it the occasion for some general reflections on the non-cooperation movement as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi, as understood by us, and as understood by many who belong to the movement so far as that can be inferred from their public activity and utterances.

In our view, the name "Non-cooperation movement" does not correctly and adequately indicate its character and essence as it refers to and emphasises only a principal political weapon in its armoury. As enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, it is a spiritual, social, economic, educational and political movement, and forms a synthetic and organic whole. His emphasis on love and non-violence and on truth and honour and open and straight-forward methods, and his characterisation of the movement as one of individual and national self-purification shows its spiritual character. The stress laid on the simple life indicates both its spiritual and social character. The fact that he gave the first place in his programme to the removal of untouchability and the deep sympathy which he has shown for the lowly and the fallen, combined with his repeated declarations of his belief that even if the well-to-do and the educated classes did not cooperate with him, he would be able to win Swarajya with the help of the poor, illiterate mass of the people, mark it out *par excellence* as a people's movement and therefore a social one. That it has waged war against the drink evil proves its spiritual and social character. By making the production and use of Khaddar essential, it manifests its economic character; and because that implies a life free from luxury—it may indirectly stimulate spiritual progress too. By its watch-word of national education it demonstrates its educational character. Its political character requires no description.

Even when the Mahatma was not in jail, many non-cooperators looked upon and spoke of it as mainly a political movement. But since his imprisonment many among its so-called adherents have openly scoffed at the idea of its being taken as a religious or spiritual movement. But whether its leading exponents scoff at its spiritual or social aspect or not it is clear that with them the emphasis lies on its political character. In Mr. Das's speech, there is no sneer or scoffing, except perhaps a trace of it in speaking of Khaddar, but its predominant political note is unmistakable. Words like spiritual, self-purification, removal of untouchability, Hindu-Moslem unity, national education, economic self-sufficiency, &c., or their like, are there. As we have not got the whole address before us, we cannot say whether the anti-drink campaign, etc., have not been mentioned by

him. [They are not referred to. Editor, Y. I.] But granting that all the planks in the non-cooperation platform are there, it is plain that the clarion call of politics is the loudest in his utterances. We say this not by way of complaint or disparagement, but only to show that as soon as we are not in the presence of the Mahatma, speaking figuratively, we find the emphasis has shifted from everything else to politics. Let non-cooperators fight among themselves the battle of Council Entry or No Council Entry. What most concerns us is that if it be decided that elections to the legislatures are to be contested, the movement is sure to become explicitly a mere political one, as it has already been implicitly, with most. Politics is such an exciting, sensational and all-engrossing game, that the humdrum, un-exciting constructive programme is bound to have an assured back-seat.

Though from youth upwards we have believed in and repeatedly discoursed on the interdependence of all kinds of reforms, we have also exposed the hollowness of the interested cry that the people of India must not claim self-rule so long as there is any social injustice or impurity left among them. Even now there is not one politically free country in the world in which there is perfect social justice or social purity. Every people, at whatever stage of social evolution, is entitled to political self-rule. But it should be, at the same time, its own primary duty to see that no social injustice or social disability exists among its members. Whoever is subject to social disability, injustice, degradation or ignominy, drags down the whole nation along with him and weakens it.

By making the movement synthetic and organic, Mahatma Gandhi showed his deep insight into the problem of national regeneration. He had discovered where our weakness lay, and also the remedy. But his followers do not generally share his insight and strength.

Council Entry may enable the movement to be more in evidence, it may even give it a more showy and attractive political weapon,—we do not know. But what we want is that its leaders should think less of its name than of its essence and substance, and care more for its synthetic and organic character than they appear to do. Hindu or Muslim, Christian or Buddhist, Shikh or Jain or Parsi, Brahmin or Pariah, man is man, and should have full opportunities for free and unhampered growth, spiritual, social, educational, economic and political. The programme of a movement which includes development in all these directions, should be synthetic and organic not only on paper, but as attempted to be carried out day after day.

Notes.

High Court Proceedings

The Punjab High Court has proposed to remove the names of Lala Dunichand of Ambala and Mr. Abdul Rashid from the roll of practitioners in consequence of their conviction and imprisonment of six months under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The matter may be argued on both sides and discussed before decision, or the gentlemen may merely file their own statements and leave the matter there according to the non-cooperators' practice. If in the end they are disbarred, they would also be disqualified under the Legislative Council Rules which prescribe that any legal practitioner who has been dismissed or is under suspension from practising as such by order of any competent court is not eligible for election. This rule carries the disqualification beyond the imprisonment rule. The latter disqualifies where the sentence is above six months; but if a High Court dismisses the practitioner for a conviction and imprisonment of even six months or less, he is disqualified by this fact alone. The best proof of the real and inextricable dependence of the Judiciary on the Executive in spite of all that may be said or written on the theory of it is the action which courts take against political offenders.

Is Law an Independent Profession?

There was a time-honoured superstition that the lawyers' was an independent profession. That fallacy has been thoroughly disproved in many an instance. The action of the Bombay High Court against some of the members of the Bar during the Rowlatt Act agitation, the proceedings of the judges of the Madras High Court regarding the Vakils' Association's entertainment to Motilalji, and the latest news, the notice issued by the Punjab High Court to Mr. Rashid and Lala Dunichand to show cause why they should not be removed from the rolls for having been convicted and imprisoned for a political offence must make it obvious to all those lawyers that so long as they are under the disciplinary jurisdiction of Courts, they cannot be truly independent. The Courts are an integral part of the system of irresponsible Government that holds power over India, and every practitioner is on the rolls by license in effect tenable only during good conduct. A few more notices like the Punjab High Court's would practically exclude lawyers from all politics except under the Reform scheme.

Foreign Interest in India

The following news from Japan will be a fresh proof if any were needed that our programme of suffering will automatically attract the world's attention, and that artificial foreign propaganda on our part is needless waste of energy and money.

"As already said in my previous letters, the Japanese public have begun to evince a keen interest in the Indian movement," writes the Tokyo correspondent of the "*Suwarajya*" (Madras). "Two voluminous books with photos and illustrations have already been published by a friend of mine. There is hardly any magazine or paper of note which is not regularly carrying articles on India. It is possible that some Japanese papers will send their representatives to India this winter. I therefore beg to request all my fellow countrymen, especially the Congress authorities, to show them every courtesy and place all facilities

at their disposal, in order to enable them to know the actual condition."

Japan is not alone in this. American and other foreign journalists are pouring into India since Mahatmaji stopped foreign propaganda.

Political Prisoners

The Madras Government has for sometime past been insisting on differentiating against political sufferers receiving salary or honorarium. More than one responsible member of the Government including ministers is reported to have expressed difficulty in accepting such persons as political prisoners; as if it makes any difference if a man who has given up his profession and comforts of life should receive a pittance for keeping body and soul together while he gives his time to the National work. It is the old snobbery of wealth-worship that reappears in various formulas. The following order of the Madras Government will be read with interest:

"The Madras Government have issued an order drawing the attention of all Magistrates and Criminal Courts to the rules framed under the Prisons Act concerning the treatment of special division prisoners. Under these rules all Criminal Courts will in future have power to nominate certain prisoners for the special division but as the Government have decided that all such nominations shall be subject to their confirmation, it is necessary to explain the circumstances in which alone they will be prepared to grant it. The Court may propose for inclusion in the special division any prisoner sentenced to simple imprisonment in whose case, owing to his status, education and habits of life, the rigour of ordinary prison arrangements appears too severe, involving in fact, for him a heavier punishment than they impose on the general run of prisoners. Regard may also be had to nature of the offence committed, but the motive of the offence is not a matter which the Court should take into consideration. As particular exceptions to the general rule the following will *prima facie* be regarded as ineligible for admission to the special division:— (A) All persons who, whatever their status in life or their motives, have been convicted of offences which have directly involved violence or an offence against any person or property. (B) Persons who have incited others to offences of this kind. (C) Persons who have been hired to commit offences in connection with political movements or who have committed such offences in the hope that in the resulting disorder opportunities for looting might arise. (D) Persons who have been guilty of seducing or attempting to seduce soldiers or the police from their allegiance. (E) Persons who have been convicted of offences directly involving criminal intimidation, provided that the Government may, at their discretion, extend special treatment to persons convicted of criminal intimidation not involving any threat of injury to person or property.

The Court will be expected to give full reasons in writing in every case in which it proposes that a prisoner sentenced to imprisonment, should be placed in a special division, and should submit records to the Government without delay. In the case of a magistrate subordinate to a District Magistrate the records should be submitted through the District Magistrate."

The rule that magistrates are bound to submit full reasons for recommending any one to be placed in the special division will act as a deterrent on many a timid though honest official who may not care to expose his judgement to the scrutiny of a politically biased Executive Government.

C. K.

A. I. C. C.'s Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee on the 1st January 1923:—

Funds and Volunteers.

The All India Congress Committee resolves that Rs. 25 lacs be collected for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and fifty thousand Volunteers be enrolled before the 30th April 1923 and that the Working Committee be authorised to issue the necessary instructions fixing the quota for the several Provinces and take all steps to carry out the resolutions, regard being had to the conditions prevailing in each Province.

Civil Disobedience

The Working Committee shall have power to act under the Congress resolution regarding the Turkish situation (numbered 9 herein) without reference to the date fixed above and to relax any of the Delhi conditions for Civil Disobedience in order to meet any grave emergency that may arise or the Turkish situation.

Khaddar

The All India Congress Committee earnestly appeals for further vigorous efforts to boycott all foreign cloth and yarn and to spread hand-spinning and hand-weaving in order that the complete economic independence of the Nation may be secured and the speedy attainment of Swaraj ensured.

Working Committee Members

The following members are elected to the Working Committee:—1. Dr. M. A. Ansari, 2. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 3. Mr. G. B. Deshpande, 4. Mr. T. Pakasham, 5. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, 6. Lala Dunichand, 7. Babu Brijkishore Prasad, 8. Sardar Teja Singh Samundry and 9. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The following are ex-officio members: Mr. C. R. Das (President), Babu Kajendraprasad, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Moazzam Ali (Secretaries), Seth Jamlal Bajaj and Seth Chotani (treasurers).

Resolutions of the Working Committee

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress draws the attention of the country to the resolutions of the Congress passed at Gaya and calls upon all Congress Committees to take immediate steps to carry them out, and in particular to take measures for the collection of Rs. 25 lacs for the Tilak Swaraj fund early, and the enrolment of 50,000 volunteers and the strengthening of the National Organisations. The Working Committee further appeals to all Provincial Congress Committees to complete the collections and the enrolment of volunteers according to their quota before the 30th April 1923.

Provided that in the areas where the enrolment of Congress volunteers is now prohibited by law and would itself amount to Civil Disobedience, enrolment shall begin only after fresh instructions from the Working Committee.

That out of all collections for the Tilak Swarajya Fund 5 p. c. be remitted from time to time to the All India Treasurer and that not less than one-half the amount collected from the 1st January 1923 be reserved and kept unspent by every Provincial Committee until instructions are issued by this Committee after the 30th April 1923.

The following quota for the collection of funds and the enrolment of volunteers has been passed and shall be communicated to the respective Provinces.

Congress Committees in Indian States

With reference to Mr. S. S. Setur's letter of the 26th November, resolved that existing Congress Committees may continue to be worked in Native States as hitherto unless the Provincial Committees concerned decide otherwise with reference to particular circumstances.

Repudiation of Debts

"The Leader" has fallen foul of "Young India" for the latter's suggestion to repudiate the public debt of India, without, however, understanding in the least the economics or even the politics of the suggestion. The article in the "Leader" reads as if its author considered this "outrageous suggestion" exclusively as a political trump card played in the game of "Councils." Mr. Rajagopalachari's repetition and insistence upon the unrepresentative character of the institutions which have piled up the Indian debt supplies the "Leader" with a misleading clue—misleading owing to the rooted misconception which treats such a supreme issue of national welfare as a mere problem of political tactics. "We must say that we never expected such a suggestion to emanate from Mr. Rajagopalachari," says the "Leader," "but he has perhaps pursued the principle of the boycott of Councils to its logical end." But the "logical end" which the "Leader" derides is not the ultimate result of national bankruptcy as envisaged by it but rather the starting point of all democratic politics:—"No taxation without representation." The Allahabad oracle may not, for obvious reasons, consider the present legislatures to be unrepresentative; but it is hopelessly misled if it believes that they are considered by the people of India to be representative, even of that infinitesimal fraction constituting the existing elector. "Young India" has, therefore, done nothing more than recall attention to the fundamental principle of political evolution on democratic lines, in seeking, through the National Congress, to warn the creditors of the Government of India that its present financial measures are not only ruinous to the people, but, being perceived to be such, and being, in sober fact, forced upon the people without their consent or concurrence, the latter do not hold themselves responsible for the consequences. But the treatment of India's public debt should not be made a mere squabble in political expediency. It is a problem of the highest moment for the material welfare of the people of India for this and future generations. To consider it as though it were a mere question in political strategy is to expose one's own incompetence to discuss such issues. For political strategy of tactics, however important a particular move in it may seem for the moment, is essentially only a temporary consideration; while questions of the proper treatment of India's national resources and the obligations imposed thereon may affect the welfare of generations yet unborn. The Problem of Council entry, even if it meets with a solution agreeable to the "Leader" will never avoid the much more fundamental question of the public debt. The latter will, in fact, commence just where the former ends. The "Leader" has, therefore, signally failed to grasp the far-reaching importance of the suggestions, now in the air, for the repudiation of the whole or part of the Indian public debt.

Thus, it says that "the liability must follow the assets." But may not Mr. Rajagopalachari ask: "What assets?" Where are they? The "Leader" speaks of "all those who have advanced or may advance money to the existing Government for the construction of railways, telegraphs, etc.," all the while forgetting that there is, in the principles of utilising public credit now in fashion in India, no specific allocation of borrowed funds for particular objects. No loan is thus specifically secured, and no assets are hypothecated for the given debt. The total debt is a floating charge on the general credit of the country. Hence it is inaccurate and misleading, to say the least, to speak of the moneys advanced for the construction of railways and the like as though the latter formed the specific guarantee for the repayment of the debt. It is, besides, a patent fact of recent economic history, which the "Leader" may have good reasons to ignore, that for the last eight years, at least, the debt has been mostly incurred for absolutely wasteful, unproductive and anti-national objects. For the greater portion of the period there was no real representation in India, and, therefore, there can be no consenting to such projects of borrowing. At least in one instance of moment, an appropriation of 150 crores was made solely by executive decree, without even a nominal consultation with the Legislature of the day. Even in more recent times, the popular element in the Legislature, such as it is, has never had a say on the matter, of extravagance so far as to be justly labelled by the "Leader" as having consented to the present scale of army and other expenditure, responsible for the recent accumulation of the debt. It has in fact no power to vote the most considerable section of our public expenditure which has caused repeated deficits and rendered borrowing unavailing. The volume of such unproductive and unsanctioned

borrowing exceeds 300 crores, which, having been incurred without the people's concurrence, and used not for their benefit, even the "Leader" ought to concede, on its own line of reasoning, the people of India would be perfectly justified in repudiating. As the system by which this wasteful uneconomic, insupportable burden is being annually added to, is in no way modified for the better, "Young India" has no alternative but to suggest that the Indian National Congress do give notice to all present and prospective creditors of the Government of India in the interest of the creditors themselves that the people of India will not consider themselves responsible for the unauthorised extravagance of the present Indian bureaucracy. But the gravest economic plea for the cancellation of our debt, in part if not wholly, remains yet to be noticed. The total debt of all kinds now amounts to Rs. 900 crores. The assets shown usually against these liabilities seem to be astonishingly slender when one values them carefully. The Railways, for example, are credited in the books as having cost 600 crores in round terms. Their productive value to-day is nil, if not negative. It is a serious charge, but it is nevertheless true literally to say that all the moneys raised on the ground that they would be spent on a productive purpose viz., the railways, constitute in effect indebtedness incurred on false pretences. The economic utility of the Railways lies not in directly adding to the produce of the country, but only in improving the exchange value of commodities already produced, by transporting them from places of a slack to those of a more intense and effective demand. In a period of depression, therefore, the Railways are bound to be a drag upon the national finances. They can never be productive in the sense that the irrigation canals, for instance, are. The only valuable and productive assets, therefore, which India has as against these liabilities, are the canals constructed at a cost of some 80 crores. The income of the people, on the other hand, on whose general ability these heavy liabilities are alleged to have been incurred, does not exceed 600 crores a year, on the most liberal computation; and from this a deduction must be made of between 225-250 crores at least by way of governmental expenditure of all kinds. They have, therefore, left for their own needs the princely sum of 15 rupees per head per annum, out of which they must feed themselves, clothe themselves, house themselves and provide working capital for their own occupations, and at the same time bear the unsecured floating charge of 900 crores. What margin does the "Leader" expect this income would leave the people to discharge the debt at all? Whether the National Congress gives solemn notice of this fact, or whether it is left for the Swarajya Assembly, when it at last materialises, to tackle this problem, of one fact we have not the slightest doubt—proposals for cancelling the debt will not and cannot "antagonise the vast bulk of the country," as the "Leader" gloomily forebodes. The danger rather is that such suggestions may be insufficiently digested, seized upon with more avidity than deliberation by the unthinking masses; and the attempt to arouse passions, instead of appealing to cold reasoning in such issues is likely most effectively to defeat its own purpose.

We have so far deliberately avoided the ethical bearings of this question, not because we consider them as insignificant, but because we would not confuse them, as our Allahabad contemporary has done, with economic and political considerations. "According to no canon of private, public or international morality," the Allahabad journal says, "can such a repudiation be justified." If the "Leader" means by "repudiation" a simple negation of obligations, and calls such an action "robbery," would it moderate its course if the bill is sugar-coated in the form of special levies to pay off the debt? The practical effect on the national purse would be exactly the same, whether we christen the operation "repudiation" plain and simple, or call it by the now faugled hybrid name to conceal its very nature, though we must recognise, in the case of special levies, it would be more easy to pay particular attention to the requirements of distributive justice as between the rich and the poor. But if the "Leader's" objection is not merely to the form, but also to the essence of the operation, it must necessarily object to the very existence of a state and its manifestation through a Government, which as every tyrant knows, is a predatory organisation created for the purpose of taking a part of A's wealth to spend on the rest of his fellows for the promotion of their collective welfare. Government by its very nature must appear immoral to the anarchical ethics of absolute individualism, for all Governments spend habitually large sums, not a pie of which really belongs to them or is produced by them. Make the fundamental unsociality of private property the

sacrosanct dictator of our public morality, and you will soon find all organised action utterly impossible. We doubt if there ever was a moralist, so utterly dead to the gregarious nature and social needs of mankind as to deny to the State absolute powers of taxation, overriding the rights of private property, always supposing, of course, that the State is founded upon the free consent of the people, and is governed in accordance with their wishes. If this postulate of political morality is not disputed by the "Leader," we cannot see how it can describe the operation which in one form or another, is being contemplated by every important community on this globe, as a robbery. In the particular case of India, moreover, on the mere exposition of the credits and debits in a commercial balance sheet the Indian peoples have suffered, even monetarily, far more than could be compensated for by the waiver of our present obligations. We shall not speak of the generations of the Railways deficits that had to be and were made good out of the ordinary taxation. We shall not speak of the annual drain by means of the "Home" Charges, which, at an average of £ 200 million per annum for 50 years would at 6 per cent compound interest, amount to a sum the very magnitude of which we shudder to contemplate. But speaking only of the immediate and direct losses that the present Government of India have inflicted upon the people of this country without their consent; considering only the loss to the people of India in the single instance of exchange by fixing an arbitrary value for their commonly accepted and standard payments, the rupee, at a rate of 80 per cent higher than its true intrinsic value, we find that between 1893 and 1913, the total exports of Indian produce of £ 2,000 millions, which should have brought to the Indian producer, if the rupee had been left at its natural value undisturbed, 4,000 crores of rupees, actually brought less than 3,000 crores owing to that rupee being artificially adjusted to the international standard. The benefit to the Government, which, be it noted, was not a benefit to the people, by this adjustment could not exceed 200 crores in the same period. There was a net loss directly caused owing to India's connection with the British Government and mostly absorbed by corresponding gain to the United Kingdom, of 800 crores. This does not include the recent loss occasioned by the repeated breach of faith in the matter of the rupee, and the change of the standard in consequence. India's claim against the present governors of this country will make a total sum far in excess of the amount of the debt we need to cancel. And if justice is really the British characteristic that some of the infatuated admirers of the existing regime would claim it to be, why should not the British Government take over a portion of the debt of India which has really been incurred for the exclusive benefit of the British Government? The "Leader," we trust, will realise that this is a matter which cannot really be dismissed by resorting to vituperation because argument fails.

Donkey Chronicle.

A Furious Inspectress

A Circle Inspectress of schools recently visited a girls school at Muzaffargarh and found most of the pupils besides the Head Mistress clad in Khaddar. Enraged by the sight of such revolutionary symptoms the inspectress severely admonished the teacher and told her to give up Khaddar so long as she served in a Government-aided school. Then the needle work of the school girls was shown. When she saw revolutionary legends like Mahatma Gandhiji-ki-jai, Bande-Mataram and so on in the embroidery work, she lost her temper completely. The Head Mistress's certificate was seized for entering a permanent disqualification. The angry lady refused to have any refreshments and left the place in disgust. This is the story told by the Lahore Congress publicity Bureau. Such incidents are not uncommon. But Khaddar must outline such persecution. The Government and its friends and officers, whatever they may say by word of mouth cannot sit quiet at the turning up by the roots of the economic domination. There is an instructive fury at the sight of Khaddar. C. R.

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Young India

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Notes

Revenge

A hundred human beings locked up in an air-tight waggon. All but a few, after indescribable suffering, perished. An enquiry and a trial a year afterwards. Not one of all those who were the human instruments in the perpetration of this horror was ultimately found legally liable or punished.

A mob demonstration in connection with the picketing of liquor shops and sale of foreign cloth, suddenly lost control and let itself go. A holocaust of arson and murder. A trial and nearly a year afterwards, sentence of death on 172 men passed in a single judgment. No jury. The above is a brief description of two recent and capital happenings in the law courts.

The fact that in the first of these two cases, as in the case of some other well-known crimes, there was no doubt whatever about the identification of the individuals concerned or of the events that formed the crime under enquiry, made no difference. Legal responsibility refused to be got at. The fact that in the second case there must have been considerable difficulty and doubt in identifying the persons who really took part in the crime made no difference either. 172 men were fixed upon with judicial certainty which the law demands for inflicting the death penalty.

The whole system of criminal law and procedure as well as the practice of punishment cry out for change. The mere statement of the case that a single judge has in cold blood ordered the execution of 172 and that there was no jury to stand between

the judge and the prisoners in trial must be enough to set civilisation thinking. The verdict of India on the Chauri Chaura outrage was unanimous and clear. But nothing can cloud the issue and unsettle the national verdict so much as this monstrous sentence of death passed in cold blood on 172 men by a single salaried officer of the Government. It may be taken for granted that this sentence will be revised by the Executive Government, and in a number of cases, if not in most of them, the death penalty may be commuted to life-long imprisonment or 'transportation'. But that will make no difference in principle.

Viceroy's Speech

Referring to Gaya resolutions the Viceroy said, "I will not attach too great an importance to these threats. A vigilant watch, will, however, be kept on these preparations and I can give you my assurance that my Government will use all its resources to combat and quell the forces of disorder should they become manifest." If these words are used in the sense which they carry in plain English, there will be no occasion to use the resources of the Government, for in the resolutions adopted at Gaya there is no intention or room for manifestation of forces of disorder. The call for men and money is for strengthening the national organisation which not only by its creed but also by continual insistence, in practice as well as in enunciation of principles, is opposed to all manifestation of forces of disorder and pledges its workers to non-violence. If the Viceroy has used the words, however, in the conventional sense in which the Government of India couches its justifications of the repressive policy, forces of disorder would include anything, including the enrolment of Congress workers and collection of Congress funds, because at some future time the Congress organisation may ask these volunteers to resist some unjust law or order. Our struggle should go on in spite of Government policies. Never can popular movements depend on sufferance of authority whose very strokes furnish nerve power to the struggle for emancipation.

Earl Winterton's Speech

As an illustration, of incorrigible ignorance or of the ostrich policy of burying one's head in sand, Earl Winterton's speech to his constituents on 8th January is hard to beat. After touring in India on non-public business, he returns to his home with the message that but for paid agitators, the situation in India is improved, the cause being two good harvests! So it was all the time the monsoon that had miscarried and caused all the trouble. Judging from

Reuter's telegram, the trouble that appears to have made the greatest impression on this Indian Under-Secretary of State is that the financial condition of European members of the Services in India has become most serious on account of the depreciation of the rupee and the increased cost of living. This is but as must be expected, for the Earl toured not among the people of India but among the European members of the Services. He wound up his speech according to Reuter by warning British people to be careful in their speeches and writings.

Mr. Veli Khan

A Reuter telegram gives us the news from Paris that "a message from Angora states that the Indian Nationalist Delegation presided over by Mr. Veli Khan who is a colleague of Mr. Gandhi has arrived at Angora and will proceed to Lausanne".

The gentlemen proceeding to Lausanne according to this report may be most estimable persons and it is quite likely that Mr. Veli Khan may represent the true state of affairs in India. Indian feeling and aspirations are definite and well-known enough and there is no reason why any sincere person who has the facility to reach Lausanne and obtain a hearing cannot represent the Indian case accurately. But when it is stated that Mr. Veli Khan is "a colleague of Mr. Gandhi," we have reason to enter a warning. It is not known here who Mr. Veli Khan is, nor are we able to guess who it can be whose name has been so distorted by telegraph operators. One thing is certain, that neither Mr. Gandhi nor any public body here in India has constituted this nationalist delegation or authorised any person to go to Lausanne.

A Fallacy

Against the maintenance of the triple boycott it is argued by some that a ban on schools, courts and councils is conceivable only when a country is in a state of actual revolution and not when the normal life of the country is going on unsuspended. This is right. But the fallacy is in assuming that the revolution will come as an outside force. If it were an armed insurrection we are thinking of, the argument would be unassailable,—for then the ban on schools and courts would be justified only if and when there is armed rising. But the revolution we are dealing with is a non-violent revolution, the essence of which consists in the withdrawal of our cooperation, and primarily in the boycotts themselves. The suspension of those normal activities which are the support and foundation of the system which we seek to end being itself the revolution we aim at, it is a fallacious reasoning, begging of the question, to say that unless a state of revolution is first proved to exist, we cannot be expected to non-cooperate. The right analogy would be as if men refused to take up arms in rebellion unless a rebellion were first proved to be in full swing. Swarajya in a year, is still there if even now we respond to the call. To refuse to respond now, because we failed to respond last year is in other words to give up the whole battle. I confess I have not yet given up the hope that the stony hearts of the intellectuals of India will one day melt and that they will throw off the cobwebs that hold them in delusive bondage, find their own strength, and declare for truth and freedom and end the untruth

and the slavery in which by their apathy they have allowed the nation to suffer.

Agitation or Action

The *Tribune* is quietly but insistently pressing its advice on the Council party of the Congress to give faithful and fearless expression to their views "both in speech and in action." This may mean that the party should organise and put up candidates for the next council elections, in disregard of the decision of the Congress. On the other hand, the *Janmabhumi* assumes that the new party may preach in the country the desirability of contesting elections, "in the meantime they do not intend insulting the Congress resolution by dishonouring it, i. e. they do not contest elections." The dictates of conscience are supreme and give the right to a dissident to disregard the majority view and not only to think but to speak, and even in certain cases act according to his own view of right and wrong. But what is the situation now in the actual case to be decided? Does the voice of conscience insist that individual Congressmen should contest seats in the Reformed Councils without a mandate or the support of the Congress as a whole. This was not the proposal even as put before the Congress. The plan was based on the strength and support of the Congress and if that foundation fails as a matter of fact how can the plan survive and enlarge itself and become a dictate of conscience?

To agitate and convert the Congress is the legitimate right of a minority. To do this, one may resort to a dissident speech or sometimes even to dissident action; but that would be only as an effective form of agitation and persuasion and not by the rule of conscience, and would have to be abandoned if the incidental evils of that form of persuasion be greater than its advantages. It is a difficult thing to decide between the claims of a greater organisation of which we are part and whose prestige and puissance are essential for our work, and the claims of our individual convictions; and these remarks are offered in the full recognition of the fact that it is even a more difficult thing to realise the latter's position and think for him.

Depression

There is no sadder thing than the depression of a youthful mind. Here is a young man whose fine soul overflows with enthusiasm and hope and courage who spurred the prospects that presented themselves before a brilliant young man qualified to practise at the bar, and adopted the programme of suffering, and has stood its trial bravely. He writes the following letter in an interval of depression:

"I am writing this from my office. I see the old Mausid sitting in the midst of what remains of the furniture and records of the old committee which ushered me into politics. The sight of the familiar tables, the broken chairs and dusty books gives me a pang. What is the result of the feverish activity we put up there two years and a half?"

"This committee began with a magnificent office full of secretaries, clerks and office boys; but it steadily declined into the wreckage that I see before me to-day. The committee has not been more successful. We dismantled the slender machinery of the old committee and have set up offices in district centres. I have seen some of these district offices. They are greater wrecks than the one in which I am now sitting. I know you will reply that the success of our effort must be searched for not under our office but in that vast country outside. Admitting that we have achieved a revolution in men's hearts, that we have put manliness in an emasculated nation. May I ask what is the significance of our failure to build up

ive organisations! I would have been delighted if our machinery had been crushed by the trampling of the tyrant's foot; for that would have been death on the field of battle, victory of the first magnitude. But what I see before me is internal disruption born of want of faith and the will to achieve."

There is no doubt much want of faith and want of will to achieve. But more than all this is want of system, want of the business habit. We are reaping the inevitable effects of a bad educational system which did not teach us how to organise and how to do business. We are struggling and have to struggle in spite of all these handicaps. The merchants, the businessmen give their sympathy and their cooperation but except in some cases, they have not taken up the direct work. If they did, everything would be done better and quicker. But there is no cause for depression. Our very handicap being the inevitable evils of the existing system must be the motive for our struggle to end that system.

Foreign Propaganda

Mr. Robert M. Buck, editor, *The New Majority* writes an open letter from which the following are extracts:

"There is some talk, according to the Indian papers, favouring the spending of money by the All India National Congress for propaganda in England. Mr. Horniman, lately editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* is championing the idea. This raises a question of policy. There would seem to be no doubt that, when the Indian people have limited funds to spend, the most effective use possible should be made of them. Mr. Horniman is asking that Indian money support propaganda in England. Can the most important results be obtained that way? Or can the money be utilized to better advantage?"

The British people, including British labour, do not want India to be free and independent of Great Britain. It is doubtful if even the most elaborate and effective propaganda in England could make the slightest dent in this stubborn British opinion. The governing class of Great Britain knows all about India and the members of that class have a money interest in keeping India in subjection. The working class in England apparently is still hopelessly victimized by the imperialist argument that for Great Britain to lose India (which will mean loss of British trade and economic control of the land) will be for English workers to lose jobs. British public opinion has less value than many think, so far as Indian independence is concerned.

On the whole it should not be forgotten that England does not much care what you say about her as long as it is within the British Empire, but she is super-sensitive about world public opinion, because she lives upon the goodwill of other nations and utilizes other nations for her self. Therefore it seems to me that the most effective foreign work would be outside of the British Empire and that it would best be entrusted to tried individuals who know foreign countries and have worked for India for years in those lands. Recognition of these workers and bodies by the Congress and resolutions thanking such organizations as the American Federation of Labour and others which are in sympathy with Indian freedom, would be of great aid. Randolph Hearst, Professor Robert M. La Follette, of the *New Republic*, Mr. Norman Thomas, of the *Nation*, and Mr. B. W. Huebisch of the *Freeman*. Reciprocity and friendly relations with other nations outside the British Empire could then be cultivated and this might force the British, through self-interest, to pay more attention to the just demands of the Indian people.

So long as India has so little money to spend outside and so few able leaders can be spared to go abroad at the present stage of political evolution, we of the Friends of Freedom for India wish respectfully to advance a suggestion of the following minimum programme for foreign work:

1. Truth about Indian aspirations to be spread in the countries (the United States of America, Japan and Germany) upon whose support the British Government depends to carry on her international programme of world-empire.
2. Truth about India to be spread in the nations which will be forced to be antagonistic to Great Britain because of their selfish interest and world conditions (France, Russia, Italy, China, Turkey and others.)
3. Truth about India to be spread in countries like Sweden, Switzerland and Spain, which influence world opinion from a neutral standpoint.

It is needless to add that the work in various countries should be carried on in the same efficient way that characterizes the efforts of the British embassies. The method of work in each country will vary with the varying conditions found to exist. This cannot be formulated beforehand and can only be planned after careful study of the conditions and interests of each nation concerned. Thus, the first important thing regarding the work of spreading truth about India might well be to have in India a Board of Foreign Affairs in connection with the All India National Congress, with experts knowing the conditions of various lands and they should work through reliable agent or organizations or workers already established in these various lands.

The work of spreading truth about a cause can be carried on effectively in a foreign country only through organisations which are supported by the intelligent public of that land. Might it not be well for the Congress to choose the most progressive representatives from among the Indians who have been working for years in India and send out a delegation of them as special envoys—men who have some knowledge of world conditions and who believe in international cooperation and who would be able to study world conditions and further—to tour the world, come into touch with the bodies already working for India outside of India and report to the Board of Foreign Affairs of the All India National Congress?

It is obvious from the above that it is necessary to choose the right kind of organisations in various countries, and Mr. Buck's suggestion is that a delegation of experienced Congressmen should tour the world, come into touch with the various bodies working for India in foreign parts and report to a committee of the All India Congress Committee as to what organisations may be relied upon and recognised.

A Lesson from the Negroes

On the other hand the following extracts from a speech of an American Negro leader, M. W. L. Sherwin has points of instruction:

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association is doing one thing; it is making men out of weaklings. The difference between the Universal Negro Improvement Association and other Negro movements is this. Other Negro movements that have taken up the cause of the black man have gone forth attempting to convince the other fellow that the black man is just like he is and has certain rights which should be respected. Other Negro movements have spent much time and talent and have used much ink and paper trying to convince the other fellow that you have certain capabilities; trying to convince the other fellow that you have certain feelings and the same sensations, the same ambitions that he possesses. They have done that year in and year out; they have done that decade in and decade out. They have spent their time and talent for the last fifty years trying to convince the other fellow that the Negro is a man and that he has certain rights that should be respected.

But the Universal Negro Improvement Association after looking over the record of those Negro organizations that have meant well and done their best as they saw it, has simply changed that tune. The Universal Negro Improvement Association is not spending any time convincing the other fellow that you are a man; is not spending any time telling the other fellow you have certain capabilities. The Universal Negro Improvement Association is turning all its energies; time and talent toward one object, and that is trying to

Convince the Negro Himself that He Is a Man

Trying to tell the Negro himself that he has certain rights that should be respected, trying to make you understand that you are capable of certain things; trying to make you fully realize that you are capable of pulling yourself up by your own footsteps; and if the Universal Negro Improvement Association can succeed in convincing the Negro himself that he is a man; that he has certain rights that should be respected; that he is capable of doing certain things, we will not have to spend any time telling anybody else, for the Negroes will stand upon their feet and look the other fellow in the face and say they are men capable of doing certain things. That is our job; it is trying to get you to have confidence in yourself."

This is the same thing that Mahatmaji had been trying so hard to make clear to us, whenever we talked of the need of foreign propaganda.

C. R.

Mr. Abbas Tyabji on picketting

The following from Mr. Abbas Tyabji appearing as introduction to a Gujarati brochure on cloth-shop picketing will be read with interest:—

"I would point out here that peaceful picketing ultimately comes to be almost synonymous with intensive advertisement of the particular movement which it is its object to promote. As it has been proved that advertisement is an essential condition in these times for pushing on the sale of our wares, so too, it is essential for the spreading of your ideals among the masses who are so much affected by mere suggestion.

I will mention here only one instance to show how the "advertisement" "to purchase foreign cloth is a great Sin" has been seen to affect the masses. At Nadiad, one morning, at 7 a. m. some ten of us, having boards with the aforesaid 'advertisement' suspended round our necks took up our parts near a Mandir where people came to worship. Out of the women folk, numbering about two hundred who came to worship, many wore clothes of mill-cloth, whilst only 2 or 3 had on clothes of pure Khaddar. On seeing us and realising what was written on the boards, they hastened away from our vicinity and entered the Mandir. On returning, however, they had some little talk with us, and then a great discussion took place among themselves, many expressing views against the wearing of foreign cloth. We repeated our visit the next day, and a similar scene followed, but we noticed more women in Khaddar. Whilst only a few came wearing foreign clothes. Again a discussion followed on the women coming out of the Mandir. After our visits had been repeated over four or five days, we counted thirty women in pure Khaddar. On asking some of those in foreign clothes, "Sisters, do you still consider it proper to wear foreign cloth?" The answer received showed that they had purchased Khaddar and given it to have designs printed thereon; and that in the next two or three days they would discard the wearing of foreign cloth. It is in this fashion we are creating a feeling in favour of Khaddar in Nadiad. I will give here one instance to show our cordial relations with the shopkeepers. Our Muslim brethren in Nadiad are still persistent in their use of foreign cloth. On one occasion one of them, whilst making a purchase in my presence, was asked by the shopkeeper to take some Indian made stuff instead. Thereupon he turned round fiercely upon me and said, "How can you say that the purchase of foreign cloth is sinful?" As my answer failed to satisfy him, the shopkeeper took up the cudgels in my behalf and said, "Is it not sinful for you to send money to England whereby she manufactures guns, cannons, airships etc. and use them against your Turkish and Indian brethren? Is it not sin to provide an enemy with arms to kill your own brethren with, for your supplying the money to your enemy is the same as supplying him with arms?" Thereupon the purchaser's opposition collapsed, and he went his way.

I would suggest that the personnel of our national organisation, that is to say, leaders of both sexes, congressmen in general, and all volunteers in particular should have crescents of khadi cloth pinned to their breasts, with the aforesaid 'advertisement' embroidered thereon, and regard them as indispensable ornaments, not to be discarded during waking hours. Let them go about their work, visit markets and theatres, attend social functions wearing this most patriotic badge, and they will produce such psychological effect, that the suggestion of boycott of foreign cloth will become deeply imbedded in the minds of people throughout the length and breadth of India.

Thus shall we achieve a boycott of foreign cloth, the like of which the world has never seen.

Civil Disobedience**Mass or Individual**

The *Tribune* in its issue of Jan. 6 has very ably and instinctively dealt with the whole question of civil disobedience. Mass Civil Disobedience is a civil revolt against the authority of the Government, the object being the replacement of that authority by one which is representative of, or at least agreeable to the popular will. Individual Civil Disobedience is a revolt of the individual conscience against immoral authority whether it is exercised through a lawless law, or order; or takes any other shape in the course of the functioning of that authority. Mass Civil Disobedience is the ultimate shape of non-violent resistance to a Government which has no justification to exist or which is tyrannical in its operations. It is justifiable under the same conditions under which an armed rebellion is justifiable. It is practicable if the people have attained the capacity to offer the necessary amount of suffering and if by force of circumstances and human effort they have also attained the discipline to keep the Disobedience absolutely civil and under full control and are able to direct it solely to the end in view.

Individual Civil Disobedience is the permanent right of the individual. At the same time, every true act of individual suffering in vindication of Right as opposed to Wrong is a national asset, and in this sense it furthers the progress of the whole community to true freedom. Hence a national organisation which fights against an authority whose career necessarily takes the shape of many lawless laws and orders and other incidents of repression can harness such individual acts of Civil Disobedience in the national struggle and utilise them to break the power with which it is battling on the moral plane. Large-scale Individual Civil Disobedience becomes possible and practicable when there is large-scale injustice and wrong, and it can by its very nature be controlled and disciplined more easily than mass-action. There is, therefore, a relevant place for Individual Civil Disobedience in the struggle of the whole Community for freedom. Continued unbroken suffering is the essential condition of Freedom's battle.

Civil Disobedience of a single law, and Civil Disobedience in a particular area, have also an obvious place in the Swaraj campaign, when it is intended to localise or focus the struggle. Authority hangs on the unbroken chain of co-operation of the subject people. A successful moral attack any where is enough to bring about the revolution. It was on this basis that the Bardoli campaign was conceived. The apprehension that such localised campaigns lend themselves as easy targets for Government repression is based on the erroneous notion that the success of such struggles depends on the absence or avoidance of repression. A truly non-violent campaign cannot suffer by all the troops in India being concentrated in a taluk any more than if only a few divisions were quartered there.

It is true as the *Tribune* points out in criticising Desha Bandhu's position that war with Turkey cannot be justification for precipitating Mass Civil Disobedience where the people are not ready. But readiness depends on motive and preparation, and to that extent a fresh injury to Turkey may quicken life, hasten preparation and give the strength to suffer.

C. R.

Young India

18-1-23

My Guilt

I cannot hide from myself the knowledge that I stand arraigned at the bar of many a sincere friend's innermost thoughts for having shown fatal obstinacy over the Council's question. I should be foolish beyond measure if I were indifferent to this charge resting merely on the fact that a huge majority voted with me. Do I not know that the very majority that might adore to-day would ruthlessly condemn to-morrow? The limelight into which the votes have forced me does not suit my temperament and I cannot find any solace in it if I do not stand acquitted of guilt before my own conscience and the opinion of my discriminating friends.

It is no comfort or justification for me to convince myself or others that the other party should have yielded points or offered to compromise or done something to avoid the result. The offence cannot be mitigated by what others could or should have done. I have to be judged on my own conduct.

The difference was on the Council's question. Other questions did not matter at all. No give and take on other subjects would have solved the difficulty. Peace or war rested only on the question of the boycott of the Councils.

What were the courses open by which I should have found a way out? Postponing the question indefinitely or putting it off to another session of the Congress would have only served to bring the national gathering to utter ridicule. The C. D. Enquiry Committee divided themselves equally over the question; the working committee divided equally again; the all-India Congress Committee met at Calcutta and after several days' discussion put the question off to the Congress. If the great national gathering of leaders and representatives merely put the matter off again, the whole nation would have been guilty of gross indecision. I was not therefore surprised to find that my objection to further postponement was cordially shared by leaders of all shades of opinion, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, judging from the show of hands in the Subjects Committee. The next avenue of settlement was to pass a resolution giving to each province the right to decide the question without any lead from the Congress. This would have meant the relinquishment of the responsibility of the Congress and throwing on the shoulders of the each provincial committee the burden that we ourselves found to be too heavy. The discussions over this question in the provinces would not be less but far more bitter than in the congress, the moral pressure of an all-India policy or decision would be absent, and discord everywhere would have been the only result of this resolution. The most alluring avenue of peace was to pass what was called a permissive resolution. Let those who desire to stand as Congressmen be authorised to stand, let those who would vote for them do so; let the ban on voting be removed; let those who would stand out of

these elections stand out. The authority of Mahatmaji's own views on the rights of minorities was quoted in support of this proposal. Immediate peace could have been secured this way. But would it not also have been a plain relinquishment of its office by the Indian National Congress? The elections are to take place in 1923. The Congress met to consider the question of the elections and will not meet again before the elections. The minority has a right to differ, but that right only arises out of the fact that the Congress first decides the question by a majority. Because minorities have a right to differ, can majorities refuse to decide at all? The permissive resolution would have meant that the Congress refused to give any advice or lead to the nation on the vital question to which so much importance was rightly attached by all parties. Mahatmaji who insisted more than anyone else on the freedom of the individual and of minorities and who never accepted the mandatory character of majority resolutions, wanted on this very question a decision of the Congress at Calcutta and at Nagpur. I had no doubts, and even now after further consideration I have no doubts that it would have been a relinquishment of its proper duty for the Congress to say to the nation that it had no advice of its own to offer in regard to this question and that the only lead it could give was to say that those who thought Council contest to be useful may contest the elections and those who did not think so may stand out. The Congress cannot content itself by merely registering resolutions on which no one feels any difficulty, refusing to commit itself wherever serious differences or doubts arise. The only other 'compromise' was that Congress should advise the contesting of elections on its behalf but that candidates should pledge themselves not to take the seats after winning them. The main proposal, Motilalji's resolution was that the elections should be contested and the policy whether the successful Congress candidates should sit or not, and what their line of action would be inside the Councils if it be decided to take the seats, was to be left over for decision to 1923 December. On the one side, it was felt that the elections should be left to themselves, on the other side there was a strong feeling that they should be contested. If the anti-Council people had no serious objection to the contest of elections and all that it involved, but only objected to the entry and participation in the councils, then this proposal that there should be a definite pledge of non-entry even at the outset may have served to remove distrust and could have been agreed to as a sufficient assurance against misuse of position. But the objection was as much to the election-contest as to the entry and it was not based on distrust. Even otherwise, what was the gain in making out a pledge at this session of the Congress? Would the question of entry be over ruled as *rescindata* at the next session after the contests are over? Every one knew that there was as much difference of opinion over the question of entry or not and as much difficulty in solving that question as over the question of contest or no contest. The pro-change party started with Pandit Motilalji's proposition, postponing all questions but contest of elections, because they found it difficult to solve these tough questions themselves. Motilalji's proposition itself

was a compromise proposition of two or three strongly differing groups. The amendment that council contest might be resolved upon on the definite understanding that the successful candidates should refuse to sit, would only have served to create difficulties for the next session when the entry question would have to be decided upon. It would have been but the postponement of the evil day.

But apart from all this, how can one get over the inherent impracticability of the scheme by which we should have to contest the seats over and over again each time they are declared vacant? Would it have been right, would it have been just, against all reason and conviction and merely to purchase temporary peace, for me to get up on the rostrum and declare that I 'accepted' the amendment? I thought and still think it would not have been honest on my part and I assure my readers, that the peace purchased would have been very temporary indeed, as we would have had very soon to explore the possibilities of compromise on the new difficulties arising out of such a decision. I know that many of those who wanted a change of the Congress programme were strongly opposed to this amendment, and that many leaders who voted for it voted not because they agreed to it as a solution of their desire but only as a welcome breach in the citadel to make further assaults on it.

This is my defence, and I trust I stand acquitted. But I do not admit my right to enter into any terms with the minority on behalf of the majority. I was not the head of any previously organised party which was to accept or offer terms on this as a subsidiary question and which was prepared to be guided by me. The division came to existence only over this question and if I changed my views, I could not carry others with me. Surely, If Motilalji, DeshaBandhu and Hakimji could not carry the people with them on the merits, there must be something wrong in wringing their assent through my artificial agreement. C. R.

Khadi Exhibition

(By Mangulal K. Gandhi)

Khadi Exhibition has now become a regular accompanying feature of the annual session of the All India National Congress. A beginning in this direction was made at Nagpur where an All India Weavers' Conference was held for the first time. The Khadi Exhibition at the Nagpur Sessions of the Congress was not a pure Khadi Exhibition, as Khaddar made out of foreign and mill-made yarn was as much in evidence as, if not more than pure hand-spun and hand-woven Khadi but it was a proof of the keen interest in pure Swadeshi that had been aroused in the country. White Khaddar cap made its first head-way on this occasion and enormous bundles of the same were sold off with astonishing quickness.

The Ahmedabad Congress witnessed a distinct advance in this direction. The Ahmedabad Exhibition was in several respects an unique event in the history of the Khadi movement. It served as an ocular proof of the fact that Khadi movement had passed beyond the stage of sentiment and enthusiasm, that it was not a mere transitory and passing national fad but had been taken up by the nation with all the gravity

and seriousness due to a matter on which hung its very destiny. The wonderful and sudden interest in the art of Swadeshi that had been created had set the inventive genius of the country furiously at work and it found expression on this occasion in the various new contrivances for spinning and weaving and improved patterns of old ones. But the exhibition, though with all its glow of nascent enthusiasm was a great success, it showed that the Khadi industry was still in its infant stage. Barring a few cases the samples of Khadi received from various provinces, were crude and lacked finish. The art of uniform and even spinning had yet to be learnt. Exhibition on the whole betrayed the enthusiasm of an amateur rather than the skill of a finished craftsman. Swadeshi was yet a tender sapling that required all the fostering care and attention that the nation was capable of, to protect it from injury or harm.

The year following the Ahmedabad Congress was a period of severe ordeal. Like every other national activity, Khadi came in for its full share of bureaucratic repression. White-cap and Khadi processions were sought to be put down by law. In certain parts of the country handlooms and spinning wheels were actually destroyed by the guardians of law and order while in other places as in Sindh, the hawking of Khadi was declared illegal. The Gaya Exhibition had, therefore, an interest all its own. Swadeshi had passed through its first ordeal by fire with scars on its body no doubt, but not only not dead but very much alive. It had come out of its first test with flying colours. It had passed beyond the stage of experiment. Its future now could be regarded as pretty well safe.

It was further found that the so-called period of lull which has been so much cavilled against as a period of barrenness and retrogression was a period of most fruitful activity so far as the development of the art of Khadi production is concerned. The Gaya Exhibition revealed the fact that Khadi production in almost all the provinces had progressed both as regards quantity and quality during the last year. Different provinces vied with each other in bringing out the potentiality of Khaddar for artistic finish. In fact some of the samples showed such a high degree of uniformity and perfection as would have satisfied even the most ardent admirer of machinery. Samples from Karnatak surpassed all others in the fineness of texture and softness to touch, Sindh excelled in the production of beautiful thick pieces of Khadi made of rough counts of yarn evenly spun, as well as checks of most beautiful designs and patterns. Kathiawad rivalled Sindh in the production of plain Khadi of close texture and fine finish. Tamil Nadu which was famous for its beautiful checks maintained its reputation for the same undiminished, with the further advantage that while formerly it used to employ mill-yarn exclusively in the production of checks this time all the yarn used was hand-spun. The excellence of the fabric at the same time maintained its previous high level and did not suffer the slightest deterioration.

I cannot pass here without mentioning a remark made by Mr. Jerajani, a prominent member of the board of examiners. While examining some beautiful

checks, he said, "It is a pity that these checks that were once so much liked by the public have ceased to attract them now. It is pure white Khadi that the people demand." I mention this fact especially because I regard it as an indication of the slow but steady revolution in the public taste that has silently come over the country. This radical simplification and purification of taste is a decided triumph of the Swadeshi spirit. Khadi cloth exhibits from the Punjab, the U. P., Behar, Marwar and Andhra likewise showed a decided improvement over the corresponding exhibits received at the Ahmedabad Exhibition. And if only they can produce Khadi in sufficient quantity there is every chance of their driving out all machine made fabrics whether of Indian or foreign make from the market.

As with the art of weaving so with the art of spinning; the progress made in the latter was not less marked than that in the former. About three hundred samples of yarn were sent from all provinces for competition. They were divided into three classes according to their fineness, evenness, uniformity of twist and strength. About 20 samples came under the class A and won the first prize. Their counts varied from 80 to 120. It will be of interest to learn that among the competitors, there were some ladies belonging to high aristocratic families.

Fine spinning it will be thus seen has ceased to be a speciality of Andhra. In fact it may even be said that Behar has outdone Andhra. The yarn spun from the *kokti* cotton of Behar seemed as good as that of Andhra, ranging in fineness from 60 to 80 counts; but it is produced from slivers prepared in the ordinary way, without first going through the elaborate and laborious processes that are necessary for preparing Andhra slivers.

Kokti cotton is not long—staple. On the contrary its staple is of a very medium length, i. e. hardly half an inch long. The fact, therefore that Beharis spin 60 to 80 counts out of it besides doing credit to the artistic skill of the people of Behar also serves to establish the superiority of hand-spinning over mechanical-spinning; for it is an admitted fact that machinery cannot conveniently produce yarns even of twenty counts out of short staple cotton.

Woollen Fabrics

It is beyond the capacity of this report to give a detailed description of all the woollen fabrics that were exhibited. Suffice it is to say that the magnificent shawls of Kashmir valued at thousands of rupees per piece and costing years of labour still remain the wonder and admiration of the world and would form fit presents for any prince even in this age of mechanical perfection. Kashmir alone can produce them in the whole world. Their delicate softness and the minute skill and cunning workmanship displayed in the embroidery work executed on them are unapproachable by machinery. Most of this kind of work is done during the long dark winter months when the people are confined in their houses on account of snows. The spinning is mostly done by women who earn from 3 to 4 annas per day by this work. The embroidery work is done mostly by men at the daily remuneration of 5 to 7 annas.

Demonstrations

A special feature of the Gaya Exhibition was that not only were beautiful Khadi articles exhibited but were also shown in the actual process of manufacture. It was this section of the exhibition that attracted the largest number of people. There was a party from Dr. P. C. Ray's institute giving demonstrations in indigenous dying. Dr. P. C. Ray's recent booklet on 'Desi Rang' was also sold on the spot, in English as well as in Hindi. Besides this there were two more parties, one from Gwalior State and another from Behar, who gave demonstrations in indigenous dying. The first two were the most prominent and claimed the greatest amount of attention.

Spinning demonstrations were given by groups from Andhra, Behar and the Satyagrahashram. The group of Behar women held the centre of attention. Their spinning demonstrations were most attractive and were watched with the closest interest by the visitors. The maximum speed attained by the Andhra group was 5 yards per minute.

A large number of spinning wheels of various patterns and designs were also sent to the exhibition for approval. A Darbhanga inventor presented a nice small machine, fitted with a contrivance for automatic winding but it was found that its speed did not quite come up to that of the old type standard-wheel. It could not produce more than 5 yards per minute the good old Charkha has yielded yarn at the rate of 7 or even 8 yards per minute. The yarn turned out also did not compare favourably with that produced from an ordinary spinning wheel. Especially commendable was the effort of a Bengali artisan who had prepared a charkha at the trifling cost of Rs. two. It made the nearest approach to the old, standard Ashram wheel. The machine prepared by him was light but strong. Its working was smooth and on the whole it was a beautiful neat piece of work. There were some other designs also, but they all fell short of the standard set by the board of examiners and unless improved considerably would hardly be fit to be placed in the market.

An enterprising inventor had sent in an elaborate machine for carding cotton, for exhibition. It was modelled on the ordinary wire-brush principle employed in the power-driven carding machines. In point of efficiency as well as speed it fell behind an ordinary Pinjan. After a couple of days' trial the machine went out of order and could not be set in working order again. The poor inventor thus found himself in a hopeless fix. This incident will serve to show how under the present circumstances a complicated piece of machinery would be unfit to be introduced in Indian village homes, where it is difficult to replace a broken nut or screw even, although in point of efficiency it might claim some superiority over old-type, simpler designs. The demonstration given by a student of the Satyagrahashrama, with an ordinary carding bow was much appreciated by the Behari women who were able to spin yarn of 40 to 60 counts out of slivers prepared in this way. As in the case of the spinning-wheel so in the case of the carding bow, it may safely be asserted that good old patterns have so far successfully held their own against all modern 'improved' designs.

Silk Manufacture

Especially instructive were the demonstrations of various processes of silk manufacture. A merchant of Behar showed how tussar silk is produced. Its cocoons are found in the jungle, in large numbers. They are collected, and boiled in water along with the silk worms within them. The Silk is then ready-to be reeled off from the cocoons. The same process is employed in the case of Monga silk. The inhumanity and cold-blooded nature of this process of steaming alive the silk worms which in a few days would come out of their cocoons as beautiful, shining winged moths, for the satisfaction of the vulgar pleasure of the eyes could not have failed to strike the imagination of the visitors. The practice in fact is as cruel and barbarous as that of decorating the head-gear of ladies with the feathers of humming-birds, that was once in vogue in England. As we emerge from the barbaric notions of taste that at present hold our imagination, inspite of the superficial veneering of our civilisation, there can be no doubt that public opinion will assert itself against this practice and the wearing of silk produced in this way come to be regarded as much a sign of vulgarity of taste and bluntness of feeling as the wearing of the humming-birds' feathers' that has been stopped by law in some of the western countries'

In quite a refreshing contrast with this sickening sight was the manufacture of *endi* silk. This variety of silk does not necessarily involve the suffocation of the silk worms, because whether the silk-worms are permitted to break through the cocoons or not the silk has got to be spun into yarn by means of a spinning wheel. This variety of silk is soft and yields to the spindle very readily. But sometimes in this case also the worms are suffocated by steaming, in order to save time. The conductor of the exhibition who had devoted his life to the study of the culture of this variety of silk could hardly restrain himself and would often grow quite lyrical in describing the life-history of the worm. "So pathetically beautifully!" he would say, "the poor worm goes on spinning, sir, spinning to the last moment of its life even when bitten by flies whose bite proves fatal to it—a personification of dutifulness sir, it never stops to think that its work will remain only half, done." The culture of *endi* silks however a long subject and would require separate treatment by itself. Suffice it here to say that it holds out immense possibilities as a cottage industry. But this can be done only in rural areas where people can grow in or about their houses sufficient castor trees on whose leaves this silk-worm feeds.

Conclusion

The annual Khadi Exhibition has come to serve a most useful purpose. It has served to stimulate and quicken public interest in this national industry and has helped in the dissemination of useful information. A meeting of Khadi workers from all parts of India was held in the Swarajyapuri and proved to be a most fruitful one. It enabled them to compare their notes and to understand and study each other's difficulties. I cannot close this report

without paying a tribute of thanks on behalf of all lovers of Swadeshi to the organisers of the exhibition who spared no pains in making all necessary arrangements for the ease and comfort of the demonstrators.

The Air force in India

The *Daily Herald* (London) referring to the news of a "successful" air raid on defenceless Waziri villages, makes the following comments in its issue of December 21:—

"Cast your mind back to the days and nights only five years ago—when London and all the Eastern towns of Britain lay under the menace of the Zeppelin airship and the Taube bombing airplane. Remember the havoc of the bombs, the killing and maiming of scores of women and children. Remember the angry denunciation of the Germans as barbarians, as Huns, as criminals beyond the pale of civilisation.

And then—read on this page of the successful British air raid on Indian frontier villages.

There were no tubes or bomb-proof shelters in which these wretched villagers with their terror-stricken wives and children could escape the bombs and the hail of machine-gun bullets. No anti-aircraft guns or defensive planes could hold off the raiders or force them to fly high. No sirens gave warning of their coming.

The surprise was complete. The raiders could fly low, slaughter at their leisure a completely defenceless people, without distinction of age or sex.

Had there been Norfolk villages and the raiders Germans, what a cry would have gone up from all our Press, what righteous denunciation of a crime against the laws of God and man!

But they were Indian villagers; and the raiders were British. So the Press will be silent, only recording, with perhaps a note of satisfaction, the successful carrying out of a military operation.

Is surprising that the world regards hypocrisy as a characteristic of British vice? But we are not all hypocrites; indeed, very few among the mass of us can be charged with that odious vice. It is by those who compose our Ruling Class, that this shame is brought upon us. Not before it is time have the workers determined that Ruling Class must go."

Non-cooperation in Germany

Every sign points to the French "invasion" of the Ruhr valley furnishing an occasion for a capital illustration in practice of the doctrine of non-cooperation. Germany cannot afford to go to war and is making an organised effort to put into operation the virile method of non-cooperation in order to defeat the French coercion. The facts are not clearly reported yet, and it would be premature to comment in detail. If the temptation to burst into acts of violence is successfully resisted by the unfortunate people of Germany, the situation as it develops will in all probability furnish the world with the most convincing proof of the practicability of non-violent non-cooperation as an effective method of resistance to international coercion.

Latest News

The French arrived at Essen. The inhabitants ignored the advance. The streets were empty and most shops closed. Martial law will be declared soon. "Germany could not resist actively, but on the other hand she would not bow her head voluntarily." These were the words in which the Government policy was declared in the Reichstag Committee of Foreign Affairs.

C. R.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachar

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Notes

Jamiat-ul-Ulema Resolution

The text of the resolution adopted by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema of India as translated in the Khilafat Bulletin (of the Central Khilafat Committee) is as follows:

"This meeting of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema of India regards even an attempt to stand for election to Councils other than there may be no intention of entering Councils or taking an oath of allegiance, is forbidden by religion as it is open to various objections of grave nature."

To win back the Affection of our leaders

In view of what the "Tribune" is writing, trying to nail the new party down to Council Entry and stand at the Elections 'straight away' in disregard of the Congress decision, and not merely to rest content with trying to convert the Congress. I read a different spirit in Hakimji's note attached to the C. D. Committee report. If we do succeed in our work I do not think the Council Party can keep away from us. Those who believe that salvation lies in work with the Councils stand on a different ground altogether. However men's minds are in the hands of Providence.

A special Session of Congress

Nothing can more successfully keep us engaged in talk and discussion and away from us, as the idea of a special session of the Congress now. Apart from the practical considerations of suggesting a special

merely for revising a decision of the majority when no grounds are alleged by way of new circumstances a Congress Session means several months absorption in mere reception arrangements so far as the province where the session is to be held is concerned, and in election arrangements in other provinces. As things are progressing we have hereafter to provide also time and machinery for settling election disputes. If a special session is to meet in the middle of 1923 we have to set apart all the time from now in order to have a gathering, whose decision again will be open to all the assaults which are directed now against the Gaya proceedings. If the suggestion is that there would be a mere formality to register the previous decisions of leaders in conference, nothing can be a more mistaken estimate of popular spirit or of the feeling in regard to the issues involved. Any attempt of the sort I fear will only lead to a bitter assertion of popular rights, or to the breakdown of popular support to the Congress. If the special Session is to be a real session and to command moral authority to revise the proceedings of the delegates and others interested. I hope that so far as any rate as those who accept the Gaya decision are concerned, they have begun work, and go on with it and do not allow themselves to be diverted by the idea of a special Session of the Congress.

Freedom vs. Organisations

The minority's rights are incontrovertible. The form however in which these rights would be exercised, whether inside or outside, whether in persistence of agitation alone or in revolt by deed, all these depend on the circumstances of each case. The right of revolt is an exception to the general rule of agreement which is the basis of all organised work. An exception should not be disproportionately exaggerated to over shadow the rule itself.

Every one who agrees to work in an organisation does thereby agree to suppress his individual opinion to a certain extent. The reservation of liberty of conscience is always implied but should not be so interpreted as to break up the organisation itself and destroy the value work in association.

Cruelty to Prisoners

Dr. Rajan of Tamil Nadu is one of Mahatmaji's best workers. Ever since the movement was started, he gave up his lucrative practice as a successful surgeon and gave all his time, resources and energy to the Congress. In February 1922, while he was secretary of the Tamil Province Congress Committee,

he was arrested and convicted and sentenced to a years' imprisonment in default of security. He offered no defence and refused to give security, and has nearly completed his term in prison. He should in the ordinary course be released on 9th February next. In December last while in Palamkotta jail, he took ill, and there was a stubborn fever and swelling of the whole of his left arm. Several openings were made in the arm but to no effect. He was then removed to the Madras General Hospital in a serious condition. An order of "temporary release" was recorded by which the prisoner was to undergo treatment at his own expense and to report himself in prison after recovery. At the Madras Hospital, they performed a serious operation and the big surgical wounds were reported to require careful attention for some six weeks yet. His general health was very feeble, his arm disabled, and when I saw him in hospital after returning from Gaya, he was a mere ghost of his former self, his lips trembling as he attempted to speak. While in this state, and in spite of clear medical opinion that he is unfit to go away from hospital, the Government has insisted on removing him again to prison, thus practically depriving him of adequate attention and care; and this is done when there are but a few weeks to complete his term and the General Hospital where he was shut up was as good as a prison. In jail he cannot possibly have the prompt and effective medical and nursing attention which is necessary to restore him to health. I understand that the surgical wounds require skin-grafting, and his fingers special electric treatment to prevent permanent deformation. However this may be, cruelty of this sort cannot break our spirit or bring victory to the Government. Dr. Rajan and the people of Tamil Nadu have the spirit to survive all this and to come out stronger than ever.

A Well founded Complaint

A friend sends a complaint from Karachi, which I consider to be well-founded. At Karachi, as at many another place, there are people who are not non-cooperators and who believe in protesting and agitating against the imprisonment of leaders and in submitting such protests to the Government. When Shree Shankaracharya was sent to prison last month, a meeting was called, the conveners of which expressly restricted the invitation to those desirous of protesting. But when the people gathered, the non-cooperators who were apparently in a majority elected their own president in place of the gentleman mentioned in the notice and passed resolutions of congratulations. Those who had convened the meeting had to leave the hall. If a meeting is expressed in the notice to be open to all, the conveners cannot complain if those who attend carry things in their own way by peaceful enforcement of the view of the majority. But if the conveners expressly restrict the meeting to supporters of a particular policy or line of action, those who are opposed to it would be acting wrongly if they seek to control such a meeting. Sometimes gatherings convened on such restricted invitations pass resolutions in the name of all the citizens of the place, but this cannot give the right to those who are not invited to interfere with the proceedings. In such cases the

proper course would be to expose the unrepresentative character of such proceedings or the falsity of the claim of the conveners to act on behalf of the public, by writing to the press or by independent meetings. In this connection I draw the attention of the reader to what Mahatmaji wrote on 10th Nov. 1919 in connection with disturbances at Mrs. Besant's meetings in Bombay. If the Council party carries on active propaganda in the country, there will be many an occasion to remember and act according to the principles emphasised in Mahatmaji's advice. Those who disbelieve in obstructive tactics and who therefore have rejected Council Entry should hardly need any argument to be persuaded to keep away from meetings they do not like, rather than to attend and obstruct.

"But I have been told that unless at her meetings an emphatic dissent is expressed, she would make capital of our supposed silence and claim that there is a larger body of Indian opinion at her back than is really the case. Surely rowdism is not the only way of expressing dissent. The best and the chosen way would be not to attend her meetings, unless we wish to go in order to be convinced. We need not swell her audience when we know that we do not approve of her views. The other way, if we must attend, is to enter our respectful dissent at the end of the meeting, or if we consider her remarks to be offensive, to express our dissent by courteously walking out. A noisy demonstration is a sign of our weakness. A dignified withdrawal is a proof of our strength. Rowdism is, as a rule, intended to cover a minority that wishes to break up a meeting. A majority conscious of its strength produces an eloquent and electrical effect both on the speaker and his, or, her minority of followers."

Steel-frame esprit-de-corps

Mr. V. Sadasiva Murti of Buckingham Pet (Bezwa) who for some time served as an overseer in the Public Works Department of the Madras Government sends a complaint couched in very bitter language about the treatment accorded to him by the authorities. Mr. Sadasiva was working in a forest area. He and his family lived in a lonely place near a traveller's bungalow. One evening on 13th Sep. 1921, when he was asleep in his room, he was roused by a noise and found his wife shrieking for help. On running up he found that a European had trespassed into his compound and was the cause of the disturbance. From what he learnt as to the happening Mr. Sadasiva Murti believed that the man had approached his wife with an evil intention. The trespasser turned out to be an I. C. S. officer of the Government. Mr. Sadasiva wrote to him demanding an apology and not getting it, laid his case before his own departmental superiors. The I. C. S. officer it is said wrote to the Executive Engineer admitting the incident but explained that it was due to a mistake as he went there thinking it was the traveller's Bungalow. Mr. Sadasiva does not accept this explanation. He says—

"How could he mistake my quarters for his Bungalow, when it was not possible to discern even the least trace of his bag and baggage there? The elephants, by which he had his office furniture and baggage conveyed, could be clearly seen confronting him from where he stopped his bicycle, for they were tethered to trees on the side opposite to his revenue bungalow, not even a furlong from the spot. All his ponies were waiting for his arrival in front of the building, and if he had even a speck of the sense which his butler possessed, could have straightway gone there as his butler done, or he ought to have patiently waited for his butler's reply instead of preying into other quarters. It is quite strange how this could have thought that the timid, modest and respectable Sadasiva Murti was the person

persons to be addressed to, and what is still more heinous on his part was to step into the same room as a stranger woman had entered into. Under the circumstances, it is highly ridiculous that any human being could have mistaken my quarters for the one where the Assistant Commissioner was to lodge."

The Executive Engineer desired to close the incident with an apology from the Assistant Commissioner, but the latter would not make the apology. The matter was then referred to the Government by the Superintending Engineer, and Mr. Sadasiva was informed by the Secretary to Government P. W. D. that as the officer was willing to apologise the incident would be closed. This was in November 1921. The strongest part of the business is what followed. In Mr. Sadasiva's own words,

"No such apology as had been promised me having been tendered though I patiently waited for the same for a pretty long time. I was obliged to remind the Superintending Engineer of the same. I was sadly disappointed to receive a reply in memo. No. 1623—C, dated 9-5-22, from the secretary to Government P. W. D. informing me that no further action was called for on my reminder for the reason that I was since given notice of the termination of my appointment due to reduction of temporary establishment."

Mr. Sadasiva reiterated his complaint to H. E. the Governor of Madras, but he was merely referred to the previous orders on the subject. He memorialised the Viceroy and prayed for justice by obtaining for him the promised apology; but his petition was returned as one not submitted through the Local Government. When he again submitted it through the Local Government he got a reply.

"That the memorial was withheld for the reason that it was an application in a case for which the law provided a different or specific remedy, or in regard to which the time limited by that law for making the application had been exceeded."

It is no wonder that Mr. Sadasiva Murti's letter is couched in very bitter language.

Indians Abroad

A long communication from a well-known Indian refugee in Europe gives details and seeks to give warning against the fraudulent activities of persons masquerading as Indian communists. There is no doubt, many unscrupulous persons are abroad trading on the ignorance of foreign Governments and politicians. Some persons who went out of India at first as hunted patriots have degenerated into mere adventurers by reason of pecuniary difficulties or other temptations coming to them in the course of a long life of exile. The life and the manners of the "West" greatly help such transformations. The communist parties in Europe and America and their plans of world action furnish also easy scope for adventure and fraud to clever people.

Moral and Civic lessons through bombs

The word "moral" is used in many senses. It has come to have a very definite meaning in military, especially in air operations, and more especially in bombing operations against open villages absolutely innocent of all offensive or defensive capacity in any branch of warfare. The following Associated Press telegram brings out this peculiar use of the word very aptly.

DELHI, January 11,

"Air operations were carried into the home-lands of the recalcitrant Abolish Mahad on the 6th and the 8th instant. Mahin, which is the headquarters of the notorious Mulla, an who was concerned in the murder of Lieutenant Dickson, was successfully bombarded. The firing of the six inch howitzers was accurate and the moral effect of the operations has been considerable. Hostile sections are now showing signs of a desire to know the terms of our settlement."

Not only morality in general but the sense of civic responsibility as members of an independent nation is sought to be propagated by means of aerial bombing as the following extract from a widely published letter of Sir Percival Phillips to the *Daily Mail* would show:

"Tax collecting by bomb has become almost a matter of routine for the Royal Air Force in Mesopotamia."

"It would surprise the British tax-payer to know the extent to which bombing has prevailed in the country districts of the new States of Iraq during the past year in order to bolster up King Faisal's authority."

"The conception of a united people cheerfully contributing to national treasury is far wide of the mark. Taxation is the last thing the Arabs as a whole, will submit to. Consequently British aeroplanes have been utilised to extract overdue revenue and in general to impress the Mesopotamians with their responsibility as an independent nation. Of course innocent people have been killed. That cannot be helped. The subjection of an unruly village or district involves the punishment of old women as well as recalcitrant head men. Our tax collectors of the air drop their "eggs" as accurately as possible but they cannot single out individuals."

"I am told that this local bombing has been going on constantly for months past. Recently the Air Force has engaged in more extensive operations on the firing of Southern Kurdistan where other tribes have responded to Turkish propaganda and show hostility to British troops. Apart from this border warfare, however, there has been intensive bombing aimed solely at the enforcement of revenue laws."

Then follows a description full of grim humour of the procedure followed in such cases

Political Prisoners

Elsewhere will be found Dr. Satyapal's letter calling urgent attention of the Congress Committees to the necessity of taking immediate steps for the relief of political prisoners. The various Provincial Congress Committees, it is hoped, will immediately set to work to solve this problem according to the need and circumstances obtaining in their respective provinces, along with other preliminary preparations for Civil Disobedience. C. R.

Correspondence

Cheap labour for Mauritius

Mr. H.K. Maudslayi writes from Port Louis, Mauritius:—
Dear Mr. Editor,

I beg to inform you that delegates from this Island (whites and Indians) appointed by Government are proceeding with a view to obtain a renewal of immigration and indentured labour for this colony.

The population here—especially the great mass of Indian labourers who constitute the great bulk of the people—are bitterly opposed to any new immigration of any sort.

The Island is overcrowded and hands are far from being wanted. On the other hand, the number of unemployed is considerable. The sole aim of those who are advocating immigration is to obtain cheap labour and easy slaves with which they may do what they like.

I rely on you to take an ardent interest in counteracting the action of the Mauritius Government Delegates. In so doing you will deserve the confidence of all well-intentioned Indo-Mauritians and you will do a good action for the welfare of this little India beyond the seas, and of all India at large.

I beg to suggest that in case you may find it possible, Mr. Manilal Doctor, Barrister-at-Law, who knows much about the position of the Indians here, should be invited to help you and even to depose before the Simla Immigration Committee. Yours etc

H. K. Maudslayi

Mr. Horniman's View

Mr. E. C. Horniman writes in *Hind* (London) :—

"We are now faced by the task of choosing between the lead of those who want to reconsider and revise the policy and programme of Mahatma Gandhi, and those who, undismayed and undeterred by the failure to achieve immediate success, are still convinced, both by sentiment and reason, that India's only true way to the achievement of independence and national self-respect is along the austere road of complete refusal to co-operate in any form or shape with those who arrogate to themselves the right to determine for the Indian people those questions which it is their inalienable right to determine for themselves. Into the causes and events of the past year which have produced this situation I do not propose to enter here. There is no disguising the fact that the whole course of events following on the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders has been deeply disappointing. But it would be profitless to waste time in bemoaning them and criticising from this distance the mistakes and the lack of competent and determined leadership responsible for the present unsatisfactory situation. The present duty is to recover the confidence and enthusiasm of the people, and to start afresh on the task of inspiring them with the hope and knowledge that by their own efforts they can release themselves from bondage and their sufferings.

Non-Co-operation Must Stand

"For myself I remain a convinced and unmitigated Non-Cooperator. Revision of methods may be desirable and necessary, though I have yet to be convinced of that. But I cannot subscribe to the view that there should be the least modification of the policy of Non-Cooperation or the smallest departure from the programme laid down by Mahatma Gandhi—at least in principle. As to the first, there is probably little difference of opinion among any of us. The Government in India remains the "Satanic" Government, association or co-operation with which would be a national humiliation. It remains anti-Indian and anti-national. That has been made more clear than ever by the policy pursued under the present Viceroy, the recent utterance of Mr. Lloyd George—which was his last great effort to rally to himself the support of the party which has now supplanted him in office—and the cruelties which continue to be inflicted on the people by the agents of the Government, notably in the case of the terrible atrocities perpetrated on the Akali Sikhs. And, apart from all this, it remains an unassailable principle, that to recognise an alien government or to accept its patronage and use its institutions, is to surrender India's inherent right of self-determination and self-dependence and to perpetuate the process of national demoralisation, which subjection to foreign domination entails.

The Question of the Councils

"I take it, however, that those who are anxious for a revision of the programme of Non-cooperation do not desire to abandon the principle of Non-cooperation, but Non-cooperation, if it is to be followed sincerely as a principle, does not admit of any compromise. The moment you impinge upon that principle, either in theory or in practice, you have done with Non-cooperation. Take for instance, the question of entering the Councils, which is the great

point of controversy at the present moment. It seems to me that shrewd men like Mr. C. B. Das and Mr. Kelkar should fail to realise that nothing would be more helpful to the Government than for Non-cooperators to give up the boycott of the Councils and enter them, even with the direct object of attempting to make the whole reform scheme a farce by a programme of obstruction. It is wrong in theory and would fail in practice. Wrong in theory, because the strongest asset of the Non-Cooperator is the refusal to recognise or to use in any form whatsoever the institutions set up by alien rulers as a bait for the unwary. The first principle of Non-cooperation is the refusal to have any sort of association even by opposing them from the inside, and that applies to every department of the Non-cooperation programme. You may leave certain aspects of Non-cooperation on one side for the moment because for one reason or another, the country is not ready for them, or there is nothing tangible to be gained for the time being by attending to them, but you cannot, if your policy is to be consistent and effective, take one feature of Non-cooperation and say: Here we will make use of the Government institutions because by so doing we can annoy the Government.

A Futile Proposal

"But the proposal would also fail in practice, as a light examination of the machinery of the reform scheme will show. This has been very cunningly devised to make any policy of obstruction on the part of the so-called popular representatives either impossible or ineffective, as indeed, experience has shown in the case of those who have tried the experiment. The Non-cooperators might capture every seat available to them and then refuse to take their seats. Fancy constituencies and nominated members, official and otherwise, would still provide the Government with working quota of members, which is all they want for their purpose. On the other hand, to enter the Council chambers and obstruct would be equally futile and would only end in the policy of responsive co-operation," which would be the final victory of Montaguism. During the past forty years successive governments in England have devised an elaborate and unassailable machinery of procedure for the prevention of obstruction in the House of Commons, until obstruction, as it used to be effectively practised by the Opposition, has become an impossibility. The procedure devised for the Indian Legislature, is, naturally, even stronger, and provides the government and presidents, with even more unassailable apparatus than the Speaker and Leader of the House of Commons.

Strongest assets

"Whatever else the Congress may decide, I trust it will emphatically reject any proposal to enter the Councils or to give up the organisation of the country for a general movement of Civil Disobedience. These, to my mind, are the strongest assets of Non-cooperation and however heavy the task and lengthy the process of organising Civil Disobedience, I am convinced that, with patience, devotion and sacrifice it is the weapon which will finally secure the crowning victory. With the example of the Akali Sikhs and the sacrifice and devotion of the Akali Sikhs, and what they have achieved, before us, can we doubt it?"

Young India

25-1-23

Work

Most provincial Congress Committees will have met before the end of this month and organised their plans for the collection of money and the enrolment of volunteers. It would be of great help if all provincial Committees will send at once their preliminary reports to the Working Committee so that at its meeting in February, suggestions and difficulties may be considered and supplementary instructions issued. All communications, it should be remembered, are to be addressed to the Working General Secretary at Patna. Volunteers should be enrolled on the pledge form adopted at Ahmedabad. While every volunteer offers himself as ready for individual civil disobedience when ordered, it should be remembered at the same time, that he is a constructive worker also. Every volunteer should immediately be put on the work of strengthening the national organisation, and pushing forward constructive activities. The volunteers should be busy from the time of enrolment, and are not to be an idle army awaiting orders. There may be some volunteers offering their full time from the date of enrolment, but a much larger number may offer, say one day in the week, for Congress work. Thus all will be a reserve force for the final campaign of civil resistance; but at once, we shall have a body of active workers. If sixty men for instance offer each one day's work in the week, by proper coordination, a Congress Committee can get a continuous stream of work going on throughout the whole month. If the new volunteers can make a few model villages in each area, it would be a capital method of spreading and strengthening the movement. The next three months should be a period of constant and one-pointed activity. The newly enrolled volunteers have the fair name and the fate of our movement in their hands. More people than we can think of, ought to be prepared to give to the movement their next three months, as their contribution to the national struggle during a very critical period. Mahatmaji said that his arrest would destroy the idea that people accepted the non-cooperation programme only under his influence and without independent faith in it, and that it would be an occasion to prove our ability to carry out our activities in spite of his absence. The success of his programmes in South Africa as well as in India consisted in their simplicity and in their appeal to the genius of the nation and to the capacities of the ordinary Indian. We need have no doubt of the brains that we have and the ability we possess to carry out the work which he initiated and which he probably believes is going on even in his absence.

C. R.

"Drinking Toasts"

(By C. F. Andrews)

When I was recently in Ceylon, I found out how some of the very worst practices of the West had been slavishly copied by the young, under the impression that there was something 'manly' and 'modern' and 'up to date' about them. I was told by a medical student, that it was a custom for the first year students to invite the senior students to an inaugural banquet, where not only light wine, but also whisky and brandy were drunk; and many became intoxicated, while 'drinking toasts', or (to supply a strangely mis-used word) drinking the 'health' of certain guests who were present, and also the King's 'health', and the ladies' 'health' and the 'health' of the Medical College, and so on. Not seldom the banquet ended in what was called a 'rag.' Damage to furniture, and breaking of glasses and crockery and even free fights occurred. The very worst part, however, was the compelling of those who had religious scruples and conscientious objections,—however much they might struggle to refuse, perforce to drink liquor. They were violently held down, in spite of their struggles and the liquor was poured into their mouths so that there could be no escape. This story was told me by one of the students themselves who told me he had suffered under this treatment.

When I heard this account, my heart sickened. My mind went back with a sharp stab of compunction, to a scene at Simla, on the departure of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, the Finance Member, when a dinner was given in his honour by the Indian Residents and I was invited to be present. There was in my mind then nothing of the horror and the shrinking, that there would be now. I remember how the English song—"For he's a jolly good fellow" was sung and 'healths' were drunk, beginning with the 'health' of His Majesty, the king Emperor, and going on, in the middle of the programme, to the health of "our distinguished guest, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson." There was, of course, no compulsory drinking on that occasion, and it was possible for those present, if they wished to do so, to drink the toast in lemonade or water. But before the evening was over, I could see, as I glanced round the table, that some at least of the guests, who were unaccustomed to taking intoxicating spirits, had become the worse for drink; and the repentant thought flashed upon me that it was wrong on my own part thus to be joining in a banquet where such temptations were put in the way of those, whose habits in such matters were not Western at all. When one comes to think it over, many years later, is it not true beyond all possible doubt, that this single practice, imported from the West, without any sense, or rhyme or reason, has been the beginning of the actual downfall of many noble lives in this country?

I can recall another scene at Delhi, which happened shortly after I came out to India. In Cambridge, I had been a member of a Masonic Lodge, and I went as a guest to a Masonic banquet in Delhi. There was an old Indian gentleman there who, before the evening ended, was pitifully drunk. I do not suppose that he had taken much liquor that evening; and in his ordinary life, as I knew, he was a man of abstemious habits and high moral character. But this banquet, and

the unaccustomed liquor, which he had taken, had made him for a time into an insane person, entirely irresponsible for his actions. The old gentleman has been dead long ago and I have forgotten his name and even his face; but I can remember vividly to-day the scene at that banquet and the shock it gave me.

There has been in my letter-case, for more than a year, an important communication on this very subject from an old friend in Bombay. I had waited for an opportunity to publish it, but I had been occupied with other things, and it had been forgotten. It runs as follows:—

"There is just now a wide-spread movement for stopping the drink evil in India. Mahatma Gandhi and yourself have been doing your utmost on this subject, in connection with which I have to make one suggestion and seek your help for putting it forth in *Young India* or elsewhere.

"To 'drink the toast' on grand public occasions is a common practice among Christian nations. This practice was first publicly introduced into India by the British rulers and was afterwards taken up by Indians even in private life. I know several native States, where, while receiving visits from high British officials, the Indian rulers have to arrange public dinners, wherein the guests and the hosts have to drink toasts publicly. Both the Hindus and the Mahomedans present would violate their religion by drinking; and the Christian rulers, whatever may be their practice as Christians, ought not to enforce it upon their Indian Subjects. It is the greatest insult that the rulers can offer to the two great religions of India. I am not sure whether drink is compulsory even according to Christian teaching. On that you can speak authoritatively. But apart from this, it behoves the British rulers, not only to forego this practice, but to prohibit it even by legislation. In the first place, to make political speeches at dinner is absurd, according to Indian ideas. It violates the sacredness of our dinner. Even if, however, these dinners and toasts are considered essential, why should not the Government be called upon to use simple water, or pure milk, for the drink instead of liquor. Intoxicating drink makes a man beastly and should not be used privately, much less in public. In this sinful world vice can never be entirely eradicated, but it should never be supported openly by Government.

"Great Emperors like Asoka and Akbar, in bygone days respected the sentiments of their subjects. The British rulers if they care to win the affection of Indians, must equally respect their religion and moral-sentiments. If they do not do this, they stand self-condemned. I have been long connected with Indian States and I know well what havoc drink has committed in different rulers' families, and this habit of 'drinking toasts' has been one of the principal causes of the drunkenness that prevails among them.

"Will you kindly use your powerful pen for stopping this most ruinous and sinful practice? Your advocacy appearing through the columns of Indian papers, such as '*Young India*' and translated into the vernaculars may do a very great service to our country."

This is the letter which I received. I greatly regret that it has remained unpublished so long. I can only hope that now that the matter has at last been brought before the public it will, as the writer suggests, be translated into the vernaculars and widely circulated, so that something may be done to put an end to this practice which is quite out of keeping with ancient Indian traditions.

In Defence of Khaddar

Some people think that so long as there is no prospect of giving up Khaddar and taking Lancashire goods again after the attainment of Swaraj, the Khaddar movement can have no political value. "How can it be a motive for British concession, these people ask, "when it is admitted that the boycott on Lancashire will not be lifted even after the grant of Self-Government?"

The error in this question can be easily seen if we raise a similar query about the other important items of our agitation for Swaraj. For instance take the case of the unconscionably heavy expenditure on the "steel-frame services" and the military. Removal of this evil forms an important plank of our agitation for Swaraj. Yet no one would maintain that we should not *indianise* our 'services' or the military and check this drain on our resources when Swaraj is attained, because British interests would thereby be hit. Or take the case of the boycott of British system of lawcourts and Education. To the unwilling Britisher, this is a political weapon of the first magnitude, a thing that fairly frightens him. But we do not hold out a promise that we will revert to the present denationalising system of Education or abolish our Panchayats when Swaraj is attained, although we know that this would give a permanent set-back to the British cultural domination in India, which Lord Roseberry said was Britain's heaven appointed mission to fulfil.

The truth is that Khaddar, is a necessary condition of Swaraj and not merely a coercive process. The importation of foreign cloth in India is necessarily an evil—at once the result and cause of our political servitude. We want Swaraj because we want to get rid of this evil. We cannot live without air and without food; so also cannot this nation be ever free without banishing pauperism from among our masses without reviving the industry which supplemented their main occupation, viz., agriculture. Khaddar is a solution of India's growing poverty and therefore is a weapon of the first order in the fight for Swaraj. Economic slavery and the drain on national wealth, Intellectual slavery and inter-communal injustice are the root causes of the disease from which the nation is suffering. Political slavery is but the symptom and will disappear on removing the causes. We cannot give up khaddar after attaining Swaraj even as a consumptive cannot give up fresh air after being cured. Khaddar is an integral part of the national movement even as fresh air is an integral part of the consumptive's treatment.

The non-cooperator's cardinal faith is that national organisation will automatically replace the Government when once it has attained the requisite strength. Our national organisation must be prepared to take charge of the national affairs on the establishment of Swaraj. By no other process can we win Swaraj. We may obtain concessions by way of modifications of the Reform Scheme by demonstrations of some sort, but we cannot win or keep Swaraj unless we organise the nation. This work of organising the nation is what we have been at from Benares upto now. If we have failed to achieve anything yet, it is because we have not effectively organised the nation.

as we wanted to do, or we believed we did when as a matter of fact we did not. Other things we may do in order to achieve our goal, which may help in this work by clearing the way for the work of organisation and in that measure will bring us success.

Progress in Khaddar is progress in the organisation of the masses. Khaddar is the body in which our national organisation should develop and grow strong enough automatically to displace the foreign organisation which holds the people in subjection and poverty. If we revive handspinning and weaving and clothe the people in Khaddar, it is the surest sign of our successful organisation. We do not desire to live in isolation, or hatred of all foreign things. Our goal is not to put an end to all foreign commerce in India. England will have enough trade with India, and Japan too even, though we eschew all foreign cloth. What we aim at is to prevent the importation of that commodity, which has deprived our millions of their work and the nation of its wealth and has brought on a chronic famine in the land. We do not desire to shut out a hundred other articles of trade which without making this nation poor keep other nations working and add to their wealth and happiness. There is enough motive for international friendship and commerce without depriving the people of this land of that occupation without which they cannot live like free men.

C. R.

Political Prisoners

Dr. Satyapal's Suggestions

A political prisoner is now a permanent figure. He has come to stay. Judging from the trend of events that are taking place it needs no prophet to assert that for a considerably long time to come for many of the political workers, jails almost will be like summer-houses and it is absolutely certain that many of the best sons, nay perhaps even the daughters of the soil, will have to pass much of their time within the four walls of prison-houses. It is, therefore, necessary that the interests of political prisoners should be carefully studied and no effort should be spared to ameliorate his condition and to help the members of his family. I gratefully mention the services rendered by the Press of the Province in this cause. The Provincial Congress Committee, various Congress Committees and some patriotic individuals who have worked in this direction deserve the thanks of the Motherland. But I must be permitted to say that the output of practical energy has not been equal to the task. Much remains to be done. It pains me to remark that our duty towards political prisoners has not been faithfully discharged. I blame no body for it. The country is in the throes of a very severe struggle and it is quite likely that institutions and individuals interested in the political prisoners may have had their hands too full to leave them time and energy to be lavished upon political prisoners. I only state a fact when I say that there has been a dereliction of duty and the sooner we make amends for the wrong done by our negligence willful or otherwise, the better would it be in the interests of the Motherland.

Congress Committees' duties

The Provincial Congress Committee did not perhaps realize the gravity of the situation. It ought to have discussed and determined the exact course of action to be followed by political prisoners while in Jail. The result of this omission has been disastrous. For want of an authoritative guide political prisoners have been doing many things in Jail which they should have avoided and so on. In one Jail in the Punjab the amount of misery and suffering that has been the lot of the political prisoners there, is beyond description. I know that the Punjab Congress Committee has issued certain rules to serve as a guide, but in the first place they were issued too late and then they are incomplete and above all they are not properly published and are not widely known. Without a moment's delay, the Committee should after a careful consideration of all the pros and cons decide as to how a political prisoner should act in jail. This is extremely important. A copy of these rules should be supplied to every prisoner now in jail, and also to the individuals who are being arrested. I know that in some cases the instructions of the Committee will be disobeyed, but I am quite confident that a real and substantial majority will follow the lead and will save itself from much of the suffering and ignominy which unluckily is its lot at the present moment. The Committee should adopt a bold attitude in deciding and should not hesitate to give a sound advice even when it is apprehended that this advice would not be palatable or acceptable. And I hope the executive and members of the Committee would soon take this up.

Relief to Families

Now comes the question of trying to alleviate the suffering of a political prisoner. No doubt it is true that the Punjab Congress Committee has expressly laid it down that a man offering himself for arrest should not expect any monetary aid from the Committee and has in pursuance of that resolution actually "stopped the honoraria and allowances of all the Congress workers barring a few exceptions." I appreciate the difficulties of the Congress Committee but I am constrained to remark that this is not proper. A man who maintained with difficulty his family even on merely unbuttered bread on a minimum amount of money he received from the Congress Committee, is forcibly removed from the field of his activities and forthwith his allowances are stopped. Now, pray on what are the members his family to live? Their own support is taken away and they have no reserve money to fall back upon. The natural result is that the pangs of separation are more keenly felt and I know of instances where much misery has resulted from this course of action. I admit that some families are getting some allowance, but I know that such instances are few and the amount allowed is small. I therefore suggest that a sub-Committee should at once be formed to inquire into the family circumstances of every political prisoner and to determine what aid is needed. This should be done immediately. Urgency in this matter is badly needed. I leave the working of details to the sub-Committee. All that I wish to emphasise is that many of the families whose bread-winners are now in jail do need some financial aid to tide over the difficulties.

Wanted Congress Inspectors

The third need is to appoint an Inspector or two who should periodically visit the various families. This ought to have been done much sooner but better late than never. This Inspector should make personal visits, inquire about health etc., and should convey or carry messages if so required. I know that there is a complaint amongst political prisoners that their families are not looked after. This Inspector should in conjunction with the local workers so arrange matters that the Congress Committee is quite in touch with almost all the families whose people are in jail.

The fourth need is that an Inspector should frequently visit jails. Almost every day one hears of hungerstrikes and so on. Well, he should go on the spot, make proper inquiries and then let the public know the true state of affairs. I know the discharge of this duty is not so easy as it may appear. Many a time true information is not possible to get at all. But still something is better than nothing. This Inspector should have an interview with those who have unluckily no dear or near relative to visit them in jail. This will cheer up many a sad heart. From such people he should ascertain the health of other political prisoners within jail and then convey such news to their relatives. He can also be a member of the party visiting a political prisoner and thus inquire about the health etc. of the prisoners in that jail.

Soap, Books and Other Necessaries

The fifth need is that some steps should be immediately taken to supply certain articles which a political prisoner generally wants during his incarceration. During my one year's stay in jail I have felt that there are some of the political prisoners who have no men or money available and hence they feel the pinch considerably. Small things like soap, oil, combs, dattans, shirts, pyjamas etc. though apparently of no value are of great importance in the Jails. These should be provided to those people by the Congress Committees.

The sixth is about books. It needs no argument to convince one of the utility of books. They are of special use in jails to while away time and to strengthen the soul at the hour of trial. The Provincial Congress Committee should collect a good lot of useful and valuable books and should issue them for the use of the political prisoners. I have been fortunate enough to secure some books for this purpose and I am sending them out, but these are yet insufficient and I request people to help me in this matter.

A Register of Prisoners

The seventh need is that the Punjab Congress Committee should maintain a register of all the political prisoners with their terms of sentences, dates of conviction and release etc. The Congress must also know in which jail one is confined. My idea is that at the time of release a representative of the Congress should always be present to offer greetings to the person released. This will be a source of immense delight to the person concerned.

The eighth need is that the Provincial Congress Committee should be in touch with the person released. The Committee should take an interest in his affairs and try to smoothe his difficulties if it be found possible to do so.

I have sketchily mentioned some of the needs of a political prisoner. There is much more else to do. A

political prisoner deserves our thanks and the best form to express our gratitude is to help him and his dear and near to get over the difficulties. I, therefore, respectfully suggest to the Provincial Congress Committee to establish a bureau to aid political prisoners and to immediately take up the work of helping them. The Congress Committee owes this bare duty to the prisoners, and also to the public. When we are desirous that people should come into our fold we must necessarily offer them help when they need it.

Conclusion.

I place my services unreservedly at the disposal of the Congress Committee for this purpose. I feel that there is a keen necessity for such a bureau and that we can ill-afford to postpone even for a minute our efforts in this direction.

A Comradeship of Love

Mr. J. S. Stevenson, (Mission House, Press, Ahmedabad) sends a circular letter for publication. "Some lovers of India, feeling very humbly, yet very intensely, their own responsibility, are banding themselves together into a COMRADESHIP OF LOVE, a comradeship which shall include Indian, Hindu and English and Muhamadan, Jain and Parsi, European Official and Christian Missionary, Brahmin Pundit and humble labourer, village-farmer and city-clerk, merchant and professional man. The Comradeship is to be neither political nor missionary, sectarian nor racial. Nor will those who join it have to leave their ordinary daily avocations. It only aims at binding together men & women of good will who love India, in a common effort to spread everywhere the happy trustful atmosphere of loving kindness. It has no organization, no office-bearers, no subscriptions. It has, however, stringent rules:-

Those who join it pledge themselves in the sacred name of love that they themselves will strive to live always in an atmosphere of love and particularly:-

1. That they will love in deed—trying every day to do something that will make someone else happy and to show some act of courtesy to a member of another community.

2. That they will love in word—neither speaking harshly to anyone, nor repeating any unkind slander or criticism of anyone, least of all a member of another race; but that, instead, they will deliberately pass on any kind thing they hear about anyone else especially one from whom they differ.

3. That they will love in thought—sending out loving thoughts to all against whom they have a grudge, forgiving any unkindness that may have been done to them, and abstaining from imputing any wrong motives to those from whom they differ.

Lastly, in order that they may be able to carry into practice this Threefold Jewel of Love in Thought, Deed and Word, every day at some fixed hour, morning, evening, or noonday, they will deliberately for two minutes open the doors of their being, that True Love may enter in & take possession of their whole personality.

Anyone who desires to link him or herself to this Comradeship of love does so by simply signing the following declaration:-

FOR THE SAKE OF INDIA I..... SOLIALLY AND DELIBERATELY PLEDGE MYSELF TO A LIFE OF LOVE IN THOUGHT, WORD AND DEED.

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The Havoc of the Provincial Contributions (Contd.)

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(Continued from Page 48)

Before the Royal Commission on Decentralisation which reported in 1909, the system of Quasi-Permanent Settlement of Provincial Finance was much criticised. The chief points of criticism were :—

(1) The system of "Divided Heads" is injurious to provincial development.

(2) The practice of making Fixed assignments makes the system inelastic.

(3) The spasmodic grant of lump sums is productive of unnecessary interference.

(4) The various settlements showed great inequalities *inter se*.

(5) Powers of taxation and borrowing should be granted to the provinces.

The first two are inter-dependent. As the needs of a province inevitably grow, any element in the local resources to meet these needs, which is incapable of expansion, must inevitably tend to make the provincial finances disorganised. The system of making fixed cash assignments in order to bring about equilibrium in provincial revenues and expenditure, represented just that element of rigidity which could be avoided only if the principle of "Divided Heads" was abandoned, and its place taken by a surrender to the provinces of the normally growing heads of revenue sufficient to meet the growth in expenditure. It may, indeed, be conceded that even under the existing system, as the revenues conceded are capable of growing in equal proportion to the normal growth in expenditure, the existence of a portion of the revenues which is inelastic will not matter a great deal. "It is only when the normal increment of revenue falls short of the legitimate increase in expenditure that the fixed assignment becomes an evil and a danger." If the proportion of the fixed assignment to the total revenues in the hands of a province is unduly large, it should, according to the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, be converted into shares of growing revenues by gradually surrendering to the provinces the whole of the revenues under heads which are now divided.

Specific Additional Grants, aroused much acrimonious criticism at the hands of Provincial Governments. The Imperial Government insisted upon a scale of

development by the provinces which would have been inconsistent with the limited resources of Provincial Governments. The government of Lord Curzon had, contemporaneously with the settlements with the provinces, chalked out a grand programme of police and education reform and agricultural efficiency, which required considerably more outlay than had been allowed for in the Settlements. As the Central Government were not prepared to upset their newly concluded settlements, the only means of accomplishing the projected reforms was to grant additional sums to the several provinces for specific purposes. In course of time this expedient came to be generally adopted by the Imperial Government whenever they had a sudden unexpected surplus, which they did not want for their own purposes, and would not use for the reduction of debt or remission of taxation. But whether the specific grant was made to carry out a specially pet project of the Imperial Government or to admit the provinces into a share of unexpected prosperity, the Central Government always prescribed the objects for which alone the grant was to be used. "Tant pis" if the Local Governments could not see eye to eye with the Imperial Government as regards the importance of the object they selected to assist. Since the Provincial Governments had normally no claim to such extra resources placed at their disposal by the bounty of the Imperial Government, the latter thought themselves justified in dictating the purpose to which alone the grant should be devoted. But this was regarded by the Provincial Governments as inducing an unnecessary amount of interference from above into local affairs, which they resented all the more as they had no voice in determining the exact amount it received from these grants. The only justification that the Imperial Government could advance was that new lines of policy were often pressed upon them by public opinion, or by example of the more advanced provinces, which it became necessary for the Supreme Government to commend to their provincial subordinates; and as the latter cannot carry out these sudden developments from their ordinary resources, the "system of doles" becomes inevitable. The only way to avoid ill feeling was to accept the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission :—

(1) The system should not involve any greater degree of interference by the Central with the Local Government than at present exists.

(2) The grants should be given with due regard to the wishes of the provincial authorities.

(3) They should not necessarily be assigned for the same objects in all the provinces.

The objection on the score of inter-provincial inequalities was admitted but could not be remedied by the Imperial Government.

As regards the powers of taxation and borrowing claimed by the Provincial Governments, it must be admitted that without the liberty to tax their local citizens, provinces cannot always meet the discrepancy between revenues and expenditure without depending on the Imperial Government for aid. Well might they urge that for a country like India the Imperial Government could command very few taxes which would be suitable for all parts of the country equally; and even when they were, their incidence must necessarily differ in different provinces. The liberty, if given to the provinces, to tax their own subjects, will go a long way to correct inequalities in the tax burdens which the common taxes of the Central Government must necessarily involve. There has been justification in the past when Local Government did enjoy powers of local taxation within certain limits for objects of local improvement. On the other hand there would be grave danger in conceding the right to tax, to the provinces, as it might quite possibly stimulate unwelcome provincial rivalries ending in fatal jealousies. So long as the Government remains constitutionally an autocracy, it would be politically inexpedient to grant these powers to irresponsible bodies of bureaucrats. The existing control by the Government of India is the only safeguard against an unjustifiable increase in the burdens of the people. Until, therefore, the advent of responsible institutions, there was nothing to be gained by a relaxation of existing statutory authority of the Supreme Government; accordingly the Decentralisation Commission suggested no change.* The powers of borrowing, if conceded to the Local Governments, were felt to be a menace to the success of Imperial Loans, as they both had the same market to tap. If the Provincial Governments needed extra funds for projects of great local utility, the Imperial Government were prepared to grant them overdrafts—temporary loans from their own balances. But access to the open market for purposes of local borrowing, they refused altogether.

Under these rules the Settlements made after 1911 were declared to be permanent. The governing condition was that a Local Government must not budget for a deficit, unless it can satisfy the Imperial Government that the excess of expenditure was due to a special non-recurring cause. If the deficit involves a reduction of provincial balances, suitable arrangements must be made to bring them up to the prescribed minimum. If all the balance of a Local Government is exhausted and an overdraft made upon the general balances, the overdraft is treated as a temporary loan subject to interest at a prescribed rate, and repayable in instalments that the Supreme Government may direct. In future the interference of the Government of India

* They fully recognise that such taxation is a necessary corollary of a fully decentralised system of finance; but pending the development of such a system, they consider that no useful purpose will be served by an attempt to define its proper scope or to lay down the criterion which it should satisfy. Financial autonomy for the provinces, if and when it arises, must carry with it the power of taxation." Resolution of May 18, 1912, para. 12.

would be restricted to the corrections in divided heads and the totals of revenue and expenditure. The extraordinary receipts of a Provincial Government must not be applied to ordinary expenditure, or to the repayment of a loan for extraordinary purposes, but only to such non-recurring objects of Public Works as the Local Government may determine upon with the advice of their Council. In framing the provincial budget the attention of the Government of India must be drawn to the existence of such special items and the use made of them.

The final stage in the evolution of the Decentralisation of Indian Finance was reached in the proposals for Constitutional Reforms submitted by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in 1918, and fuller details thereon worked out by the dispatches and legislation following. The Report on Constitutional Reforms frankly assumes an entirely different standpoint and makes its proposals accordingly:—

"We start with a change of stand-point. If Provincial autonomy is to mean anything real, clearly the provinces must not be dependent on the Indian Government for the means of provincial development. Existing settlements do indeed provide for the ordinary growth of expenditure, but for any large and costly innovations, Provincial Governments depend on doles out of the Indian surplus. Our idea is that an estimate be first made of the scale of expenditure required for the upkeep and development of the services which clearly appertain to the Indian sphere; that resources with which to secure this expenditure should be secured to the Indian Government; and that all other revenues should then be handed over to the Provincial Governments." Para 201, P. 130 of the Report.

The old idea of the Central Government being maintained in all its strength and prestige, echoed as late as 1911 by Lord Hardinge's Government in the celebrated Delhi dispatch, seems to have—if not been abandoned—weakened perceptibly, and its place taken by the new ideal of Provincial Autonomy. As finance is the key-stone of the arch of responsible government, it is no surprise to find that almost every shade of opinion—which at all professes to support the growth of responsible government in India—demands financial independence for the provinces. The first requisite for such a separation is the abolition of the existing system of "Divided Heads" of Revenue, and all the attendant troubles of making a proper division and avoiding too much interference on the part of the Government of India, looking to the needs of more backward provinces &c. The argument, that the inevitable precariousness of the most important heads of revenues is very considerably neutralised by spreading the risks over the different provinces under the system of divided heads, was not considered sufficiently strong by the authors of the Report to upset their whole scheme. Of the most important Divided Heads, Land Revenue, Stamps, Excise, Income Tax and Irrigation, the Reforms proposals make Land Revenue

* The Meston Committee on Financial Relations has allowed the general Stamp Revenue to be also provincialised, leaving Income Tax to be an entirely Imperial Head. In the final arrangements, the Government of India has conceded to the Bombay Presidency the Income Tax receipts in so far as they exceed the Standard Collection of 1919-20 in that head. The entire scheme of financial relations now obtaining has been violently opposed by the provinces—particularly Madras and Bombay.

Judicial Stamps, Bridges and Irrigation works wholly provincial, leaving Official Stamps and Income Tax to be wholly Imperial. Famine expenditure was to be charged on the provinces, each province, liable to famine, being required to make allowance for this item on the basis of its past liability. The amount thus set aside must not be spent on ordinary purposes but may be used to swell the balances or for some defensive purpose. If the distress should be too great for provincial resources, the Government of India may intervene; but their aid should take the form of a loan, permanent or temporary, according to the needs of the moment. §

If these proposals were adopted, the Government of India would be faced with a deficit, and the Report decided to meet the deficit by fixed contributions from the provinces. On the basis of the Budget figures for 1917-18 the Report calculated that after all the Divided Heads were abolished, and provision made for Irrigation and Famine Expenditure in the Provincial Budget, the Provincial Surplus would be Rs. 15.64 crores, while the Imperial deficit would be Rs. 13.63 crores. "We would propose to assess the contribution from each province to the Government of India as percentage of the difference between the gross Provincial Revenue and the gross Provincial Expenditure". ¶

† As regards the provincial section of the Land Revenue, it was urged that such a course would involve a deficit for the Government of India. But the Report meets this plea by charging Famine and Irrigation Expenditure on the Provincial Governments. The authors of the Report could not but see the advantages of Land Revenue being provincialised since it plays such an important part in district administration. Also see Para 203 Ibid.

‡ "We have, indeed, been told that Income Tax is merely the industrial or professional complement of the Land Revenue; and that to provincialise the latter while Indianising the former means giving those provinces, whose wealth is predominantly agricultural, an initial advantage over a province like Bombay". But the authors of the Report saw the inconveniences of provincialising Income Tax for the sake of uniformity of rate as well as for not doubling the tax on enterprises registered in one province and earning their income in another. They held that equality of treatment as between different provinces must be judged on the whole settlements, not individual items of revenue.

§ Para 204 Ibid.

¶ "We agreed that in fixing contributions it was undesirable and unnecessary to pay regard to the growing revenues of the provinces. We agreed also that the contributions should be of fixed amounts. We saw that equality of contributions was impracticable, because we have not a clean slate. In spite of the variations in income which result from the Permanent Settlements in some areas, stereotyped scales of expenditure have grown up, which makes it useless to attempt any theoretic calculations on which any uniform contribution from the provinces could be based". Para 206.

¶ The following table, given in the Report para 206, shows the amount that the different provinces would have to contribute if the principle given above were accepted :-

	Gross Revenue.	Gross Expenditure.	Gross Surplus.	Contribution.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Madras	13.31	8.40	4.91	4.26
Bombay	10.04	6.90	3.14	2.88
Bengal	7.51	6.76	0.75	0.69
C. P.	11.22	7.47	3.75	3.27
Punjab	8.61	6.14	2.47	2.18
United Provinces	7.00	6.08	0.92	0.82
Assam	4.04	3.59	0.45	0.40
C. P.	6.12	5.74	0.38	0.34
Assam	1.71	1.50	0.21	0.18

¶ B. The figures are in lakhs of rupees. The last column shows the net surplus all remaining to the province.

This manner of obtaining contributions is open to severe objections in that it makes the contributions of the different provinces so utterly unequal.

In consonance with the general scheme of the Reforms, the report concedes the right of taxation to the provinces, as well as the power of borrowing. With the province made independent of the Government of India, the latter cannot be saddled with financial solvency of the provinces. If the schemes of provincial development are not to be stifled for want of funds, the power of additional taxation is a necessary corollary. But, that provincial taxation may not conflict with Imperial taxation, it would be necessary to form a schedule specifying on what objects the provincial authority may tax, and on what others the Supreme Government may tax. The Report gives a certain number of reserved subjects for taxation to the provinces, and makes the Government of India a sort of a residuary legatee in this matter. Within the scheduled list, the provinces should be free to tax, subject to a veto on the part of the Government of India. Outside the listed subjects too, the provinces may tax, provided they obtain the previous sanction of the Government of India. The borrowing powers are proposed to be given under much more stringent conditions. The report requires the powers of borrowing to be ordinarily exercised through the Government of India, and the distribution of the monies thus raised to be made by the Government of India, or by a committee consisting of representatives of Provincial as well as Central Governments. The final touch of financial autonomy of the provinces is provided by the suggestion that the balances of the Provincial Governments be no longer under the rigid control of the Government of India and that the existing rules about minimum balances, deficit budgets and the like be abrogated. The only control, if it can be so-called, of the Government of India, in the matter of balances in the future, would be as regards the accumulation of Famine assignments of the provinces, or the further drain upon their balances by the provinces.

Limits of Financial Autonomy. Criticism of the Suggestions in the Reform Proposals.

These suggestions accomplish a revolution in our financial organisation. The subjects that had been made over to the Provincial Governments from the earliest times, were of the utmost importance to the country. The first instalment of decentralisation was made, as observed already, with a view to secure the convenience of the Central Government. But it was soon perceived that so long as Provincial Finance remained subordinate to the grave pre-occupations of the Imperial Government—whether it was war, famine or any other emergency—the material development of the country could not proceed at a rate that may be

On this the Government of India in their first Report Dispatch observed: "When we look at the result however, its equity is obviously liable to attack. From Madras we shall be levying nearly five times as much as from Bombay; and from the U. P. nearly five times as much as from Bengal." They accepted this principle of contribution at all because "no other device would leave each province with a surplus of its own, and consequently no other device is open to us." Para 61 of the dispatch.

desired. The removal of the Imperial control, the reduction of the occasions of Imperial interference, thus became the one demand in which the people as well as the Governments became increasingly interested and united. On the other hand political awakening began to support the same demands, though for different reasons. The far-sighted practical politician could not but realise that. In the nature of things, the gradual admission of the Indian people to an effective share in the Government of the country would come more easily in the narrower sphere of the Local Governments, which, however, from the point of view of the welfare of the people was far more important than the Central Government. The latter, concerned with Imperial, international and inter-provincial obligations, would necessarily continue to be under external control or influence, far longer than the Provincial Governments. But, that this control may prove effective, the power of the purse is indispensable, and hence the almost unanimous demand for a financial autonomy to the provinces.

The system outlined above has some unavoidable limitations. Under it the provinces do not become independent states, or even strong members of a federation. The Government of India would still retain the most important factors of material development: Railways and Post Office, Customs and Currency, into its own exclusive control. They still continue to retain their power of veto on, and in some cases of previous sanction to, proposals of provincial taxation and borrowing. They remain the residuary legatees of all unspecified sources of taxation, and may demand additional contributions from the provinces in the event of a war. These are serious limitations and yet inevitable. If the most serious cause for inter-provincial jealousies is to be avoided, if the development of Indian industries by fiscal aid is to be accomplished, Railways and the Customs policy must be in the hands of the Government of India. If the inter-national prestige of the Government of India is not to be weakened, the right to declare war and make peace must also be reserved to the Imperial Government of India, though one of the inevitable consequences of such a right would be direct or indirect addition to the tax burdens of the people in all the provinces at the hands of the Government of India. This may be deplored but is inevitable.

But the gravest defect, in our opinion, in the system outlined above, is the proposal for provincial contributions to meet an Imperial deficit. We consider it of the utmost peril to make the Imperial Government a pensioner of the provinces. Apart altogether from the administrative difficulties of fixing an equal, or at any rate, an equitable standard of contribution, which is by no means an insignificant difficulty, we think the dependence of the Central Government on the Provinces, for contributions—which, the provinces will naturally consider are demanded for wasteful purposes—is the surest way of bringing the Central Government into disrepute and discredit. We are not considering here the purely bureaucratic idea of a strong Central

Government for repressive purposes, or financial objects, or class interests. We regard the necessity of a strong Central Government as of the first importance because India will have to undertake in future great projects of Social Reform, which in the provincial legislatures may be defeated by vested interests or strong sectarian prejudices; which only a strong Central Government acting independently can carry out. Take the case of a comprehensive scheme of Labour Legislation; housing of the workmen; provision for their pensions in old age; insurance in sickness or disability; minimum or standard wages. It is not entirely beyond the bounds of possibility that the strong influence of the employing classes in provinces like Bombay or Bengal may obstruct such legislation in so far as it seeks to make the employer bear his fair share of the burden and not throw it on the general tax-payer, or defeat the proposal altogether. The combined common sense of the Central Council may be expected to neutralise the influence of local vested interests if only the Central Government is in a position to take action directly. Then again, there is the question of backward provinces. We cannot ignore the fact, however unpleasant. We cannot allow important blocks of the country to lag behind in the standard of material prosperity and comfort. And yet, if the backward provinces were to depend entirely on their own resources, they may not for a long time be able to provide for the local subjects all the facilities that go to make up civilised life. We do not believe that absolute uniformity of conditions is attainable, or even desirable; but we must insist on a certain minimum standard, below which we cannot, in the national interest, allow any province to fall, and up to which certain provinces may not come of their own resources. We would not, on any account, restore the mischievous system of Imperial doles. We would require the Imperial Government to be able to provide this bare minimum off their own bat, regardless of provincial ability in the matter. And this the Imperial Government cannot touch if its finances are in a chronic state of deficit. If they depend for equilibrium invariably on provincial contributions. If the system of doles is bad in the case of Provincial Governments, the system of contributions will be worse for the Imperial Government. The former had at least the justification that whenever the dole was granted it was for some specific subject of local benefit. The latter will unavoidably appear in the provincial eyes so much waste. If self-sufficiency is desirable for the provinces, it is in our opinion still more desirable for the Imperial Government, which is to be responsible for the national credit of India in the future and the national debt of India of the past; which is charged with national defence and entrusted with the task of national improvement in such important direction as transport, currency, communications &c.; which will be the mouthpiece of India in the Council of the Empire, in the Court of the League of Nations.

(to be Continued)

K.

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Young India

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The Havoc of the Provincial Contributions ntd.)

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(Continued from page 52)

It must be noted that we have made no allowance for increased receipts from public property, like forests, or land or irrigation and navigation works. Our suggestions of entirely independent finance would no doubt involve at first additional taxation. But additional taxation is not invariably an evil. If only we could be sure that the proceeds would be employed exclusively on purposes of national development, we should have no objection to suggesting a budget of Rs. 225 to 250 crores on either side as, indeed, the foregoing suggestions would amount to. Emphasis on retrenchment is the child of distrust in the spending authority, matured on the spectacle of wasteful public expenditure. We do not deny the need for such emphasis in the conditions of modern finance; we would only wish that a due sense of proportion be observed in advocating one or the other of the two means to secure equilibrium in public finance.

In this critique of the scheme of Provincial Finance—as outlined by the Reforms proposal—we have deliberately refrained from discussing the constitutional aspect. In the next chapter we have made a few brief remarks on some of the novel features of the proposals. Here we may draw attention to only one aspect which relates to the subject under discussion. The one thing that has emphasized the need for financial independence is the belief, that without it provincial autonomy would be a farce, and Responsible Government impossible. But the only real commencement of a truly responsible Government of India can be made when the Supreme Government is India-

nised entirely. So long as the Supreme Government is outside Indian control, it will tend to become a champion of class interests, a bulwark of absolutism. We who believe in an Indian nationality cannot advocate the abolition of the Central Government. But we cannot consider that we have made any real progress towards responsible democratic government, so long as Indians do not control the Imperial Government of India. To us the demand for Provincial Autonomy in the past was acceptable only as the first step for preparing the people in the task of self-government. We welcome it today as a good device for political education and administrative apprenticeship which the Indian people need. But we cannot be blind to the fact that our provinces, as they are, have no principle of unity in them; that too great a prominence to the idea of Provincial Autonomy must logically lead to further dismemberment, which would be economically ruinous and politically suicidal. The system of Provincial Finance outlined above has in it germs of intense provincial jealousies in the future. We would have none of it. It still leaves a very considerable measure of Indian revenues and expenditure beyond Indian control. We cannot consider it advantageous to India. Without thinking at all of any military rivalries with Japan or Russia, we must still have a strong Central Government to accomplish most economically the material regeneration of the country. If this reasoning is sound, we would have to undo much that now appears as a move in the right direction. And nowhere, we think, will that tendency assert itself earlier, or more unmistakably, than in the region of finance.

The Ethics of Public Borrowing

[Based on the sixty years of Indian Finance]

We have already referred once or twice before in these supplements, incidentally, to the economic aspect of the public debt of the Government of India. Let us now consider more particularly the entire problem of the Indian Public Debt, with special reference to the ethical side of the question. But the premise must be made that in this, as in many another socio-economic question, it is impossible always to keep asunder ethics from economics. They mingle with and react upon

one another as night and day. It is difficult to demarcate frontiers. Moreover, in this instance, it would be better to consider the elements of borrowing, both public and private, and determine the respective implications of each, by way of a preliminary to a closer study of the main problem.

The practice of borrowing by great states in modern times has become so common that we are apt to forget the relatively very recent origin of this use of

public credit, and also to misunderstand its nature. If by credit we understand the power to obtain command over another's capital or wealth, acquired with the free consent of the true owner in return for a promise to reimburse at a later date, together with a regular payment of a stipulated interest, we must recognise some important fundamental differences between public and private credit, and the consequent difference in the treatment of public and private indebtedness. In the case of private individuals in all ordinary borrowing, the borrower must offer to the creditor some security—a mortgage or a pledge—out of the borrower's existing or expected wealth, without which the loan operation would be difficult. In the case of public borrowing by the State, it is, as a rule, impossible for the State to alienate any portion of the public domain, even if the State possesses one.

For the liquidation of German indebtedness, the proposal to hypothecate the German railways and public mines is now frequently heard. In a manner the conditions of Reparation in the Versailles Treaty suggest an indirect hypothecation of the German national resources. It remains to be seen how far the sovereignty of the German State will in practice prove compatible with these conditions, how far the League of Nations would enforce or modify the Versailles Treaty in this particular.

In fact in most cases the effective cause of borrowing by the State is the absence of any realisable and alienable wealth belonging to the Government as representing the State. This great difference between a private borrower and State borrowers leads to considerable divergences in the contract of loan. The creditor in the case of private borrowers can in the last resource, realise his claim out of the specific security obtained at the time when the loan contract was made; but there is very little, if any at all, possibility of this nature in the case of the indebted States. Again, while a private borrower, given the will and the foresight or prudence required, can make regular and immediate provision to meet his debt when it should fall due by increasing his efforts to produce or by cutting down expenditure, the debtor state cannot always and readily adopt such a course. More often than not its loans have been contracted for purposes which have no substance or surplus behind. And the Public Expenditure of the State admits of no rapid and proportionate curtailment such as would guarantee the repayment of the loan when due. Works may have been commenced or policy adopted which could not be altered, and, therefore, expenditure in connection with them cannot be reduced. Public servants again, may have been engaged who cannot, without serious risk of chronic unemployment and wide-spread misery, be dismissed to afford relief to the Public Expenditure. Hence, though the State enjoys the advantage of being sole judge of its own solvency, though it admits no limits to its revenues save those imposed by the absolute needs of its citizens, it is yet in a markedly difficult situation in the matter of retrenchment to repay its debts.

Such being the differences between the nature of private borrowing and that of the State, the question

next arises how far and on what grounds is it advisable for the State to borrow. If on every occasion that the receipts do not suffice to meet the disbursement recourse is had to borrowing, the limit will soon be reached beyond which not all the exercise of the sovereign powers of the State would suffice to meet even the interest charge on the new debt added every time. Under such circumstances the State will be faced with an annihilation of its credit altogether. The common device of incompetent or timid financiers to borrow on the pretext that the deficit in the budget is due to extraordinary expenditure, not likely to recur in the subsequent years, and therefore not fit to be charged on the current revenues, is subversive of all sound principles governing the management of public credit. An outlay, which in a given year appears to be extraordinary, e. g. reorganisation of the army, or the cost of a military expedition, or of famine, may yet be recurring if not in the same form or the same object in the subsequent years, at least with the same effects as far as the Public Purse is concerned. But even granting the non-recurring character of such extraordinary expenditure, that by itself is no justification for a recourse to borrowing rather than looking to current revenues to finance such an outlay. In England, the home of sound finance, the opinion seems to have gained ground ever since the time of Wm. Pitt, the younger, that it would be preferable, as far as possible, to finance a war by increased revenue than by loans; and what applies to war applies to all other apparently extraordinary non-recurring expenditure. Gladstone, in his Budget Speech of 1854, has made the principles governing War Finance classic. The line of distinction between what outlay should be met by loans and what by taxation may be said to lie along the possibilities of benefit to the subsequent generation. Borrowing would be necessary as well as commendable if from a contemplated outlay the generations to follow are expected to derive material benefit. Borrowing would be ruinous if incurred only to cover up the waste caused by our generation in the eyes of our posterity. The eighteenth century opinion that all public borrowing is beneficial is thus without justification. It may, indeed, be that the revenues of the State are for the moment so fully charged with the ordinary expenditure that for that year at any rate borrowing may be inevitable; but if so, such a loan must be for the shortest possible term, and provision must be made by the State to pay it off from the increased current revenues. No debt incurred to cover a temporary deficit in the ordinary income should be such as to accumulate and increase till its interest charge should come to be so great as to absorb all possible increase in the revenues.

The proper justification for the use of public credit, then, is to be found in those objects of public utility, the cost of which is too large and too sudden to be met out of current revenues, and the result of which is expected to be such an addition to the current revenues as to render the burden of the debt insignificant. As all public borrowing is an inroad upon the capital of the citizens, which is thereby diverted from

productive purposes in the hands of private individuals, the State would not be justified in causing the diversion, unless it is expected to accomplish a similar object which private individuals may not attempt because of its vastness or unfamiliarity. It may sometimes happen that public borrowing for objects of utility or rather for reproductive purposes* would not meet this test, if we consider only pecuniary results to the State itself; but if as the consequence of this extension of public activity, there is an addition to the wealth of the community, this indirect gain to the State may afford sufficient justification for the original borrowing. And there are other advantages of the State utilising its credit for such purposes. It gives an impetus to the instinct of saving and consequently to the formation of capital by affording safe channels for investment. Its operations engender, also, the habit of dealing in securities or intangible wealth. Only care must be taken that by too frequent a recourse to borrowing the State should not destroy all spirit of private enterprise, or create unnecessary fluctuations in the market for capital leading to unjustifiable speculation.

If public indebtedness should have been incurred exclusively for productive purposes the question of paying off the debt has hardly any practical interest. The question must no doubt remain very important in every case of a debt incurred for purposes which leave no tangible assets behind it to meet the charge. Provision, whether by means of a sinking fund or other specific reserve, or by additional taxation, must be made to pay off such a debt; for the sooner this useless burden is removed the better for public credit and general welfare. But in the case of debt incurred for objects indicated above, the surplus revenues, after a certain period, would suffice to bear all charges, and provide for liquidation automatically. If, under such circumstances, no effort is made to pay off the capital even though there is a surplus, the State may have other objects in view, or some special justification. In any case there would be no need for anxiety so long as the surplus created is not what the French writers call "gas-pie." In a society in which some kind of collective enterprise is accepted, but does not exclude private enterprise altogether, it would be wise for the State to clear its property as soon as may be of all charges including those for capital redemption, particularly if the programme of public borrowing for similar purposes is a continuous one. It would not be wise to suffer it to be impaired merely by over-confidence or indifference. While no special effort is needed, no additional taxation has to be imposed, it would yet be prudent to apply the normal surplus due to such enterprise to pay off the debt charge.

It may, however, be observed that the present universal practice consists in giving a collective guarantee of the credit of the State as judged by its total revenue of resources, without any attempt at specification, without any idea of setting apart given revenues for given objects. The

*Borrowing only for productive purposes would not, it may be suggested, cover the case of borrowing for railway construction; for, strictly speaking Transport is not production but only a facility in exchange. Borrowing for productive purposes is not necessarily the same thing as borrowing for objects which will ultimately pay to the State.

practice of consolidation is no doubt advantageous, particularly in a rich State, with a variety of obligations incurred at different times for different purposes. As in such a case there would be a possible chance for the weakest link in the chain to determine the strength of the entire chain, consolidation helps to prevent such weakness from becoming apparent to the prejudice of the credit of the State. As no State is quite free from some part of its debt being for wasteful purposes, the practice of consolidation may on the whole be commended. It has, moreover, another advantage in that it helps the State to avail itself of any fall in the rate of interest, and thus reduce its total burden by way of interest. The practice, if uniformly adopted, would prevent the automatic liquidation of that portion of the debt which may have been incurred for productive purposes. In that case the only safe recommendation would be analogous to the policy followed in England before the last great War: Apply all the available surplus for the redemption of the debt, arranging the normal standard of revenue and expenditure so as usually to leave a surplus.

The Origin of Indian Debt.

The public debt of India, as it exists today, is the creation exclusively of British rule in this country. The previous governments had to live necessarily within their income, as much from the ignorance of the nature and use of public credit as from the impossibility of putting it to proof in a well ordered manner, even supposing the earlier financiers understood the character and aim of Public Credit. India had, therefore, no National Debt prior to the establishment of the British rule in the country. The East India Company, as already observed elsewhere, was a notorious offender against the canons of sound finance. Whenever its revenues failed to suffice for its expenditure it had recourse to borrowing. When the trading charter of the East India Company expired in 1857, the total rupee debt i. e. the debt incurred in India—was Rs. 33,295 crores as the result of wars and conquest. In the next fifteen years, the Afghan and Sikh Wars combined to raise the debt by 1850 to Rs. 45,336 crores, which remained nearly at the same level right up to the Mutiny in 1857. The heavy expenditure involved in suppressing the Mutiny caused a considerable increase in the total indebtedness, amounting in 1859-60, the year following the Mutiny, and the first year under review here to Rs. 63,555 crores. On the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, the Crown assumed this debt of the Company in addition to a payment of £ 12 million to the proprietors of the East India Stock, which sum was also added to the debt of India.* The sterling debt during the Company's regime was insignificant.

*As regards this debt the Welby Commission observes: "The history of this debt during the last 60 years conveys an interesting lesson in finance. From 1838-9 to 1861-2 deficit was the rule and surplus the exception, for 19 years of the former were arrayed against five of the latter. The statistics of the Company leave much to be desired in precision and the figures of the early years must be taken only as approximate.....The permanent debt of India, whether raised here or in India amounted on the 30th April, 1842, to £ 33,577,414. On the 30th April, 1857 immediately before the Mutiny, it amounted to £ 51,327,958 an increase of 53 per cent. in 15 years. The 30th April, 1862 marks the close of the Mutiny expenditure, and the permanent debt had then risen to £ 97,937,962 an increase in 20 years of nearly 190 per cent."

N. B.—Owing to imperfection in the statistics the figures for this period as given by different authorities do not agree. See *Inter alia* Wilson's first Budget statement, Dutt's India in the Victorian Age, Strachey (op. cit.) the Statistical Abstracts, &c. The Welby Commission figures are from a Parliamentary Return of 1881.

In 1858 at the time of the transfer, the East India Stock of £12,000,000 was provided for by a special fund, which would have paid off the amount by 1875. Though this debt was actually paid off in 1874, the fund for the purpose was less by £4,579,416 for the amount in 1874; and consequently the sum was added to the permanent debt of India.† But the whole of this transaction relating to the transfer of the debt incurred by the Company to the Government of India under the Crown has been challenged from the standpoint of political justice. The debt had been piled up to effect the conquest of India, and when the Empire was acquired by the Crown, the cost of its acquisition was saddled on the Indian exchequer. In the opinion of Mr. Dutt‡ an impartial judge discussing this debt would have ruled that no claim lay against India as to £69½ million of the debt which was "part of the unjust demand of an annual tribute which India should not have paid." The cost of suppressing the mutiny by British troops, amounting to £40 million might have been allowed against India, subject to a deduction for the expenditure incurred by India on the wars waged for British Imperial purposes—wars with Afghanistan, Persia or China. The Public Works Debt of £24 million would also, he thinks, have been allowed against India, subject, possibly, to injunctions against further borrowing to meet wasteful guarantees on Railways. "A hundred millions of the so called Public Debt of India would thus have been struck off as not justly due from India.....There would have been no National debt; for there need be no National Debt in India."

Without quite adopting the view underlying the last statement, we may yet observe that the offence of the Company was all the greater, because while they went on borrowing for wars and similar wasteful purposes, they made no provision to pay off the debt. Some attempts at funding and conversion were made during the closing years of the Company's rule, but they were of no avail. The interest on the

† Of course the rupee and sterling figures are not to be understood as showing a difference in the proprietorship of the debt, making the rupee debt belong to Indians and the sterling debt to Englishmen. Though no definite information is available it is probably quite true that a considerable proportion even of the rupee debt was held by Englishmen in England. One can easily understand that in the early years of the Company's rule they could not have persuaded Indians to lend to the Government.

‡ Para. 118 of the Wobey Commission Report.

§ P. 367, Dutt, p. v. cit.

rupee debt was in 1820 at the rate of 6% and the debt bearing this higher rate was not paid off till 1858-59. From 1823 to 1853, the Company had borrowed at 5% and between 1824 and 1835 small amounts had also been borrowed at 4%. The bulk of the 5% debt was converted into 4% in 1854, but the shock to the credit of the State caused by the Mutiny necessitated more borrowing at the higher rate of 5% which was not finally paid off till 1871. In 1859 the Government of the Crown had to borrow at 5½% and the loan was not paid off till 1878-79. The 5½% loan was, however, converted in 1871 into 4½%, so that after 1878-79 practically the whole rupee debt was at interest varying between 4% and 4½%. The 4½% Loan was converted by 1893 to 4% with the exception of a sum of Rs. 1 crore borrowed from the Holkar Durbar for the Indore State Railway and not convertible till 1970. In 1893 commenced the first 3½% debt, and in the next year the bulk of the 4% debt was converted into this lower rate debt. In 1896-97 a new loan of Rs. 4 crores was raised at 3%, but in 1900 the rate was again raised to 3½% which remained the prevailing rate until war broke out in 1914. Thereafter there was a steady crescendo of rates that has been just this year barely checked. An English critic objects to this view as being unjust. He considers that the British crown, taking over the Government of India from the Company, was in the same position as a capitalist or landlord buying an estate which he thinks has immense possibilities, but which needs considerable outlay for reclamation works before the estate could be made to pay. As the capitalist does not wish to obtain any profit for himself from the estate, he could not be blamed if he charges the estate at least with the cost of reclamation. We cannot agree to this view of the case. It is open to argument whether the British Crown—the capitalist—has not derived directly or indirectly, considerable gain for the British public out of this rich estate of the Indian Empire, even if we accept that the Company's debt was incurred for anything at all similar to reclamation. Indians will find it difficult to adopt this view. In any case, granting the whole position, it only comes to this that the British Crown should not have been charged with the East India Company's debt. It does not show why India should bear that debt. Possibly, it would be most in accordance with political justice to say that the debt should have been borne by neither India nor England. The creditors must be taken to have lost their claim on the demise after insolvency of their debtor—the East India Company. K.

(to be Continued)

Young India

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Notes

Sindh

In Sindh it was our privilege to be taken round the chief places by Mr. Verumal, the old veteran of Sindh and Mr. Bhojraj, one of the martyrs of Visapur Jail. Neither age nor imprisonment has bent the back of old Verumal and he has assured us that Sindh will not fail to fulfil its quota of the Gaya Programme. Repression in Sindh is of the cruelest and most brutal variety. To be the Editor of the *Hindoo* of Hyderabad has come to be an offence by itself. The eighth editor has now gone to prison. The third editor of *Watan* has just been sentenced to twelve months' hard labour. The third editor of *Shakti* of Navsherah has also gone. The editor of *Aashik* has been sentenced to four years' hard labour for publishing an article which had appeared in the *Servant* of Calcutta without any prosecution there. Apparently what is harmless in Bengal and the rest of India is rank sedition in Sindh, though ruled by the same code, and it is sedition of such a dangerous type as to demand a savage sentence of four years' hard labour on a youth of twenty-two. In spite of this rule of terror the Congress workers of Sindh are working bravely and cheerfully. The Khilafat Committees are equally active and this is important for the rural population is a majority of Mussalmans. The city of Hyderabad is generous and its Congress Committee has enough funds for all its purposes but the rest of Sindh is not well off. I said at Hyderabad that a large balance in hand was a handicap as it closed the way for further collections. There may be a good balance in the district fund but the province has to get the money for its work. It is hoped, therefore, that the people of Hyderabad will not be misled by what I said but give freely and liberally and place Congress work in

the province on a firm footing. Sindh is one of the provinces which are the pride and hope of non-cooperation and it is hoped that the workers will keep themselves together and make a good record of work with which to meet Jaramdas and Choithram.

The Flag

Pandit Sundarlal has cheerfully gone again to prison. After a year's incarceration he came out last year, not broken in spirit by isolation in jail, but with determination to work and suffer again if necessary. After hard work, he is again taken prisoner of war and this time with all the outward symbols of war, for he goes now bearing the standard of the national battle. It is true, the charge is that he delivered a "seditious" speech. But every one knows that he goes to prison because of the Flag, the Chakla on the Waite, Green and Red. It may carry to the whole world the message of industry, of peace and of irresistible love, but to the frightened Government of India, it is a flag of revolt against British authority and must be suppressed. But India cannot afford any longer to allow either her symbols or her temples to be destroyed. She cannot live if her life-mission is rendered impossible; and her mission to the world is to teach the way of non-violent resistance. That is what the Charkha in our flag means. That is why our present struggle is not our own, but the world's.

I was told that a great man complained recently that Indian vision was getting narrowed, that the non-cooperation movement was too parietic, too insular, and that India was deprived thereby of her privilege to be a spiritual teacher to the great outer world. There can be no greater misinterpretation of the Movement than this. Far from our failing to perform our duty by the world, it can truly be claimed that if there is any new lesson which suffering Humanity needs to be taught now, it is the one lesson that there is a way to resist wrong otherwise than by Force, and that way successfully followed by India will be a priceless revelation to the world and a fulfilment of her function. Not what we teach by words, but what we suffer and do will help mankind.

The Iron Code

The Kenya Indian delegation came to India before going to England, among other things, to see Mahatma Gandhi and take his advice. They appear to have felt that Mahatmajee was by reason of first-hand knowledge and experience, the most competent person to give them advice in the present critical struggle, and that in a matter upon which

they and the government in India were at least ostensibly at one, the latter would do their best to help them by allowing them to see and take advice from Mahatmaji. But the Bombay Government was adamant, and the delegation was refused permission. It did not matter what the object was. It made no difference that the interview was intended to take legitimate help and advice, not in regard to any Indian political matter, but in a life and death struggle with powerful interests in Africa from which Indians are sought to be kept out for ever. The Jail Code is higher than even the Government of India's sympathy for the Kenya Indians. Mr. Gandhi is in prison, and even if he were a doctor able to save thousands of lives which would otherwise perish, and even if the Government wished to save those lives it could not allow a breach of Prison Code and permit his services to be utilised; the men should perish.

Christian Hypocrisy

The European delegation from Kenya includes a leading Christian missionary gentleman. It is said that the Christian missions in Africa have all decided to put the weight of their influence against the Indians and want the representatives of theirs to tell the Colonial Office in England that it is a part of Christian duty to save the African natives from the demoralising influence of the Indian. Hypocrisy of this kind can deceive no one. But the good name of Christianity will indeed suffer. It is this which, more than any other thing, induced Mr. C. F. Andrews to proceed to England with the Indian delegation, though he has absolutely no hope whatever that the enterprise would save the Indians. He felt that there was no more to be hoped for in England and that he could only go to Africa to give the sufferers the comfort of God's love. But when he saw that hypocrisy was going to inflict a fatal wound on Christianity, he could not yield to Despair, and like a good soldier has marched to the field.

Every day that we allow to be passed without bringing Swaraj nearer to us in India is a lengthening of the dishonour and injustice under which our brothers and sisters overseas are suffering. We are not only drowning ourselves but dragging with us all our kith and kin abroad. These have less cause to be angry with White oppression than with our own culpable weakness and indifference to our condition.

C. R.

To Witness for Christ

Elsewhere will be found an article on the situation in Kenya, written by Mr. C. F. Andrews on the eve of his departure to England as advisor of the Kenya Indians' deputation. In an accompanying letter explaining the circumstances under which he is leaving he says that he was told, the leading missionary in the Kenya colony, Rev. Dr. Arthur had been actually elected by the European Convention of Associations to go as a delegate to London and represent that the Indians' rights could not be granted because of the natives who would be injured thereby. "When I knew that I felt that my Christian faith and ideal was being defamed and libelled and that I must go and witness for Christ, my Master. That finally decides me to go."

The question that the Colonial Office has to decide is not merely whether the legitimate rights of the Kenya Indian should be restored to him or not, but whether the final place of India is to be within or without the British Empire. If after all this it still chooses to stick to its policy of self destruction it will not be for want of sound Christian advice.

The Branch Conference

The second Branch District Conference was held at Amod on the 14th and the 16th instant, Mr. Mahadev Desai presiding. In another issue we propose to give the text of the Presidential address which after a most exhaustive analysis of the present situation recommends the adoption of civil disobedience so far as Gujarat at least is concerned. Salt duty was specifically mentioned as fitted for civil disobedience. The following resolution was adopted unanimously:

Whereas the persistent betrayal of the interests of the people by the Government makes it an imperative duty to offer civil disobedience against its laws; and whereas the atmosphere of peace prevailing in the country is suited to the adoption of individual civil disobedience, and whereas large sacrifices are necessary on the part both of Hindus and Mussalmans, to permanently bridge the growing differences between both the communities in certain parts of the country, and whereas individual sacrifices are calculated to remedy the indifference and inaction of certain parties in the country, and to promote the constructive programme:

This second session of the Branch District Conference resolves that the President be requested to intimate to the Provincial Congress Committee its earnest desire for the adoption of individual civil disobedience immediately after the 30th April.

Unworthy Squabbles

The following paragraphs are culled from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's speech at Ajmer:

We are here in the centre of the present so-called struggle about the conversions. This struggle I tell you is not really a struggle between Hinduism and Islam at all. It is not possible that in these days of mutual understanding of each other's religion there can be any real struggle between Hinduism and Islam. The greatest truth which Hinduism teaches to its followers is that all ways lead to the same heaven. There can be no possible doubt over this point in the mind of any one who has studied the Bhagwad Gita. Indeed, as I understand it, it is wrong for a Hindu to go and interfere with any man's religious convictions, and I do not think that in these days when Mussalmans have better understood Hinduism than they bear the same attitude towards Hinduism to-day as they once bore towards idolatry in general.

The present disturbance is, as I understand, due to the consciousness of weakness, of each party in its own mind, and not really to love of religion. The Hindu is afraid that he is politically weak and the Mussalman is afraid that he is numerically weak and hence these mutual attempts at gaining numbers. How can we increase our strength by mutual adjustment when all our strength is wanted against a common enemy? While the Hindu believes

that he will become stronger than the Mussalman or the Mussalman believes that he will become stronger than the Hindu, both fail to see that they are weaker before the common enemy.

As far as I have seen in my experience it is not possible really to convert a Mussalman to Hinduism or a Hindu to Islam. It is only possible to convert people who are doubtful and who are not a strength to either religion.

I know also that no force or fraud is being used. For I know that our beneficent Government will prevent force. As a matter of fact we imagine we are working under the strength of Hinduism. But really we are working under the shameful guarantee of peace which the police station gives us. We take license from the police station that we may go to preach our religion and that our brother though he is angry may not come and beat us. It is under that sort of license that we have to preach. It is true that we do not take license in writing but every act that we do is really done under such license. On any day the Magistrate can serve us with a notice that in such and such a place we cannot go to preach Hinduism. And on that day we are bound to stop preaching our vaunted Hinduism. So also any Mussalman preacher who goes to make Mussalmans of Hindus goes under such license from the Government, and when any Government Magistrate thinks fit he may also be stopped from preaching his religion.

If we tried to get Swaraj by force we might be afraid of force and therefore minorities should be afraid of majorities. But we are training ourselves in a discipline which makes the numerically weak as strong as the big. The weakest of our communities will be able to enforce its influence on our society under Swaraj. Not even the scavengers need despair but they will be able to command terms under the Swaraj Government. If we ask seven crores of Mussalmans not to be afraid of twenty crores of Hindus, is it not a shame that twenty crores of Hindus should be afraid of seven crores of Mussalmans? If twenty crores of Hindus are afraid that 7 crores of Mussalmans may become 8 eight crores, I am afraid, I cannot conceive of such a nation being brave and able to rule India. It is merely a confession of weakness, and not real political effort. What is the history really of true religion? It is a history of sacrifice, of glorious sacrifice. But secret political quarrels do not make up religious efforts. Where do you get most encouragement from for this work of Hindu Muslim dispute? That will indicate to you the real cause of encouragement. This Government has succeeded in setting Mussalmans quarrelling with Hindus over posts and offices, in the Punjab. You do not really get help from people who are bent upon religion but from people who are out really for posts. I appeal therefore with all the earnestness I am capable of, to my friends and leaders here not to go on with this quarrel.

I am told by some that Mussalmans do not care for Swaraj, but only care for the Khilafat. But if you were true politicians you should know that the Khilafat question is greater than Swaraj. Swaraj is only the right

to govern India, but Khilafat is the right to control England in its foreign affairs. Is it not a greater thing to have Swaraj and control over foreign affairs than to have Swaraj only? We cannot get Khilafat settled before we get Swaraj, because the Khilafat is greater than Swaraj. If we are able to alter the treaty between England and Turkey it follows that we rule ourselves. Some people believe that the Khilafat question will be closed with the Angora treaty and that thereafter the Mussalmans will give up the fight for Swaraj. This is really because we Hindus are ignorant of the Khilafat question. What is the Khilafat question? The most important thing is the freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab. It is true that nationalist Turkey might be forced to agree to a treaty. But Islam in India cannot agree to a treaty unless Arabia, Palestine and Syria are free from non-Muslim control. And that will be done only when India is strong enough to wrench Swaraj from England. I ask therefore my Hindu brethren not to be nervous about these matters. After we get Swaraj I promise you a fair field for all tournaments and wrestling. But now the enemy is seeking to enter the akhadas and help one against the other. If we want really to wrestle we must first make sure to buy our akhadas, that akhadas is Swaraj. Let us therefore first finish this first duty and then look to other things.

Working Committee Resolutions Kenya

The Working Committee of the Congress has passed the following resolution at its meeting held at Poona on 17th instant:

The All India Working Committee of the Indian National Congress desire to put on record their gratitude to Mr. C. P. Andrews for having agreed at this critical juncture in the nation's history to help and advise the Indian Deputation from Kenya Colony and to give them moral support. The Committee trusts that by his truly Christian conduct he will be able to prevent the most serious blow being dealt at Christianity itself by missionaries who are reported to be lending support to the European opposition to rightful Indian claims. The information received by the Committee concerning the Missionary at stake in Kenya is hardly believable and the Committee notes with satisfaction that the National Council of the Indian Christian Church has repudiated it. The Committee desires further to re-affirm with regard to the Kenya question the resolution previously passed by them stating that it will be necessary for the Congress to reconsider the question of Imperial connection if the rightful claims of Indians to equal status as citizens of the Empire are finally refused.

The resolution referred to above was passed in its sitting at Bombay from January 25th to 31st February 1923:

Resolved that this Committee views with grave concern the development of affairs in East and South Africa and warns the Imperial Government that if they are unable to protect the lives, honour and just rights of Indian citizens in the British Dominions and Colonies, the people of India will be compelled to reconsider their views regarding India's partnership in the Empire. The Working Committee assures the Indians in East and South Africa of its support in their struggle and urges them to carry it on by all legitimate and non-violent means.

The Flag at Nagpur

The Working Committee has passed the following resolutions:

This Committee congratulates the C. P. Hindustani Working Committee on the brave stand they have taken in defence of the National Flag.

This Committee congratulates those who have suffered assault and imprisonment in defence of the National Flag in Nagpur and in special congratulates them on their exemplary non-violence in the face of provocation.

Young India

19-4-23

Gurukulvas

Mr. Shankerlal Banker's brief privilege of serving Mahatmaji and sharing in his total isolation from the world came to an end on the seventeenth instant. The Government was good enough to take Mr. Shankerlal's motor car and sell it away for a fourth of its price to realise the fine imposed on him. But these distraint proceedings were commenced after twelve months so that they added a month more to the period of Mr. Shankerlal's Gurukulvas. No man since the days of the ancient rishis had such a rare privilege and advantage as Mr. Shankerlal has had. His statement hardly gives an adequate picture of the life of continual spiritual discipline and culture which he led under his Guru in Yeravda Jail during these thirteen months. It is not a mere figure of speech but literally true in his case that he was in his Guru's Ashram under the minutest personal care and guidance during the period which the world has taken to be his period of incarceration in jail for publishing material unacceptable to British authority in India. Mr. Shankerlal chatted for an hour with us who had the fortune of meeting him immediately after his release at Poona. His conversation was as bright as ever, marked by the same sparkle of wit and good humour which characterised him always. But it was clear that his soul had been disentangled and polished by a master-hand and shined brighter than even his wit. We were speaking to a superior person. The discipline of thirteen months under the great master's direct and personal guidance was seen in every word he uttered and every thought he expressed. What is Shankerlal's simple message to his fellow Congress workers now that he has come out after this wonderful Gurukulvas? It is this. You wore Khadi and your poor brothers and sisters therefore took to it. You want them to spin but they have not yet done it. Why? Because you have yourselves not yet begun to spin. Fellow workers, spin now yourselves religiously every morning and you will see the wonder of it.

C. R.

"Insincere and Untrustworthy"

We are sorry to find that the publication of the Gaya Programme Progress Report has grieved several friends. Esteemed correspondents have written to us complaining of the injustice of some remarks that seemed to call in question the sincerity and trustworthiness of workers of several districts. Others have expressed surprise that such libellous statements should have found place in the columns of *Young India* and have found fault with us for giving them publication without a previous reference to the parties concerned.

At the very outset we may explain to our readers that the observations in the 'General Remarks' column of our tables are in no way intended to represent our view of the matter. They only give the

gist of reports sent to us by Taluk Congress Committees. In some districts only a few out of several talukas sent in their reports and these districts have thus naturally suffered from the negligence of the Secretaries of their Taluk Congress Committees. From Shah Abad District, for instance, only one taluk had sent its report and so the observations relating to it are based on the report of a single taluk. In no case do the observations refer to all parts of the District against which they stand. They only represent the outstanding feature of the conditions prevailing in that district as reflected in the reports received by us.

Even as it was, we confess we were no less pained and surprised at these remarks than our esteemed correspondents themselves, when we came across them first. We knew for instance against what heavy odds Congress work was being done in Behar. The services of the Abhaya Ashrama in the Dacca District were not unknown to us. In fact we knew of hardly any other institution in the country that can boast of a fine band of workers or that has got a better record of patriotic selfless service to its credit.

Knowing as we did all this, at first we were half inclined to transfer the epithets used for Congress workers to the reports themselves and to dismiss them as unworthy attempts of some disgruntled individuals to libel their colleagues. But on further consideration and a careful perusal of the reports we found that it was nowhere the intention of those who used these epithets to call into question the purity of motives or incorruptibility of Congress workers. We have heard similar epithets being applied to veteran Congress workers, in other parts of the country also, whose honesty of purpose not their enemies even would think of impugning. The epithets 'insincere and untrustworthy' as used in the reports are intended to convey only the disbelief of some workers in the professions of their colleagues about the launching of civil disobedience and nothing more. This is made amply clear by such observations as "A feeling of depression. People unwilling to subscribe unless anything definite promised" and so on. Only the other day a revered worker like Abbas S. Tyabji had to declare in a public meeting at Ahmedabad that the greatest difficulty that his workers experienced in enrolling volunteers was that after repeated postponements of civil disobedience it had become hard for them to convince people of their "sincerity" about starting civil disobedience, yet no one who knows him would for a moment contend that he intended to cast an aspersion upon the courage or reliability of his workers.

Nor can we blame those who feel sceptical in this way, for their want of faith. It is easy to understand their feelings. For the last ten months since Mahatmaji was incarcerated they have been lashed round and round in an endless course of empty discussion till nature was sick and reason exhausted. What they wanted was work, some definite action; instead they got conferences, adjournments, postponements, committees and reports. No wonder that their mind was full of bitterness towards those whom they, rightly or wrongly, supposed to be responsible for all this. No amount of argument can dispel this bitterness and scepticism. These are the twin products of inaction and its only remedy is work and

prayer. Now is the time for those who have the light of faith still burning undimmed within them to put their shoulder to the wheel, in the face of general distrust even. In the meantime, in their patience they must possess their souls; not the least part of the trial of their faith will be to guard themselves against being provoked into anger or despair by the scepticism of others.

The Violent Attitude in Kenya

The actual condition of things in Kenya Colony to-day may be judged from the following correspondence between the Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress and Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Kenya Colony.

To

The Private Secretary

to His Excellency The Governor,

Government House, NAIROBI Feb. 1922.

Sir,

1. I have the honour to state that during the last few days, very alarming rumours are afloat in the town and there are also visible signs to support these rumours to the effect that an active organisation is afoot among the European settlers by which a scheme being evolved to overthrow the present established Government and to form a provisional Government of the settlers.

2. A few days ago a prominent settler (an ex-General of the British Army) approached a prominent Portuguese subject and asked him to arrange so that all Portuguese subjects should wear some kind of badge or a mark of distinction to distinguish them from British Indians so that the Portuguese subjects should not be touched by Europeans in the case of a disturbance. This was asked by the said settler with a view to avoiding any heavy damages, having to be paid to the Portuguese Government in case some Portuguese life or property was injured unintentionally.

3. This morning I received information to the effect that a European from up-country approached two Europeans in the Motor Mart, Nairobi, and told them that he was recruiting Europeans and asked them to let him know what arms or munitions they possessed. These two gentlemen refused to have anything to do with the movement.

4. On hearing this I at once placed the information before the Commissioner of Police who informed that he knew that this was going on during the last few days but that this matter was out of his hands as it was in higher hands.

5. I cannot imagine that His Excellency's Government would tolerate this kind of dangerous movement to develop without being checked and although I think it is highly improbable that His Excellency has no knowledge of such a movement as all, I think it is my duty to place this information officially before him.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

(sd.) M. Shirsu'din

General Secretary.

Nairobi,

Kenya, East Africa,

24th February, 1923

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant and am instructed to state that rumours of the nature you describe have reached His Excellency, but it has not been able to obtain any information either as to the scope or details of such an organisation.

If His Excellency was informed of the incident you describe in your second letter, but he has reason to believe that the circumstances were less of a less alarming character than you indicate.

I am to add further that the Government of the Colony is prepared to take any steps necessary and possible to preserve public order, and to thank you for the contents of your letter.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant

(sd.) N. A. T. Dutton, Major,

Private Secretary

The Member of Council at Delhi, who is responsible for all those Indian affairs, which come under the head of "Emigration" has recently declared that no responsible European in Kenya would in his opinion threaten violence to Indians and that the threats offered at the present time were the work of a few irresponsible people. Unfortunately the Honorable Member Mr. Sharma, has never been out to Kenya Colony, and therefore has had no experience of the daily insults and threats of violence, in one form or another, which have oppressed the minds of Indians lately. I have seen this lulling and terrorising process going on, and have had to suffer from it because I was known to be helping the Indian cause. At times, it has only been with the very greatest difficulty, that I have been able to restrain myself and keep an attitude of quiet and calm in the face of gross provocation. From the letters which I now receive by every mail, I can understand that the whole situation has become more menacing during this year than when I was out in Kenya Colony at the end of the year 1921. Indians, whom I thoroughly trust, have written to me, that from time to time they have very seriously apprehended violence and intimidation, and have not known from day to day when it might break out.

In Tanganyika and Zanzibar the position of the Indians has been in the past more assured than that of their brothers and sisters in Kenya. Zanzibar is, nominally at least, under the Sultan. Tanganyika is under a Mandate, in the carrying out of which Indian nationals are supposed to have the same rights as British nationals. But in spite of this, quite recently, it will appear that an attack had been made upon Indian trade by excessive rates of taxation and by compelling accounts to be kept in English and it now seems to me to be evident, that the administration which is entirely in British hands is being influenced adversely by the Kenya policy.

To what length that Kenya policy may lead may be seen from a Draft Ordinance prepared by a very responsible European Committee, which had been consulted by the Governor. This Draft Ordinance on Indian Immigration actually proposes, as an "irreducible minimum", that (a) every Indian shall be obliged to deposit one thousand shillings before landing,—a sum, which at the present rate, is nearly equivalent to one thousand rupees. (b) Every Indian shall be obliged to pass a reading and writing test in any European language selected by the Immigration officer. (c) The one thousand shillings' deposit may be kept in hand by the Immigration Officer for a whole year where any doubt exists as to the bona fide of the personal landing and the immigrant may be closely watched during the year and sent back to India if thought undesirable. It is needless to recapitulate any fact or conditions; for it becomes perfectly obvious that the object of this policy is to stop all Indian immigration whatsoever at the earliest possible moment. Along with this draft Ordinance goes a second "irreducible minimum" namely, racial segregation of those Indians who are domiciled in the country. A third 'irreducible minimum', is to reserve all the agricultural land of the Highlands for Europeans, and not to allow any Indian purchase. A fourth 'irreducible minimum' is to prevent Indians from receiving franchise on a common register and under equal conditions with the Europeans.

It might be supposed, that these terms were irreducible enough; but we find the Chairman of the European

convention declaring that he now feels convinced that too many concessions have been made to Indians, and the irreducible minimum must be made more stringent still.

It should be understood clearly in India, that the threat of open violence is merely being held in abeyance, while the deputations go to England. It is not given up. Lord Delamere and others have declared openly, that they reserve to themselves the "right" to take direct action, at once, if their irreducible minimum is not allowed by the Colonial Office and by direct action they mean nothing else except the use of force.

In the face of these threats of violence, what is the true Indian position? First and last, there must be fearlessness. First and last there must be refusal to compromise on vital issues, where every compromise will only be used by the Europeans as a means of forcibly exacting further and further impossible demands and thus in the end attaining their openly proclaimed ultimatum of excluding Indian immigrants from East Africa altogether.

It is as clear as possible now to the whole world that the Indian struggle in Kenya is another pitched battle on behalf of freedom and independence. It is the battle of the weak and oppressed against the strong and mighty. We have to realise that, the saying attributed to Napoleon, that "God is on the side of the big battalions", is an impious lie, which history has disproved a thousand times. God is on the side of the oppressed.

But victory can only be won by patient courage and endurance, by fearlessness and truth, and by an unswerving determination to refuse to return violence by violence. U. F. A.

From Yeravda Jail Sjt. Shankarlal's Statement

As I have lived with Mahatma Gandhi as his co-prisoner and shared his isolation, the public would naturally be expecting me to make a statement regarding the prison treatment. I hope to satisfy this very natural curiosity by making this brief statement:—

So far as material comforts are concerned there is very little left to be said. From my own personal experience I can say that I was kindly and courteously treated by the immediate prison authorities from the two Superintendents down to the jailers and warders. We were given the food we asked for. The doors of our cells were kept open. It was necessary for Mahatma Gandhi because of his life-long habit of sleeping out in the open and for me because of my nerves. We were allowed an unlimited supply of books also from outside. Later, for health reasons we were both of us allowed lights and bedsteads and recently Mahatma Gandhi has been allowed the use of a mosquito curtain, because of the trouble of mosquitoes during the season. We had all the clothes and beddings we needed and we were given the choice, if we so pleased, to have our beddings also from outside. We were allowed to do hand-spinning on our own wheels as a voluntary occupation.

Mahatma in Good Health

Mahatma Gandhi is keeping very good health. While in prison we heard that there were stories

abroad of his ill-health and melancholia. He was hurt to hear about this. He said he would feel ashamed if he suffered from melancholia. He further said that a civil resister who would feel moody if he has to go to prison, has no business to court imprisonment or do anything that would bring it on to him. He must be prepared to treat prison as his home, if he values his country's liberty above everything else. He added that if he ever fell ill, it would not be because of any lack of attention on the part of the prison authorities, but because of his own carelessness or some inherent weakness in his constitution, or because of climatic conditions. He is taking all reasonable care of his health.

The Dark Side of the Picture

So much for the bright side of the picture. It has, I am sorry to say, a dark side too. While animal comforts are well looked after, he is mentally starved. The allowance of books is no doubt a very great comfort but the unnecessary isolation imposed upon him is severely felt by him. Immediately after our admission to the Yeravda Prison, I was taken away from him. Our first reception there was none too warm. He was given no food to eat. We reached there at about 5 p. m. We had some fruits with us. Even these were not allowed. Things, however, improved the next morning. But we never expected to be separated. Mahatma pleaded that I was suffering from nerves and his company would help to soothe me; but all to no purpose. He has given a graphic description of this in his letter to Hakim Ajmal Khanji which the Government would not send for that very reason. He makes mention therein of Messrs. Deshpande and Vermaal who were in the prison at that time. After about two months' separation I was sent back to him and I rendered such humble service as I was capable of. He needs oil massage every evening, but he would not have it from any but friends. Whilst therefore my being with him may perhaps have been soothing, the isolation from other prisoners remained and remains till this day. It is so utterly unnecessary. The other ordinary prisoners are not isolated unless they are bad characters. Mahatma Gandhi therefore rightly regards this as an additional punishment. The present Superintendent, though a strict disciplinarian, would place all political prisoners in a separate block but the Government would not listen to it. Till recently all the other political prisoners used to take their meals together, and hold conversation whilst under supervision. The authorities have now separated them for no cause given by them, so far as I know—and have stopped all conversation. Mahatma Gandhi considers this as an attempt to make prison life as unbearable as possible. He said that they know that human beings often prize agreeable company more than physical comforts. Nor are political prisoners allowed the use of newspapers or magazines giving political news or opinions. Thus Mahatma Gandhi is not allowed the use of the weekly "Times of India", the "Modern Review", the "Indian Review", the "Servant of India", "Citizen" and the "Indian Social Reformer." Believing that "Vasanti" and "Santosh" are non-political magazines he applied for them but they were refused. He carried on a vigorous corres-

pondence in the matter with the Inspector-General of Prisons and he has just learnt that the Government would not allow the use even of these magazines.

Letter to Hakimji N.t forwarded

I may here mention that as the Government would not forward his letter addressed to Hakimji, unless he agreed to omit passages objected to by Government even though they bore directly upon the treatment meted out to him he has refused to avail himself of the right of every prisoner to write and receive a letter once every three months.

And there was the danger, too, of his doing the same with the right of seeing friends and relatives. For some time, he was allowed to see two friends and three relatives at the interviews and the conversation at those interviews was limited to non-political matters. But it seems, last December Hakim Ajmal Khanji, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, one of his nephews, were among the proposed visitors, and all the three applications were refused. Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi who were granted permission did not avail themselves of it that time.

This incident led to the Government taking away, as Mahatma Gandhi learnt from Mrs. Gandhi, the powers given to the Superintendents of Prisons of permitting interviews with the prisoners from the present Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison, so far as the interviews with Mahatma Gandhi were concerned. One result of this was that Mrs. Gandhi had to wait an indefinitely long time before she received permission to see Mahatma Gandhi in early January and even then she could not take with her two youngsters, a son and a daughter of his nephew, as the Superintendent had no authority in the matter. Thus the prison regulation that conceded a right to the prisoner was rendered nugatory by the Government.

A Protracted Correspondence

This led to a protracted correspondence between the Government and Mahatma Gandhi. The former expressed regret for the inconvenience caused to Mrs. Gandhi, but shirked the question of giving reasons for the refusal to Hakim Ajmal Khanji, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, under the plea that a prisoner may not discuss the prison regulations in general. Mahatma Gandhi replied saying that he had not sought to discuss the prison regulations in general but only the particular application in his own case of one of the rules. This he contended he had a right to do, as every one is entitled to know the reasons for any punishment awarded to him. In that letter he offered that the Government should post special translators to take short-hand notes of whatever took place at the interviews, but he said he was entitled to know whom he may or may not see and whether he may or may not receive information from them regarding his non-political activities. He further stated that he was unable to make any distinction between relatives and friends, and that he may not see his grand-daughter, if he could not see the other children that are being brought up at his Ashram and that he may not see Mrs. Gandhi if he was not allowed to see the Panditani if she wanted to see him on non-political matters. In this connection, a letter

was however received just before my discharge in which the Government have given a sort of reason, viz. that the refusal was in the public interest, and that if Mr. Gandhi wanted specially to see anybody he has to submit the name to the Superintendent. It now remains to be seen how the applications in the future are treated.

Mahatma's Warning.

While I am making this statement I am conscious of the warning given by Mahatma Gandhi that there should be no belogging of the main issue, nor does he want any agitation for any special concessions. He is fighting out for what he considers to be rights of prisoners. He holds that civil resisters when they go to prison are like prisoners of war and they may and should fight for their rights in a becoming manner. Whether the Government treats them, when they take charge of them as prisoners, as human beings requiring mental as well as material food or merely as animals like cattle requiring only physical comforts makes no difference in the attitude of the civil resisters who have to bear their lot cheerfully in prison. It is possible for the Government to ill-treat them even as animals as the Punjab Government did in 1919. But if the public rightly understand the nature of the struggle, it is easy to realise that the greater the agony (provided it is unprovoked on the part of the sufferers) the greater will be the relief. Thus, while the political prisoners must fight out for their rights in the prison and face the worst, the public may know their hardships to stimulate them to greater efforts to win Swaraj, so that they may become altogether impossible.

Whilst in prison I learnt at one of my interviews that the Government had framed special regulations for the better treatment of simple imprisonment prisoners. We were not then officially informed about it but we felt that we could not avail ourselves of these regulations, unless prisoners convicted of offences not involving violence or assistance to violence undergoing rigorous imprisonment were similarly treated.

Flogging of Mulshi Prisoners

The other day we came to learn that five Mulshi Petha men were flogged for doing short task. We were horrified to think that men could be flogged for doing short task. Mahatma Gandhi took this seriously to heart and immediately wrote to the Superintendent offering in the name of humanity to speak to these two men and if they claimed to be Satyagrahis to persuade them to work to the utmost of their capacity. The Government thanked him for the offer but would not accept a prisoner's assistance even if it resulted in the avoidance of flogging. The refusal, as it is, is only a minor affair. The main question is whether there should be flogging for short task or even refusal to work. The public may not be knowing that the authorities have other punishments open to them. There is the penal diet, gunny clothing, simple fetters, bar fetters, standing handcuffs etc. These are all terrible, more terrible to see than to read about. Should there be flogging after all this? Another question is whether the Superintendent should have such wide powers. The present Superintendent is no doubt a very conscientious man. He is not

painstaking and is certainly humane. But he is not infallible. No man is. Mahatma Gandhiji, therefore, felt that no one man should be armed with such wide powers. Besides he remarked that in these cases he would be both the accuser and the judge. He was conscious that there was also another side to the question. The management of a prison with the hardest of criminals in it is no joke. It cannot be done with a gloved hand. Nevertheless he considered that there should be no flogging either for short work or refusal to work; and even where it is allowed and found necessary, there should be some arrangement for an independent trial. As regards the political prisoners like Mulshi Petha men, it is wrong, to say the least, to treat them as the most hardened criminals.

Civil Resister's Duty in Prison

In this connection, I may also add that he undoubtedly felt that some of these prisoners gave unnecessary trouble. Civil resisters when they go to prison should not quarrel with prison discipline or prison task. If they are non-cooperators they are bound to be civil. Even the most confirmed non-co-operators cannot expect to do without prisons when the Swaraj of their dream is realisable. One great virtue, therefore, of the civil resister is the spirit of swift conformance to prison discipline except when it is in direct conflict with his self-respect—or what is the something—human dignity. But even then one has to be careful in determining where human dignity is touched.

No Public or Private Message

The public would be naturally anxious to know about Mahatma Gandhiji's present political views. He was at first inclined to give a public message and several private ones. He started the discussion but he suddenly stopped and would not give any. He felt that as a prisoner he had no right to send any public messages. Coming to private messages, he would want not to omit a single friend, and that was well-nigh impossible. Thus I have no messages from Mahatma Gandhiji either private or public, but I can say that his views have undergone no change in any single particular. He swears by non-violence, Charkha, Hindu Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability. He sleeps regularly every day for four hours, unless his eyes do not permit him. He reads largely religious books, chiefly the Gita and the Upanishads. He has read the Koran and he is now re-reading the Bible. He has asked me to send him all the Vedas and the Puranas with translations and he intends to study them in the original. He religiously devotes one hour to Urdu and hopes to carry on correspondence with his Mahomedan friends in Urdu. He rises early in the morning at the stroke of four and begins his day with Ashram prayer and ends it similarly, that is, with the Ashram prayer. He is firmly convinced that the salvation of India is impossible unless hand-spinning becomes universal; for without that industry it is impossible to get rid of the growing pauperism of the millions of this land and without getting rid of that, India cannot regain or re-discover her soul.

Khadi Notes

Cultivation of Cotton

The field where cotton is to be raised should be thoroughly tilled and made ready before monsoon sets in, so that it may absorb the greatest amount of rain-water. Roots of cotton plants are known to go from three to six feet deep. Therefore the deeper the earth is tilled the better it is for the crop. Sometimes a lightly-tilled cotton farm seems to be thriving well but at the fruiting time it is withered on account of insufficient nourishment.

It is very advisable to sow cotton seeds by hand labour instead of by bullock-driven drills. Farmers usually use bullock drills as there is a scarcity of manual labour in the season. They then thin out the plants. Hand-sowing though it appears to be costly in the beginning proves cheaper in the end; for if the plants are grown equidistantly, weeding can be done both ways with a bullock-hoe. The sowing should be an inch deep and three to four seeds should be sown in every drill. They germinate in about a week's time. The first weeding is done when they grow about six inches high. It is profitable to apply several hoeings even when there is no weeding to be done. It creates a sort of earth mulching round the plants and enables the soil to retain its moisture for a longer period.

The seeds germinate quickly if they are soaked overnight before sowing. They are rubbed with ash or fine earth so that the small fibres on them may get pressed down on the shell and they be easily scattered at the time of sowing. The seeds should then be covered over with earth which should be made a little firm by pressing so that while the germination is going on the seeds are protected from sun and weather.

Home-Carding

The Congress Khadi Department has sanctioned about one lakh of rupees for popularizing the use of small size carding bows in homes: the object being to make carding a household industry as an essential part of the spinning process. Home-carding offers three distinct advantages; (1) Those alone, who organize spinning or those who spin for the sake of wages, know what an amount of time is wasted every time that fresh slivers have to be obtained. Not infrequently spinners have to suspend work although there is no want of cotton, just because no carder is available. All this worry and loss of time can be avoided if one cards cotton at home. (2) Ready-made slivers are seldom satisfactory and take much more time in spinning. The output of yarn can be increased by 25 to 50% if spinning is done with slivers carefully prepared at home. The third advantage is more apparent than real. This arises from the fact that carding brings greater wages. Calculating in terms of time-wages the rates for carding are from eight to twelve times higher than those for spinning. For instance, spinning for eight hours would fetch two annas while carding for the same number of hours would bring one to one rupee and a half and sometimes even two rupees. In other words while one gets one pie by spinning for an hour, he could get from

Dangers Ahead

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Notes

30th of April

"What will you do after April 30?" This is the question asked everywhere. Few realise that the answer to this depends on what they do *until* April 30. Unless we will have realised the truth that *We* are the Congress, and *We* are the nation, that *we* who *resolve* should also *perform*, we are not anywhere near the goal, so long as we expect anything to turn up to which we have not ourselves contributed by labour and sacrifice, we are doomed to disappointment. Every province which through its representatives voted for the Gaya Programme should render an account of its performance. Every delegate who raised his hand for the resolutions adopted last December should now tell the nation what he did for the programme which he voted for. Mere organisation of opinion is easy enough, but organisation of action is what we have now to render an account of. Let there be no shrinking of confession of difficulty or failure. If after honest effort we have failed it is no shame. If we have not put forth effort, let us not hurt the cause by finding other reasons for the failure, but confess our own indifference or weakness. We cannot attain Swaraj by cheating ourselves or others. Hard realities can be got over and actualities achieved only by Truth.

If we honestly feel that we are strong enough to give battle we can do so, even though we may not have attained the number fixed.

Let there be no mistake as to our object. Swarajya will not come the moment we put civil resisters in prison in smaller or greater number. But it is an inevitable progress in our national struggle, and unless we do it, our struggle will not be continuous.

Criminal Lawlessness in Nadiad

Nadiad is fast preparing itself in the art of Self-government. It refused to pay taxes in the disposal of which it had no voice, and the conflict is now in full swing. The Mamlatdar who would not tyrannise over the people has been removed, and his place has been filled by a Mamlatdar who frankly confesses that he cares for his livelihood more than his honour. Attachments have now been on for over a fortnight, and every section of Municipal law is being infringed in enforcing these attachments. Sec 83 (4) (b) of the District Municipal Act provides that "the distress shall not be excessive, that is to say, the property distrained shall be as nearly as possible proportionate in value to the amount recoverable under the warrant." But the distresses in most cases are excessive. In fact the Mamlatdar has now issued notice that in no case will property distrained be worth less than Rs. 10 i. e. to say for recovering eight annas worth of property Rs. 10 will in all cases be attached. Sub-section (c) of the same section provides for the passing of receipts for things seized. Cases have happened in which no such receipts have been given. The local Congress Committee is active and on the alert, and publishes daily bulletins of all these illegalities. But excessive distress and omission to pass receipts apart, the manner in which distresses are made is nothing short of criminal. All sorts of threats and inducements are used, commonest of which is the one to increase the income-tax or to reduce the same. These distresses are carried out by one or two officers of the Municipality. It is a regular raid. The Mamlatdar who is the President, or the District Superintendent of Police or the Health Officer raids the places with a force of a dozen and more policemen armed with lathis, and in some cases with even Pathans. Assaults are not unusual. A most flagrant case is cited in one of these bulletins. Mr. Dahyabhai Ambalal says in his statement that as he was coming downstairs, the Mamlatdar proceeded towards him asked two policemen to hold fast his hands, and himself took out of his neck a gold necklace and a chain. No receipt has been passed for the things thus looted. But that is only one instance. It may be noted that the people are putting up with all these criminal excesses with patience and non-resistance.

Will the Moderates also Boycott?

The scales have fallen from their eyes and they also have seen arbitrary Authority seated on the old Peacock Throne.

The reason urged for imposing the Salt-tax is that unless the Budget is balanced, India would be unable to borrow capital from foreign countries. The mere sight of a balanced budget will not restore lost credit. No people are so gullible but will see the manner in which the accounts are made up. No prudent foreign investor can have anything to do with a Government that is attempting on the one hand by repression to stifle revolution and on the other is at the end of its resources and is compelled by financial stress to tax so common and indispensable a necessary as salt. Last year there was a much larger deficit to make up for, but the Government then thought it proper to postpone the measure.

What is the answer of those who went into the Councils in the name of the people with faith in the Reforms? Some seem disillusioned, some distressed and some others only disturbed. Roused from insomnia they all seem to be staring at a changed world undecided what to do. They have found that the time, labour and money that they devoted to their task of working the Reforms were merely wasted.

The way to Swaraj does not lie through foreign institutions inflicted on us to stifle discontent. It can be attained by earnest endeavour at purification and strengthening of fibre and heart. The members of Legislative Assembly whose twice-expressed vote was of no avail against arbitrary authority should refuse any longer to give their moral support to an institution which stands now only on the strength of such support. If only these gentlemen would throw off their fear of the idea of boycott and issue a manifesto calling upon the people to refuse to have anything to do with an Assembly whose repeated votes have been of no avail to stop a tax which they felt would be an iniquitous burden on the poor. It would act like a veritable magic and at once replace doubt and confusion by unity and faith and knit the people into a strong and united nation.

Another strain of weak people may enter the Councils and try to work them. But thus will layer after layer come up and strengthen itself and leave, till nothing but Swaraj can hold the structure.

Progress Reports

The All India Congress Committee will meet at Bombay on the 25th of May. The Working Committee will meet at the same place on 23rd May. The All India Congress Committee will consider the reports of various provinces in terms of the Gaya resolutions as to men and money and decide on the next step to be taken. All Provincial Congress Committees, it is hoped, will send full and accurate reports showing progress made upto 30th of April. Provincial offices should at once make arrangements to get accurate information from their district and other subordinate offices so that the provincial offices may be enabled to send their consolidated reports without delay.

While supplementary reports of progress made during the three weeks between 1st of May and the All India Congress Committee meeting, may be sent, no province should fail now to send up its report upto 30th April.

I have requested provincial offices to send information to the Young India Office so that a supplement may be issued showing the work done throughout India.

C. R.

Khadi Notes

We discussed about improved carding bows in the last bulletin, but an improved carding bow does not end our difficulties about carding. However efficient a carding bow may be there are people in some places who object out of their religious sentiment to touch cat-gut. In Behar a thin string made of twisted *munj* grass is used in the carding bow in place of gut. The bow in such cases is made of split bamboo. The same kind of thing is used in Assam also. But there it is not done out of any religious objection. *Munj* strings are used in Assam because cat-gut is not easily available there. *Munj* is made out of the *Sarkhi* grass. Various things such as rope for carts, mops etc. are made out of *munj* fibre. To make a *munj* string to be used for carding purposes a small quantity of the fibre should be soaked in water until it gets soft and then it should be twisted into a thin string. On account of this string having a smooth surface, the cotton fibres do not get stuck round it at the time of carding, as they do in the case of a badly adjusted gut-string or an ordinary cotton-string. But the great defect of *munj* is that being very much weaker than gut, the beater cannot be used on this string, with the result that cotton does not get so well carded with it as it does with properly tied gut. A cotton or a hemp string gives better work in carding than a *munj* one, and they wear longer though both these are ever so much weaker in comparison with the gut. The cotton string for a carding-bow should be made from an eightfold thread of about 10 counts. But it should not be twisted eightfold at once. It should first only be doubled and twisted, repeating the process twice more. Immediately it is thus twisted, wax should be applied to it by rubbing it on it, and then the surface should be cleaned of superfluous wax and smoothened and rounded by rubbing a piece of dry cloth on the string. Such a string can be used on the Bardoli Pinjan but if it is to be used on a bamboo bow, the stick should be thin, soft and comparatively more flexible so that the string may not break by strong tension. The string, before using it should be rubbed with green leaves of *bawal* or tamarind and dried. This would keep the string more clear of cotton at the time of carding. The string lasts long if worked with fingers instead of a beater. Hemp string is stronger than cotton.

Where only a vegetable fibre string is used in a carding bow the cotton should be carded with fingers before using the bow; The secret of the superiority of Andhra, Behar and Nander slivers lies in the fact that there, cotton is carded after straightening the fibres with fingers. When cotton fibres are thus separated and straightened with fingers the carding is rendered easier. The mild beating of the string then separates the fibres evenly and the cotton becomes a soft snowy mass. The slivers made out of such cotton yield unbroken and uniform thread. Thus cotton can be prepared equally well with a carding-bow having a vegetable fibre string if only we apply care and thoroughness to the work. The only question is that much longer time is required. But earnestness gets over difficulties of every kind. Cotton can be cleaned and straightened with fingers when walking or talking even as European women go on knitting while moving about or chatting.

Bamboo Staff in Large Carding Bows

Village people especially require cheap and economical means and they will be glad to learn that large carding bows too can be made of bamboo at a much smaller cost than the small-sized bow ordinarily used. In the last bulletin it was described how a Bardoli pinjan can be made out of a hollow bamboostick. The children of the Ashram make it. Such a bow was found on trial to be more convenient and to yield more work. The extra string is wound round the staff in this pinjan as in the ordinary pinjan instead of winding it on a key.

Popularisation of self-carding

Bombay has sufficiently proved the utility of spinning competitions. Bombay organised a Khadi exhibition in the Gandhi-week in February last. As usual spinning competitions formed part of it. Some days before the opening of the exhibition, the Executive Committee decided that instead of having a separate carding competition it should be made a part of the spinning process and notified accordingly that the spinners should bring their carding bows and prepare their own slivers on the spot. It is difficult to say exactly to what extent this stimulated home-carding, but we can form some idea from the number of persons that took part in the competition. Well-to-do ladies and young men, as well as students, boys and girls, who took part in the competition carded their own cotton. The old cry for ready-made slivers we used to hear in Bombay, will, we hope, be heard no more. One of the ladies who used to order slivers from the Satyagrahashram has now ordered for cotton. This is a hopeful beginning. Spinning competitions are held in numerous places now-a-days. If carding is made an essential part of the spinning competitions home-carding would spread much more rapidly.

The Effects of Carding Classes in Schools

Hand-spinning has more easily spread in the places where it has been made a compulsory subject in the National Schools. The progress of the Khadi movement to the extent we have achieved it, is due to the fact that home carding and spinning still lingered in certain places. It must be confessed that new centres have not developed to the extent one should have expected. It must also be admitted that the old centres also have not been brought in line with the present requirements. It is true that the difficulties in this way will be overcome as honest and capable workers increase in the rank of Khadi corps; but the most effective remedy lies in making it a part of and giving it a prominent place in the structure of National Education. This is the only way to make Khadi and spinning a part of our existence. The efforts to make Khadi cheap and economically successful may appear to have fructified in the case of a few districts; but it is likely to mislead in this age of machinery. Countries which have to live on commerce with foreign countries or which have to depend upon other countries for its materials may plunge themselves in the competition of cheap production. India produces almost an unlimited quantity of raw-materials and possesses skill and ability of a high order to turn them into finished goods. Only self-confidence is required, and it could be instilled through making it an important part of education. The quality of yarn spun has automatically improved in places where spinning has been made compulsory in the National Schools. Such places do not experience any difficulty about slivers. The students

consciously or unconsciously carry and spread the knowledge about carding and spinning among their families and neighbours. The people send their cotton to the teachers for carding and get slivers such as they can never expect to get from professional carders. We know of schools having earned Rs. 8 to 10 per month from this work. Students easily become the instrument of disseminating instructions about reel-winding amongst their neighbours. Where students have been insistent about using nothing but Khadi the spirit has also pervaded amongst the people. But the difficulty is that there are very few National Schools, and the schools where spinning is properly taught are still fewer. It is high time to divert our attention to the roots through which Khadi could be nourished and made permanent.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

Mrs. Gandhi's Speech

The following is a substance of Mrs. Gandhi's speech at the conclusion of the proceedings of Amod Conference:—

We have already had many lectures. A lot has been said to you. Mahadevbhai has explained to you the situation thoroughly and fully, and you have all resolved that Civil Disobedience should be offered. I humbly associate myself with the resolution. I am sure those of you who have signed the Ahmedabad pledge are looking wistfully forward to the 30th of April when they may gird up their loins to offer Civil Disobedience. I ask you to cast off all fear of jail-going. Why should we fear jail or death? Every one has to die one day; and if we die fighting freedom's battle we would all go to heaven. We should push on the constructive programme, too, side by side with this. Our schools must go on. We must maintain them with funds and see that they are efficiently managed. For should it so happen that we might fail in the fight before the goal is reached then our children who go to national schools today will surely win Swaraj.

Brave Indulalbai has gone to jail. You all witnessed how the passion for liberty consumed his soul and goaded him to ceaseless activity. I saw tears streaming out of his eyes in Godhra whilst he was talking of the people's woes. He lived for his country. So did Kaka. We have got to release them. Women must give their proper share in it. Shall we sit quiet asking 'what will become of our nearest and dearest? What will happen to our belongings? What can happen to them? Nothing out of the way. Mahomed Ali and Shaikat Ali went to jail. What happened to their mother, and their children? The brave mother is going about from place to place preaching the gospel of Swaraj.

The only remedy to-day is civil disobedience. We have to fight the battle of the innocent and the just. Jabulpore is fighting for the flag. Pandit Sundarlal is standing on his trial to-day. Why should we also not fight for the flag, come what may?

A word before I close. I have made begging my religion. I ask those present to give what they can for the T. S. Fund. I ask my sisters to be patient and courageous. I ask you to send the men to jail with your blessings and to ply your wheels, and make others do so. Why hanker after decorations? Clothes cannot decorate us. If we are pure in heart Khadi will adorn us as nothing else can do, and if our inside is unclean not the finest stuff in the world will cover the ugliness of our souls. I, therefore, ask all those who have not yet adopted khadi to do so.

Young India

26-4-23

Objections

In insisting on the publication of the following letter, Mr. Mathuradas Trikamji rightly points out in a covering letter that "it has been the tradition of *Young India* to publish sensible objections to a current programme". I gladly find room for Mr. Mathuradas's letter:

Dear Sir,

Allow me, please, to say a few words on the work before us as set by the Gaya Congress.

The country is called upon to get ready by the end of this month for launching upon a Civil Disobedience Campaign. The Congress Committees are supposed to do their utmost to get recruits and the members of the Working Committee are touring this great land to rouse the people to enthusiasm for the Campaign. But, are the necessary antecedents to Civil Disobedience present?

The idea of Civil Disobedience is highly individualistic. Its practice presupposes that the civil resister feels himself wronged, and wronged grievously and feels also the urgent necessity of the wrong being righted. Similarly, unless the feeling of urgency is general for a common purpose, a people cannot profitably resort to Civil Disobedience. The Natal labourer was feeling keen about the abolition of the invidious £3 tax, and hence they, in thousands, joined the campaign of Civil Disobedience. The generality of the Akalis felt hurt to the quick and hence was their noble non-violent struggle. And it was equally true of the Ahmedabad mill-hand and the Kaira peasantry.

But is the craving among the people for Swarajya so intense and so general as to justify a Civil Disobedience Campaign? Do the people feel the attainment of Swarajya as *compensable*? Let us not judge from crowds that pursued Mahatma, or even from thousands that flock to hear the present leaders of the movement. To revere a saint and those attached to him, is inherent in our ages-old tradition. And demonstrations are not the sure signs of actual progress made. Mahatmaji and the Congress called upon the people to do certain things the result of which was to be the true index of the people's realisation of the necessity of and the determination for the attainment of Swarajya. True it is, that the people's consciousness is roused and roused to a point which was never reached hitherto. But have we reached the point of indispensableness? I am afraid we have not. And before that, to think of Civil Disobedience Campaign is to think of a leap in the dark.

It may be admitted that even though the people in general have not reached the mark several individuals have. And from this it may be argued, let these individuals start the campaign. But for such too, to court arrest to-day is to sap the very activity of national freedom. It is only after further rousing and moulding of the national consciousness that they can think of imprisonment. And then, in the struggle be the right one and go on unflinchingly. There is still enough spade work to be done; and if instead of searching ways and means for leading an attack on the Government, attention and energy are concentrated upon the positive work before us we will be nearing the goal quicker. I, therefore, believe that it is primarily necessary at this juncture to drop all ideas of Civil Disobedience campaign—either mass or individual—and to continue all available energy to positive work.

This does not mean that there will be no jail going. It is very likely that workers will be continually removed from their field of action. And such removal will generate forces which will pervade the country and hasten the pace of the nation towards its destination. **सहस्रशिक्षितः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वे किरियः ।**

Friends with wider vision and experience say that when the Master is in jail, the right place for us also is jail. They are very near and dear to him; how to their keen sense of allegiance to the Master; but I cannot welcome their conclusion drawn from it. Jail-going was never his mission; it was merely a means. And on separation from the General, the next in command, impelled

by their personal fidelity to him, year to be where the General is. I am afraid, they are manifesting unpardonable weakness. I for one regard Mahatmaji's imprisonment as a priceless sacrifice which we should not, by our chaotic moves, spoil. He is undoubtedly known more widely than the ideal of Swarajya which is, so far as the people are concerned, still in a nebulous state. Our duty to the Master is therefore not to follow him to jail, but to make the ideal of Swarajya tangible to the people by incessant work which is sacrifice.

Mathooradas Tricamjee

I believe that an intensive course of suffering on the part of a few is absolutely necessary for the nation. Mr. Mathuradas's principle objection is that those who offer individual civil resistance are thereby removed from constructive activity. To build up national fearlessness and capacity of suffering is at least as valuable and urgently necessary constructive work as any other. It is true that work is sacrifice. But there is a world of difference between real activity and a mere mental preference for constructive work not put into actual practice. It may be taken for granted that all those who are actually engaged in useful constructive work will not be called upon or permitted to go to prison as civil resisters. On the other hand it must be remembered that national consciousness is roused and moulded, as Mr. Mathuradas wants, as much by examples of persevering civil resistance as by other work.

I frankly confess that I do think that every self-respecting man in India ought to feel that so long as Mahatmaji is in prison, his own place is also in prison. If I am right, the only way in which this feeling can be generally cultivated is for those who feel it to set the example. That is the only way to spread truth. I believe that there can be no national self-respect or patriotism if there is no reaction to such capital wrongs as the imprisonment of Mahatmaji.

If Mr. Mathuradas is right when he says that the craving among the people for Swaraj is not so intense or general as to justify Civil Disobedience, it can only debar mass disobedience. I claim that to those who are now enrolling themselves as civil resisters, the hunger for Swaraj is so strong as to make the suffering involved in Civil Disobedience by far preferable. I do claim that every civil resister now enrolled feels as keen a desire for the ending of the present system of the Government as the Natal labourer felt for the abolition of the £3 tax. Apart from Swaraj, or I do claim that Mr. George Joseph feels himself wronged and wronged grievously when he is prevented by arbitrary order from seeing and talking to the people among whom he had lived and worked for years before going away to Allahabad. The volunteers of Cawnpore feel themselves wronged grievously when they are asked not to work in the villages around. The people of Jubbulpore and Nagpur feel wronged most grievously when they are told that they cannot hoist the national flag on the people's hall or carry it along in their demonstrations. The people throughout the country feel in the thousands of cases where liberty of speech is arbitrarily interfered with that the wrong is grievous. If to-day Punjab leaders had not been engaged in communal strife, they would have grievously felt the insult of the Lawrence Statue which is uttering every day the challenge of brute force.

It may be admitted that spontaneity is of the essence of civil resistance. But here some individuals feel the grievous wrongs and others do not feel it, not because there is no wrong, but because of atrophy of human instinct and emotion; the duty of the former is to rouse the dormant or atrophied feelings; and the best way to do it is by those individuals, who feel the wrongs offering civil resistance and suffering there by.

C. R.

Dangers Ahead

The 30th of April is approaching and many friends are very nervous about the propaganda of Council Boycott that will soon be taken up by the majority party. They are afraid of the bitterness that the writings and speeches will cause among the opposing parties in the Congress Camp. I do not see why we should not be able to conduct any campaign of Council Boycott without personal abuse or anything else that should make for bitterness of feeling. I fail to see why we should not ask voters not to vote for any candidate, be he one of the old Moderates or one of the Congressmen who refuse to accept the Congress resolution of Boycott passed at Gaya, on the simple ground that the Reforms are a sham, and that we should have nothing whatever to do with them. The Congress resolution adopted at Gaya appeals to all voters, whether they are Congressmen or not, to abstain from standing as candidates and from voting for any that stand. The appeal is not new, but is a mere repetition of the appeal made with success in 1920. No fresh arguments would be necessary, and there need be no attacks on individuals. Why then should there be any bitterness?

To prove the hollowness of the Reforms in 1923, nothing should be necessary beyond the certification of the Salt-tax. We should be very poor propagandists, indeed, if we cannot, without calling to aid invectives against any candidate or party, succeed in inducing voters to refuse to send any representatives to an Assembly whose solemn decision is set aside by the arbitrary certificate of the Viceroy. The patent lesson of the Salt tax certification should by itself be sufficient Boycott propaganda. We should therefore be able to carry out the Congress resolution without any personal attacks or bitterness. Here as in other matters the main principle is non-retaliation. One wrong should not be sought to be righted by another wrong. Resistance by retaliation will land us in unending evil. Abuse or attack should be allowed to spend its force out without counter-abuse or counter-attack.

If we are not able to carry out the Congress resolution without personal rancour, we must confess total unfitness for any true political work. We should show our capacity for holding opposite political views and yet maintaining friendships and good feeling. We claim all kinds of incidental good results from the Satyagraha discipline of the last four years. If we should confess inability to conduct the Council Boycott without personal rancour or bitterness, all such claims would be entirely false. If there was any difficulty whatever in this work, the latest act of the Viceroy has removed it. It is trifling with a nation to ask them to cooperate in keeping up a camouflage which has been so mercilessly exposed. If there was any doubt as to the meaning of going to the polling booth, it has been now removed.

C. R.

The Case for Civil Disobedience

[We give below the essential part of Mr. Mahadev Desai's Presidential Address delivered at the Broach District Conference held at Amod on the 15th instant.]

A Retrospect

Four years ago, the ruling authority whipped us into a sudden sense of our prime ill, namely slavery. We rose as one man under a brave leadership against the insolent measure. We girded up our loins, gave proof of our determination, but in the first moment of our trial gave ample proof of our weakness. The pilot changed the course. But on the top of the Punjab whip came the Khilafat lash and again we stood determined and pledged to mend or end a system the slaves of which were victimising us. Our determination lashed the authorities to greater fury who had now at their helm one who substituted scorpions for the whips of his predecessor. The close of the year 1921 and the beginning of the year 1922 found us at the zenith of our strength and our efforts had very nearly reached their fruition. Again the misfortune in the shape of Chauri Chaura blasted our fortune for some time. But our pilot was still there with us, to mend our course and he did so, the authorities grudging us even that and removed the pilot from our midst. That found us unprepared, we were taken as by a storm and we lost our moorings. New physicians appeared in our midst, suggesting new medicines; one medicine was too strong for us, and another too unpalatable, they said, and suggested a palatable one. The result is that we are neither here nor there, the Government, ever ready to make capital out of our confusion, found another scorpion to chastise us with. The scorpion in the form of the Salt Tax has again awakened us, and we have begun asking ourselves why we should not resolutely go back to the old medicines.

Moral and Material Balance-sheets

If we look at the progress we have made, our province does not on the whole disclose an unsatisfactory record. We have eight hundred volunteers, and we have collected two lakhs of rupees exclusive of the two lakhs collected by Mr. Vallabhbhai in Rangoon. In Bengal there are 1200 volunteers and in Karnatak 400 have been registered, making a total of 3000. In other provinces not much work has been done, partly because of the slothiness of the workers and partly because of that of the people. Khadi propaganda is progressing slowly. The figures that we have before us are not such as we could make the basis of an inference. One can only say that in a particular place the sale of Khadi is satisfactory. We are indeed carrying on the propaganda in a better and more efficient manner and we have more workers in the field.

That is the record of our material progress. The moral progress reveals one thing very clearly. If we have done one thing which we might legitimately be proud of, it is the preservation of peace. I am not forgetful of the differences between Hindus and Mussalmans in various parts of India, but we have not been guilty of any breach of peace in the interests of our movement, we have not been guilty of any act of violence against Government, ever since Mahatmaji

has been incarcerated. But as against this, our determination to have Swaraj has considerably declined. The breach between the co-operators and the non-cooperators is ever-widening; their opposition to autocracy was really even stronger in the days of Rowlatt Act than today. The opposition did express itself then in at least a few resignations but not one is prepared to do that today. Not only are they afraid of estranging the Government, they think that their pride would be injured if they paid the N. C. O's the homage of imitation by resigning their seats in the Council.

The moral and material bankruptcy of the Government is quite patent; but like a clever bankrupt it successfully conceals its bankruptcy, naturally making capital out of our blind indifference. It is still certain that the members of its Councils will cooperate with it in getting its laws enforced, that it will find soldiers to do the necessary firing in case of a popular outburst, and that it counts on the support of its usual supporters in putting the agitators into jail.

Civil Disobedience the Duty of the Hour

It is a grave state of things, and I have passed many a sleepless night in thinking of a way out of it. I can only say that I shall ever be prepared to revise my opinion in the light of the criticism of watchful friends. After careful and calm deliberation I have come to the conclusion that in spite of, or rather because of, our thin moral and material capital individual civil disobedience is the duty of the hour. I propose to submit the reasons that have led me on to that conclusion:

The Only Essential Condition

The first is that the atmosphere of peace in the land is suited to the adoption of civil disobedience.

In November 1921 Gandhiji declared that when a Government becomes lawless in an organised manner, civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty and is the only remedy open, specially to those who had no hand in the making of the Government or its laws. He also exhorted every non-cooperator to "fit himself for civil disobedience by fulfilling to the letter and in the spirit the conditions of civil disobedience laid down at Delhi and to ensure non-violence everywhere." That was on the seventeenth November the day on which the Bombay disturbances disturbed his plans. But the Government's plans were undisturbed; it was determined to march unchecked in its blind career, and Gandhiji again seeing that peace was restored decided upon the adoption of civil disobedience. Then came Chauri Chaura, and another halt. But even after the Bardoli decisions he wrote in answer to a critic: "I can never give up the idea of civil disobedience, no matter what danger there is of violence, but I shall certainly give up the idea of starting mass civil disobedience so long as there is certain danger of violence. Individual civil disobedience stands on a different footing". He was thus clear about the safety of individual civil disobedience at all times. Then he was arrested. After that came his letter to Hakimji which contained the memorable injunction that more innocent men should not seek imprisonment "till one considered to be the most inno-

cent has been found inadequate for the purpose." I should consider myself criminally guilty if I breathed against the true meaning of these words. But I think I might venture to consider the circumstances in which these words were uttered, in order to find out their true meaning. I submit that when he uttered these words Chauri Chaura was on his brain, also the thought of his impending incarceration and the possible out-break of violence thereupon. But months passed thereafter and peace was undisturbed. Then came the inhuman atrocities against the Akalis, and their exemplary Satyagraha. I am sure, if Gandhiji had been out then, he would have gone to the Punjab, pitched his camp there and made their sacred soil of Satyagraha more fruitful by a successful civil disobedience campaign. But our leaders let go that golden opportunity. The peace that we saw then still continues, and to my mind peace i. e. a non-violent atmosphere is the only essential condition for the adoption of civil disobedience.

Bardoli Programme and C. D.

When Gandhiji declared civil disobedience on the 6th of April 1919, we were materially not even so strong as we are now. There was no Swadeshi then, but he did launch it, because he was sure of a non-violent atmosphere. Whenever since then he has thought of civil disobedience he has had only this condition in mind. I submit in all humility that the Bardoli Programme was devised first with a view to create that atmosphere. The constructive programme is not fulfilled today, it might take years before it is fulfilled—but the purpose for which it was devised has been fulfilled. And if we do not strike the nail whilst it is hot, I am afraid we shall be guilty of allowing the Government to continue in its mad career, and we shall have deserved Gandhiji's reproach that we took his words too literally.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

The second consideration is the differences between Hindus and Mussalmans. I have referred to the Amritsar tracas. I think the little incident that led to it has not occurred for the first time. Such incidents have occurred in the past, but the violence that it led to is the result of the surcharged atmosphere of to-day. In the Panjab the only question to-day is that of Hindu-Muslim Unity. But speaking of Gujarat, I feel that we shall help to a solution of that question, we shall help to make these disturbances impossible, if we can rivet popular attention on the prime issue, namely that our quarrel is to-day with the present system of Government. These differences and quarrels have grown out of the rotten soil of our lethargy and inaction, and if we could successfully draw the people's attention from those vain pursuits to essential ones, we would have done our duty. We could do so only by offering civil disobedience.

I think I should explain here that the Amritsar affair is not a disturbance of peace calculated to be an obstacle in the way of civil disobedience. The Bombay riots were, because they were essentially political, the rioters felt that they were helping the movement by their nefarious activities. The Amritsar affair has no political object behind, those who have taken part in it have had absolutely no thought of the N. C. O. movement.

Some Other Considerations

The third consideration is the promotion of Swadeshi. I am afraid we cannot promote it by mere preaching. I conceive that the people will be more awakened to the duty of adopting Swadeshi when they see bands of workers going to jail for the purpose of Swaraj. I do think my going to jail did make at least a few of my friends take to wearing Khadi, and a few to regular spinning. The fourth consideration is the inaction of cooperators. I am sure we will stimulate their sense of duty, and will strengthen them by going to jail.

Spirit of Violence

The fifth consideration is that in spite of the general atmosphere of non-violence, there is the inclination to violence in some minds which must be remedied. When I was last in Allahabad in February Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru showed me some letters from some very good workers in the province who were tired of the course the movement had taken, and despairing of the adoption of civil disobedience were asking themselves why they should not take to violence. Mahatmaji conceived civil disobedience to be the only cure of the spirit of violence in those dissatisfied with the existing state of the Government. I recommend it as the safest outlet for the suppurating violence within.

Some Objections

I will now consider a few of the objections raised against the propriety of civil disobedience at the present juncture. A friend who is a devoted disciple of Mahatmaji writes to me most strongly about what he regards as the "blind folly of polluting Mahatmaji's unprecedented sacrifice by ideas of civil disobedience. If what Thoreau said was true, what Mahatmaji said about the adequateness of the innocent sacrifices is truer still. We have hardly rivetted our attention on the essentials on which he was never tired of drawing our attention, and we are always hankering after excitement. Why should we not organise village by village, and taluka by taluka and proceed by slow degrees? Gandhiji asked us to strengthen the Congress organisation. Have we done so? I can understand Maganlalbhai's activities. He is trying to master one aspect of Swadeshi. How many such Maganlalbhais can we boast of? We have a lot to do before we think of attacking Government by civil disobedience of its laws." The first thing that I should like to say is that my friend has mixed up individual with mass civil disobedience. I have never talked of mass civil disobedience. I have already referred to Gandhiji's injunction, and explained what I understand it to mean. Thoreau's text has been utterly misconstrued. Thoreau never said that not more than one honest man need offer a sacrifice of himself. Thoreau only emphasised the value of a single clean example which he thought was bound to multiply itself. His words are addressed to one who is waiting for the majority to join him, and are absolutely unambiguous.

"I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I cannot name,—if ten

honest men only—aye if one honest man in this State of Massachusetts ceasing to hold slaves were actually to withdraw from this co-partnership and be locked up in the country jail then it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be, what is once well done is done for ever."

Propaganda of Suffering

I do not think anything more than these words need be said in justification of individual civil disobedience. I do not for a moment believe that Gandhiji ever wanted the country to rest satisfied with his own individual sacrifice. That is a sure road to ruin. We have to offer many a pure sacrifice, many of us will have to be riddled with the enemies' bullets before our unfortunate country wins Swaraj. I see nothing to tarnish Gandhiji's noble sacrifice in offering individual civil disobedience. If he wanted to put an embargo even on individual civil disobedience, why should he have allowed the Ahmedabad pledge to continue on our records? I do not think such a difficult pledge was ever devised before, and it is open to any one who fulfils the pledge to offer individual civil disobedience at any time. Far from polluting Gandhiji's great sacrifice, I am afraid that we might make that great sacrifice infructuous by our constant dread of civil disobedience. My friend talks of our having neglected villages and talukas. I am afraid he has not seen villages in Gujarat. He does not know the work of Mr. Indulal Yajnik in the Gujarat villages. It was after he and his colleagues had done their level best as members of the Propaganda Committee of Gujarat that they passed a resolution asking the Provincial Committee to consider the question of the immediate adoption of civil disobedience. He was sure that the propaganda had done its work, and by itself could achieve nothing more. Lastly I may say in reply to my friends that it is not possible for each and all to be Maganlalbhai. Maganlalbhai will stick to his work in spite of civil disobedience going on. He and his workers will not be asked to join the disobedience batch. I think it should be possible for us to divide our workers and volunteers into combatants and non-combatants. The former to disobey laws and the latter to continue Khadi production work. These latter will send the former to jail with their blessings, and ask people in the villages to adopt Swadeshi, as their own men had gone to jail for Swaraj.

I do not think I am hankering after excitement nor do I think any one of you is doing so. The days of excitement are gone. We are at present in the grip of exhaustion, consequent on that spell of excitement, and I think we should get ready to stand straight and erect for quiet dispassionate sacrifice.

Poor Man's Pinch of Salt

I have considered some objections regarding the propriety of civil disobedience. We will now consider some objections as regards its practicability and success. It is said that whereas in South Africa there was a tangible thing like the 3/6 tax pressingly touching the people, there is nothing of a similar nature here. I ask the objectors to go to the villages and inquire

of an old woman how the doubled salt tax will affect her. She will immediately say that she will have to expend three rupees instead of the rupee and a half she used to spend. The rich may not feel the pinch of Salt Tax, it is the poor alone who will feel it. The poor man uses three times as much salt daily as a rich man. His spices and his sugar is salt. The salt tax has united the poor in India, as nothing else had done, and they have realised the value of non-cooperation movement in a manner as they never did before. The tax is as opprobrious as the poll tax. It has been condemned all these years. Even when there was no non-cooperation, Mahatmaji was talking about the imperative necessity of an agitation for the abolition of the tax.

Lord Reading has questioned the sincerity of our protests by flinging in our face the fact that we have been paying the tax since the beginning of March without complaint. I think this taunt could not be better replied than by individual civil disobedience. The States of America questioned the right of England to impose even the Tea Tax which fetched only a nominal revenue. There the Government had even a pretext to tax, in as much as it had fought for the Colonies. But here the Government has not even the shadow of a pretext for taxing us, except our own weakness.

Price of Liberty

A few individual sacrifices will not go in vain. I refer you again to Thoreau's words. A single noble sacrifice has an amazing capacity of multiplying itself. The very noise and din of battle makes the blood tingle in the veins of many a passive spectator. The South African struggle is an instance in point. Those who do not know the story of that struggle should know it from Kasturba.

The sacrifices we have already made are not enough. See how terrible were the sacrifices made by the United Kingdom even for selfish ends. "9,46,023 young men perished," says the *Nation*; "2,121,906 were wounded, £959,000,000 were raised by borrowing and taxation, and a trifle over £2000 millions of capital and unfunded interest remained as irrecoverable loans" etc. And we are fighting not for selfish ends, but for liberty. What sacrifices have we offered? How many of our soldiers have been killed in action?

Launch Forth

It is suggested that the date of Gaya programme should be extended. Speaking for Gujarat I may say that it need not be extended. I agree with the Propaganda Committee that we can do nothing more by means of propaganda. Action will work more magically than mere propaganda. I think the number of men is sufficient to begin with. After we have launched civil disobedience many more men will come, funds also are bound to pour in. It is likely that some of the volunteers will drop off. I think the sooner they drop off the better. The first thing to do is to call a meeting of our volunteers, to explain to them the Ahmedabad pledge once again, and then send select batches to jail after the organised and determined manner of the Akalis.

I repeat again that when I am talking of civil disobedience I have only individual civil disobedience in mind. Gandhiji's words as to the requisite conditions of both are clear and unequivocal.

"If an individual or mass have still misgivings about Hindu-Muslim Unity, if they still have any doubt of the necessity of non-violence for the attainment of our triple goal, if they have not yet enforced Swadeshi in its completeness, if the Hindus among that mass have still the poison of untouchability in them, that mass or that individual is not ready for civil disobedience." I cannot, in view of these words, think of any mass so ready, but the Ahmedabad pledge contains by its very nature all the guarantees above-mentioned and he who honestly signs that pledge may undertake civil disobedience. I shall not discuss the various forms of civil disobedience. We shall canvass them sufficiently before actually undertaking it. But I think the purest form would be for several people to read at meetings of hundreds and thousands the seditious articles of Mahatmaji. If Government take no steps we shall have rendered the ugly sedition law nugatory. Refusal to pay the salt tax, and manufacture of salt in face of the bullets of the military posted on the sea-shore or salt-fields is another way. But I am afraid, that carries with it the risk of provoking mass civil disobedience. It should be true only if we could ensure that only those selected out of the signatories to the Ahmedabad pledge should break the law regarding salt. I am talking of aggressive individual civil disobedience. So far as defensive civil disobedience is concerned, it was open to individuals at all times, and I think those who have allowed opportunities offered to them to go by, have sadly erred.

Liberty or Death

These then are my own thoughts as regards the need of the movement. I am talking of Gujarat. I may say that I shall be ever ready to consider criticism honestly offered and to revise my views, if it convinces me. I think in all humility that much as we need put our own house in order, we do need to rise up in robust revolt against the continuing betrayal by the Government of the interests of the people. There is no other country in the world where such a state of things would, for, even a moment, be tolerated. Sacrifices will have to be made, nay lives will have to be laid down for liberty. In the words of Patrick Henry, I ask, "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet that it is to be enjoyed in the chains of slavery? God forbid that I should do it. Let others do what they like; for my own self I shall say, give me Liberty or give me Death."

Wanted

Agents for *Young India* in all principal places in India. Full particulars about revised terms can be had on application from: **Manager, Young India, Ahmedabad**

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The Coming Fight

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachar

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The coming Slaughter

Would to God that He gave us more wisdom and less ambition! We desire to 'strengthen' Hinduism. And after our latest efforts, today Hinduism is weaker than ever it was during the last few years. Hinduism has lost the support which it had secured from Islam by sacrifice and love, and has earned the positive illwill of thousands of Mussalmans. We have been silently winning converts to the universal creed of love, the vital part of Hindu Dharma. Islam in India had begun to look on old animosities and misunderstandings as ugly dreams of a night that was over. It had begun to identify itself with the single truth. Never before was a more successful silent conversion. But now in trying to win a few men to the forms of Hinduism, we have lost or are fast losing all our previous conquests of the spirit. Gaining in form we are losing a thousand-fold in substance.

We seek to save the cow. But the vision of the coming slaughter is before my eyes, and who can say that we have not been the cause of it all, by our foolish pride and our mistaken attempts to strengthen ourselves. We may have plans of our own. But the moist eyes of thousands of dumb creatures led to slaughter not as symbols of sacrifice, but in anger against us during the next ID will turn their piteous gaze at us; and if we have a conscience, we could feel their silent reproach. We will have to admit before the Father of all that it was we that brought them to torture and death by our unwisdom and uncalled for arrogance of creed. We indulge in hatred and we suffer; but the unfortunate cow suffers more. If we wake not up soon, our folly will flow red with cruelty.

Why do I reproach only the Hindu folly, and why do I not point my finger of complaint at the Musselman for his lapses from the right path? Because I am not so pure, I am not so strong as I must be before claiming to chastise him. I am a Hindu and have a claim and birth-right to speak harshly (in love) to my Hindu brethren. But the man who had by his love and sacrifice and work earned the right to chastise all without distinction of creed or race or community is a prisoner in a solitary cell and India cannot have him in her hour of need.

Unless God gives us the courage and the wisdom to see the truth and be led by our peerless leader from inside his prison, breaking down by our loyalty and our affection the bars and gates erected by cruel authority—

C. Rajagopalachar

Progress Reports

All Provincial Committees are requested to send to the All India Congress Committee office at Patna and to *Young India* Ahmedabad information as to the collections and enlistment of volunteers up to 30th April. Forms have been sent for this purpose to all officers for being filled in and sent by post. It is requested, however, that besides sending those forms filled up in the usual course, information may be sent *at once* by *Press Telegrams* to *Young India* to enable early publication of the progress up to 30th April. It should be noted by all Congress Committees and workers that the work should not cease on the 30th April, but should go on, wherever the quota fixed is unfulfilled, upto the date of the meeting of the All India Committee i. e. 25th May. Supplementary reports of progress after the 30th April should be sent every week to the All India Committee office Patna.

C. Rajagopalachar

To All District and Taluka Congress Committees

Copies of the following letter and the form have been sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees to be filled up. It is hoped that the District and other subordinate Congress Committees will supply the necessary information to the Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible to enable them to send in their consolidated reports to us in time.

THE LETTER

DEAR SIR,

A supplement to *Young India* will be issued showing report of work done in various provinces up to 30th April 1923.

All Provincial Congress offices are requested to send the information wanted in the accompanying form by *press telegram* to *Young India*, Ahmedabad, on 5th May.

All Provincial Congress offices are also requested to send the form duly and accurately filled in, by post, one copy for confirmation to *Young India*, Ahmedabad, another copy to the All-India Congress Committee Office, Patna.

Young India Office,
Ahmedabad
26th April 1923

Yours Sincerely,

C. Rajagopalachar

THE FORM

Report of Province of the _____
upto 30th April 1923

Tilak Swaraj Fund collected in 1923.

Amount with Provincial office . Rs.

Amount with District and other
subordinate offices . . . Rs.

Total Rs. _____

Present Cash balance,

With Provincial office . . . Rs.

With District and other sub-
ordinate offices . . . Rs.

Total Rs. _____

N. B.—Include here previous cash balances as well as this year's Tilak Swaraj Fund collections and other receipts.

Number of volunteers enrolled under Gaya resolution.

Hindus	.	.	.	.	.
Muslimans	.	.	.	.	.
Others	.	.	.	.	.

Total enrolled in Province _____

Division of Volunteers by occupation—

Lawyers	.	.	.	.	.
Traders	.	.	.	.	.
Artisans	.	.	.	.	.
Land-owners	.	.	.	.	.
Students	.	.	.	.	.
Clerks and other such employees	.	.	.	.	.
Unskilled manual labourers	.	.	.	.	.
Others	.	.	.	.	.

Total _____

Division of Volunteers by Residence—

If Urban, show }
number against
each principal
town.

If Rurals, show }
against each
District.

Sig. _____

Secretary, _____ Provincial C. C.

A Model Report

Dr N. S. Hardikar, the Director, Volunteer Board Karnatak has sent us the report of progress in reference to that province. It is a model of brevity and methodical presentation of detail in striking contrast with some of the haphazard and arbitrarily drawn up reports which we had the occasion to review sometime back in the special supplement of this journal. The total number of volunteers recruited from February 1 to April 5 is 604 out of which 389 belong to the 'Active' and 215 to the 'Reserved' class. The result is arranged according to districts and the share contributed by each community indicated in a tabular form. The Brahmins claim the lion's share, having contributed 488 recruits; 170 to the active and 318 to the reserved corps. The enrolment of Mahomedans began only after the first of April and their number is rather small, i. e. 42. But the Director is sanguine of having them in large numbers now that their enrolment has commenced.

But by far the most interesting feature of the report is the presence of 5 'untouchables' on the volunteers' list. We congratulate Karnatak on this happy move. We hope our untouchable brethren also will lose no time in seizing this opportunity. If they only respond to the invitation of the Congress in their numbers they can secure an automatic solution of this problem of age-long. No comradeship is truer or more enduring than comradeship in arms—the more so when the arms used are not of iron and steel but of love and sacrifice only.

Khadi Notes

Numerous letters are being received here from friends asking for fresh copies of bulletins issued by this department. The information contained in them has also begun to be availed of in practical work. The discussion about cotton-growing and cotton seeds of different varieties in the bulletin No. 7 has resulted in orders for cotton-seeds from places far and near. Khadi Departments elsewhere also report that they have begun to receive orders. This is a sure index of the progress of Khadi activities. But there is another side of the picture also. From the information given in one of our bulletins about surplus yarn several provinces ordered for yarn from Karnatak, but the result does not seem to have been satisfactory. One gentleman having been disappointed with the yarn supplied to him has written a bitter letter to us complaining about the price and the quality of Karnatak yarn. We beg to draw the attention of the Karnatak Khadi Department (Yarn and Khadi store, Gadag) to this matter.

We have received fresh quotations from the Secretary of the Karnatak Khadi Department for yarns of 6 to 36 counts. These prices are a little lower than the previous prices. But we are informed that yarns of above 15 count are sold out very quickly and therefore only yarns of counts below 15 can be supplied to the outside customers.

Yarn and Khadi Store, Gadag have again sent us samples of three kinds of yarn. They are all in the form of warps as before. On examination they were found to be of 'pocha', 'soft' kind of yarn.

A few samples of yarn from Dacca District also have been received along with a sample of cotton from which they were spun. The fibre of this cotton is rough and less than half an inch in length. Still the yarn spun from it is good enough. The manner in which reels are wound shows that the people of Dacca have not lost their ancient craft altogether. The samples of yarn received were of 8 to 20 counts. All the samples of yarn received were of 'kudak' kind of yarn.

Note:—

[Yarn spun by gradually drawing a thread as the twist reaches the splicer is the ideal yarn. It may be called 'kudak' or 'hard' yarn, while the yarn spun by drawing a thread at once and giving the necessary twist afterwards is not the right kind of yarn. It may be called 'pocha' or 'soft' yarn. Such 'soft' yarn is very often found with an extra-twist given to it to strengthen it. It may be called 'akra' or 'overtwisted' yarn. This kind of yarn is not good.]

Report Forms

All-India Congress Khadi Department published in December last a report of Khaddar work. It contained reports of Khadi work done in all the provinces of India. About six months have passed since the report was published. It is now necessary to know the progress of work done during this period. The Khadi Department has for this purpose got some forms printed in the form of a booklet. Copies of it will be sent to all Provincial Khadi Departments in due course. It is expected that every Congress organisation will supply

as much information as it may possess or can possibly get, and return the forms to the A. I. C. K. D. without any unnecessary delay. It is true that it is not easy to collect the kind of information required in the form. However it is as important as it is difficult to get. If we simply pigeon-hole the forms on the plea that we have no time or men to collect such information, it would mean that we lack organising ability. If we cannot collect the figures of spinning wheels actually working, hand-loom and the number of persons engaged in this industry we must confess that we are yet very backward indeed? The reports sent last year were more or less superficial. Information given should be well ordered, precise and detailed.

Bardoli Khadi Work Report

Khadi work in Bardoli was started in a properly organised manner from February 1922, when a spinning wheel census was taken. With the help of volunteers available then a charkha census of 35 villages out of 80 comprising the Bardoli Taluka was completed. A spinning and weaving school was opened in each of the four centers of the Taluka. The Kadod branch opened at Varad (a village) has done the best work. Work was started by giving attention to the improvement of carding. 25 volunteers belonging to the sub-division were taught how to card cotton well. They returned to their villages after finishing the course and started work in their respective villages. The slivers at once improved when the superior Bardoli cotton began to be carded well at home. With the improvement in slivers yarn automatically began to improve and people began to spin with enthusiasm. Stocks of yarn began to accumulate rapidly and as there were no weavers in that part of the country we had to induce the weavers from other places to come and settle there. A farmer friend gladly offered his unoccupied house for five "untouchable" weaver families to dwell in, and the villagers and the weavers lived together as if they were old neighbours. The weavers began to draw water from the same well as others. Sometimes they were served with butter-milk by the house-owners. Gradually they and the villagers began to personally serve one another in sickness. One of the weaver women won the sympathy and esteem of the people so much that she was often invited by them to their houses. In Varad yarn was not spun for wages. People spun it for their own use and got it woven as required from the Khadi Karyalaya. Although weaving charges were very high they willingly gave the yarn to the local weavers for being woven into cloth. Gradually the weavers instead of disposing off the yarn got accustomed to weaving handspun yarn and the weaving charges became a little cheaper.

There are about 25 villages in Varad sub-division. The information collected embraces only 11 villages. The report shows that 450 mds. (40 lbs making a maund) of seed-cotton will be stocked by these villages among them this year i. e. thrice as much as was done last year. It is not possible to give a more definite idea of the progress of spinning as the report before us does not give the figures about population. Last

(Continued on page 164)

Young India

3-5-23

The Coming Fight

With the 30th of April ends the truce entered into with the leaders of the new party at Allahabad. They have declared their intention to call upon the people to participate in the coming Council elections and return the nominees of their party in preference to other candidates. On the other hand our duty according to the resolution of the Gaya Congress is to carry on the boycott of elections. It is hoped that we will be able to perform this duty without friction and with mutual good understanding.

Though the suspension of controversy ended with the 30th of April and both parties are from that date free to carry on their respective propaganda, we should remember that the first and foremost duty now of all the Congress workers who stand by the resolutions of the Gaya Congress is to go on with the programme of collections and enlistment until the All India Congress Committee meeting on the 25th of May at Bombay. Every committee as well as individual worker should realise the supreme importance of putting forth during the next three weeks the maximum effort possible towards the fulfilment of the resolution regarding men and money, against all kinds of difficulties. A few faithful workers have fought with manful perseverance and achieved enough to show to ourselves if not to others that the national cause is bound in the end to triumph. At the All India Congress Committee meeting we shall consider and decide upon Civil Disobedience.

It should be remembered that the undertaking of individual Civil Resistance does not depend on the literal fulfilment of the quota of men or money. I would advise my friends to undertake individual suffering even though the volunteers enrolled fall short of the number fixed and even if the money collected is less than 25 lacs as set down in the programme. It is clear that without suffering our apathy and our dissensions will not cease while on the other hand our wrongs are increasing. The capital and fundamental evil of subjection to irresponsible foreign rule is killing our life and our apathy and dissensions are increasing and smothering our efforts at self-help and emancipation. It is clear that without a programme of suffering all these difficulties will become harder and harder every day to overcome. On the other hand the challenges of the Government and the wrongs inflicted by it call for manly answer and resistance. The manner in which Civil Resistance is to be offered and suffering undertaken will be decided at the All India Congress Committee meeting.

If Congress men undertake, as I want, a programme of intense suffering there may be no need whatever to have any special propaganda for the boycott of Councils. There is no need to go further than stating our position clearly to the people as to their duty to abstain from all participation in the Council elections and its preliminaries. Let us not lose ourselves in controversy for which happily there is not much need now. The cer-

tification of the Salt Tax just on the eve of the elections is a calculated insult to the self-respect of the nation and betrays the Government's reliance on our weakness. The camouflage of the Reformed Councils has been so clearly exposed that a bare statement of the case ought to be enough to induce not only Non-cooperators but even the Moderates to refuse to participate in the elections of this year. If however the issue becomes clouded and active propaganda becomes necessary we have to undertake it for which there is plenty of time yet.

C. R.

The War of Ahimsa

At first sight, the title which I have chosen seems to be nothing but a poor kind of paradox, or even a misnomer. How can Ahimsa, the principle of Love, be intimately connected with War? How can Love itself be a warfare? How can the phrase be really true, that there is a 'War of Love'?

I believe that the understanding of this will do away with a great deal of mis-apprehension about Ahimsa, as if it were merely passive. It may also explain more freely than anything else, Mahatma's own character and the underlying spiritual quality of the Movement which he founded. For, true Love must be ever at war with wrong. But Love's weapons are never the weapons of violence; they are always the weapons of sacrifice.

There is a remarkable passage in one of St. Paul's Epistles, called the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is to be found in the last chapter, from verse 10 onwards. I have often thought of this passage, when I have remembered Mahatma Gandhi; and it came with a vivid flash to my mind, only the other day, just before I sailed from Bombay, when a French letter came to the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, from that greatest of all living Frenchmen, Romain Rolland. In that letter the French writer spoke in the highest possible terms of Mahatma Gandhi and also of the poet. He called them the twin souls of India, each representing in his own way the spirit which India has truly taught down all the ages. Without either of them, the Indian Renaissance of our own day would have been imperfect. With both of them its message to the world was luminous.

Thus, as far as my memory serves me, Romain Rolland introduces his subject. Then he gave one of those characteristically lucid analogies which only the great French writer can present among the authors of Europe. "The more I think of it," he said, "the more I regard you, poet, as the Plato of the modern movement in India, and Mahatma Gandhi as the St. Paul."

"Mahatma Gandhi as the St. Paul." The analogy had never occurred to me before; but when once the phrase was written down by the French writer I could see at once a hundred remarkable resemblances. I cannot draw them out, one by one, in this article; for that is not my subject. But I would point out the striking fact, that St. Paul, with his volcanic nature, poured forth his new and strange thoughts like streams of molten lava, at white heat. These brooked no obstacle in their course when once the onward progress had begun. Yet it was the same St. Paul, who wrote the Hymn of Love, which for perfection of lyric beauty has never been surpassed.

In the same way when we think of Mahatma Gandhi, we feel at once the volcanic power of his nature. His thoughts like those of St. Paul flow like molten lava, overcoming all obstacles in the way. We feel that he can truly say with Browning:—

"I was ever a fighter: now one fight more,
The last and the best."

Yet, it is the same Mahatmaji, whose almost passionate tenderness of affection wins for him the answering love of all who come near to him; it is the same Mahatmaji to whom little children run instinctively to have their fun and whom women worship for his utter gentleness. It struck me very much that Romain Rolland, who could only judge Mahatmaji from his writings, spoke of the 'flaming heart of Gandhi'. He understood his love.

St. Paul and Mahatma Gandhi have both of them been warriors in the cause of peace. Both of them could find no resting place in this world except in a prison cell. The Roman Government was, in one respect, more merciful than the British. For the Roman Governor allowed letters to be sent out by St. Paul the prisoner, to cheer and lighten his followers in the outside world. This letter to the Ephesians was one such letter. St. Paul calls himself in it in a noble phrase, "An Ambassador in Bonds."

What a wonderful letter might not Mahatma Gandhi have written, to cheer those who are his followers, if he had received the same privilege which St. Paul had at Rome. But not a word has come from him to the outside world, since he was put in jail. The silence has been ominously complete.

I come back, from this long digression, to the chapter in St. Paul's Epistle, which I wished to quote.

"Put on," he says, "the whole armour of God."

God's armour, in which the true and happy warrior is to be clad, is not that of modern warfare, the armoury of bombs and aeroplanes and poison gas. That is Satan's armoury, and St. Paul in this very chapter speaks of the fiery darts of Satan, which have to be overcome. What, then, is the armour of God?

"Stand," he says, "having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;

"Above all, taking the shield of Faith, where-with you shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked;

"And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God."

Here is our armour, then,—the whole armour of God,—faith, righteousness, truth, peace, the word of God in the heart, the confidence in God, which brings salvation and victory in the end, established in the mind.

What marvellous weapons these were in Mahatma Gandhi's own hands! And how gloriously he wielded them! What faith! What courage! What reliance upon conscience alone! And, with all this, what a gospel of peace and love!

His followers, have not wielded these great weapons in the battle of love as Mahatmaji has wielded them. That is why we have failed and therefore once more we must go back and learn from him the secret of final victory.

"We wrestle," says St. Paul, "not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."

The writer pictures to the mind's eye a background of evil forces, far more deadly than those which are visible to the naked eye. We have, he says, to fight against these. And how can we do it with merely earthly weapons, as though we were fighting against flesh and blood alone?

Have we not all felt that in this strange and sudden outburst, among the multitudes in Punjab, of Hindu Muslim enmity, instead of Hindu Muslim unity, there was something mysterious, something invisible to be fought against, not merely that which was visible?

If this is true, how shall we fight and with what weapons? We have seen the Congress leaders going one and all, their feet 'shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace' and 'taking the shield of faith' and we are certain that their battle for the truth will not have been in vain.

In another part of India we have had to join in the immense conflict with the "powers of darkness and spiritual wickedness in high places" in order to undo the awful curse of untouchability. Again what are the weapons to use? Do we not need again to take the shield of faith, of spiritual courage (to call 'faith' by another name). Do we not need, above all, to have our feet "shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace?"

I picture to myself, more and more, the great ideal of Mahatmaji in the non-co-operation movement working itself out in a spiritual enterprise for the removal of age-long evils from the fair face of India. It rejoiced my heart to read how Deshbandhu at Lahore took up the struggle against forced labour. May God bless him in that struggle! It was a joy to me last year to witness the noble spiritual conflict of the Akali Sikhs for the purification of their shrines. It has been an added joy to me to witness how to-day when one sudden wave of passion disturbs Hindu Muslim unity, the evil is not left unchecked in callous disregard, but, from every part of India, those who would heal and restore and make peace, go forward to the rescue, and friendship is restored.

The question rises before each one of us individually, whether we ourselves are ready. We have to answer it alone in the silence of our own souls.

Is our faith strong, or is it weak? Do we believe in the gospel of peace or do we truly believe in violence? Are we determined to uphold righteousness and truth, with moral courage? Or are we moral cowards? Have we within our souls, that word of God; that voice of conscience, which impels us to do what is right? Or have we stifled it with doubt and worldliness and cynical indifference?

Truly, there is a warfare here wherein more bravery is required than in the open battle, facing physical death. Here is the warfare of the inner spirit; and in this warfare, we need each one of us to put on "the whole armour of God."

C. F. A.

A Hero's Spirit

In Visapur Jail scandal became so bad that the Government appointed a committee of enquiry to examine into the allegations. The Report of the committee has been published. The constitution of the committee did not give rise to much hope that there would be an unhesitating and merciless condemnation of the wickedness perpetrated in the jail. Mr. Bhojraj Ajwani, one of the victims of the cruelties of this Jail, a graduate of the Bombay University, and Secretary of the Sindh Provincial Congress Committee, has written a letter to the press about the Enquiry Committee's report. Extracts from his letter are given below:—

"At the outset I must state that I have not by my side my friend and fellow-sufferer Mr. Werhomal to testify to my statements. The Government has thought fit to lock him up again for a year. But nevertheless to the best of my ability I desire to make some replies to the Commission's report without recounting the piteous tale of that veritable hell of Visapur jail."

"The commission announces that the following evidence was placed before it:—

- I. Inspector General of Prisons.
- II. Superintendent of Visapur jail.
- III. Jailor's evidence.
- IV. Asstt. Surgeon's evidence.
- V. 9 Jail prisoners who are still in Visapur Jail.
- VI. Mr. Govindji Vasanji.
- VII. Mr. Amulrai's Evidence.

"It will thus be seen that as many as 9 prisoners examined are still in the Visapur Jail who could not have boldly stated the facts. Out of the 6 other witnesses, 4 are jail officials and only 2 independent witnesses. Messrs. Govindji Vasanji and Amulrai have submitted their evidence. The administration of jail therefore stands condemned by its very administrators.

"Any way a careful study of the report will convince any one that the report indirectly and practically endorses most of what we have said though it has not the boldness to make a frank confession of the terrible state of things existing in Visapur jail."

"It has also been admitted that latrine arrangements were very unsatisfactory. Prisoners were given very little time to ease themselves and latrines were not screened against each other with the result that the prisoners had to sit naked beside one another. Not only that, but the commission has also admitted that sometimes 2 or 3 prisoners sat together in one pot to ease themselves—a thing that is too terrible to think of. A more brutal thing could not be imagined. As I recall that awful scene before my eyes, it brings a cold shudder to me. It only brings home to my mind the dreadful and degrading depths to which human nature is capable of descending.

"But the commission has failed to arrive at the truth with regard to the other point. It says, water arrangements for latrines were satisfactory. I am unable to understand how the commission has been able to make that extraordinary statement. I and Mr. Werhomal have in our previous statement declared that a tub of water was really kept for latrine purposes, but that tub contained not only water, but, it will shock some people to know that the prisoners passed urine in that tub also. That was the only arrangement for passing water.

The tub therefore sometimes contained a mixture of urine and water. Prisoners requiring water for necessary purposes, had instructions to fill their pots (in which they took their meals) from the tub and use the mixture for necessary purposes. Who can submit to such shameful degradation and specially how can an educated man stand such a terrible thing?

"We had alleged that except at the appointed time prisoners were not given permission to make water or to answer the call of nature. The Commission makes a categorical denial of this. Will the Commission explain if that permission was granted why was it that there were daily two or three instances of prisoners in Chakki who were given jail punishments because out of sheer helplessness they had to pass involuntarily urine and faeces.

"Then again why did prisoners at night stealthily make water in pots in which they took their meals?

"The report shows that prisoners were given good and proper quantity of food. A more astounding statement, it is difficult to think of. When I think of the cooked rice given to me full of dead flies, unbaked bread not without stones and insects, a feeling of horror comes over me. The Jail authorities may have improved the quality of the food at the time the Commission visited it, but it is absurd to say that the food supplied in Visapur jail was of a fair quality.

"Speaking for myself, I must say that although Mr. Werhomal and myself did not require so much as other prisoners needed, still after hard labour of grinding 20 seers the quantity of food supplied to us was not sufficient to satisfy my hunger, and I and Mr. Werhomal were always anxious to have a dry piece of extra bread."

The following are extracts from the original pamphlet issued by Mr. Bhojraj and his fellow-prisoner Mr. Werhomal Gurdasani, a teacher in the Tilak National School and Secretary District Congress Committee

"We have tried our best to give here nothing but the truth, minimising rather than exaggerating the awful punishments we and our fellow prisoners had to suffer in that diabolical den of torture. Our moderate friends are fond of putting questions about jail life but the Honourable member in charge of the portfolio does not find it difficult to bamboozle them by skilful evasion or a clever tergiversation. We challenge anybody to disprove the accuracy of the particulars in the narrative given below and we doubt if the Government will have the hardihood to deny any of the allegations made below, familiar as we are with the cleverness with which the most heinous enormities of officials are white-washed or denied in Government communiques.

"On admission into Visapur jail our legs were encased in double fetters. We remonstrated but to no effect. We were specifically told that being political prisoners that was the least we could expect. (Ordinary prisoners sentenced to less than one year's imprisonment have single fetters on their legs. Our sacred threads were then forcibly taken away from us notwithstanding our repeated request to retain this symbol of our faith; Werhomal's spectacles were also removed.

"At sunset another heavy chain was passed through our fetters making it impossible for us to move beyond 2 paces.

"Each one of us was asked to grind 40lbs. The unerring exactitude with which the flour ground by us

was subjected to a severe test by the strainer made it necessary for us to re-grind the flour as many as 7 or 8 times. Fortunately, for all the tortures inflicted on us we never failed in grinding the required quantity of corn before the fixed time i. e. 4 P. M.

"Every now and then the havaladar and his men passed by us striking indiscriminately all the convicts with their *dundas* and none of us dared even to cast side glances to see from which side the blow came. We had to rigidly keep to our task with limbs excruciating with pain and the whole body trickling drops of sweat. We could then realize the poor condition of the bullocks in the oil press as they are struck by some inhuman wretches. Protestations as well as entreaties were of no avail. We could not utter a word without thick *dundas* descending on our neck, back and all the available portions of our body, in a bewildering succession. They seemed mad with a craving to use their fists and *dundas* and doubtless thought it a pleasant sport to torture the convicts assigned to their charge. Sometimes they took us by the neck and wrung it forcibly felling us to the ground, when they had easy time with their *dundas*.

"Sometimes bets were laid by the warders as to which of them could have the task supervised by him finished the earliest. These wagers were asignal for our supervisors to shower a rain of blows on us, goading us into fury to finish our task at once. Bhojraj had once to suffer in this way 18 *dundas* in succession and he lay all night groaning in agony. The next day when he was brought to the work he fainted after a while through sheer weakness, whereupon his warder dragged him like a beast to the doctor leaning him on the way, and the doctor took him to be a pretender and directed the warder to take him back to *chaki*. Bhojraj requested for an hour's respite which could not be granted; he then asked for leave to drink water and take rest for 5 minutes, but none of these requests found favour with that demon of the doctor and he was dragged to his *chaki* immediately. He began naturally to go down and lost 31 lbs in the course of 3 months, after which he was asked to grind 30 lbs instead of 40 lbs everyday. Werhomal's labour was also reduced to 30 lbs after his elbow became very weak.

"Once Bhojraj had to go to the doctor and he was answering a query put by the doctor when his warder thinking that he had dared to address the doctor first dealt such a severe blow upon his wound on the back of his head that blood began to flow profusely from the wound. Werhomal once received 10 *dundas* on the left side of his chest which made it difficult for him to breathe—a trouble from which he has not yet recovered. For the first two months of our jail life we were administered a dose of 10 to 15 *dundas* every day after which our jailor, Mr. Fernandez, was transferred and a slightly more humane person came in his place. Instead of being beaten every day we were now beaten about twice a week only. It should of course be understood that both these jailors personally joined in the beating as much as any of the warders under them. It is unnecessary to write further about the *dunda* affair beyond mentioning that it was a part of our life as much as meat and drink."

"The sanitation arrangements were of the most filthy and indecent description. Batches consisting of 60 to 80 persons were led to the place where some 10 or 15 basins were placed in a row where we were made to sit in twos and threes on a single basin simultaneously and be done with it. It was certainly repugnant to our sense of decency and shame to sit in a stark naked condition in the presence of scores of other men awaiting their turn and hence for the first 3 days we could not possibly make up our minds to answer the calls of nature, seeing what it meant. But necessity made us to submit to the beastly conditions of our life. It is easier to understand than to describe the sense of shame and degradation that overtook us in submitting to this operation. We could not attend to the calls of nature except at either 6-30 A. M. or 2 P. M.; no amount of supplication could move the warders to allow the convicts to ease themselves at any other time. Sometimes it happened that a convict felt the pressing necessity of easing himself at some other time but however terrible be his plight permission was refused to him, and instead he had to undergo the usual discipline of the *dunda*. The poor convicts were sometimes forced to answer their calls at night time by passing stools in the pots in which they took their meals. Werhomal once asked permission to ease himself one night as he had severe stomach trouble but the inhuman warder met his request with the usual reply of the *dunda*. Half a dozen prisoners had to pass urine simultaneously in the same pot. It might be noted here that the miserable diet provided naturally produced many disorders of the stomach and bowels, but the poor prisoners had to bear all the rigours devised by a shameless gang of people who must have bidden good bye to decency and cleanliness long, long ago."

"During the day time we could drink water only at 9 A. M. 12 noon and 2 P. M. from a common jar which was used by all the prisoners including the sweepers. The cup was passed from mouth to mouth and if any one spared some water in the cup, that defiled water had to be drunk by the next man. Fists, slaps and *dundas* were the fate meted out to those who were undacious enough to throw away the defiled water. We defied this rule all along and submitted to the inevitable chastisement.

"We were allowed to take only weekly baths. Every Sunday at 2 P. M. in the full sight of midday sun we were made to stand in long rows with ever accompanying fetters on our legs and made to run like brutes goaded and lashed by our inhuman captors to a puddle one or two miles away. The puddle was about 5 to 12 inches deep and contained much mud and thorns.

"This bath was to be finished in about 10 minutes time. The insufficient baths and consequent uncleanness filled us with nauseating odour which brought scores of lice in our body; Bhojraj's very eye-lashes were filled with these uncanny creatures.

"We were forced to submit compulsorily to get our head and beard shaved every Sunday at the hands of a convict barber whose blunt razor was a veritable scythe, which scratched out the blood from our face. The tuft of hair on the head which is a religious duty with Hindoos was forcibly plucked from our head with bare hands, if scissors were sometimes not available. Bhojraj's hair were plucked in this fashion once.

Sometimes we had to lie awake the whole night, shivering with cold. It must not be forgotten that all the months, throughout day and night, we had fetters on our legs with an additional chain at night time. Nly every hour of the night our heavy chain was pulled by the sentries to make sure that all were there and this continual disturbance made it impossible for us to sleep well. When rains came on we could not, for fear of life, have any garment over us and we had to face rain and cold in a state of nature. If anything was wanted to render our slumbers as uncomfortable as possible, the deficiency was made up by the bites of the mosquitoes that swarmed in the place.

"The above narrative does not include the various jail punishments, separate and solitary confinements, penal diet, gunny clothes etc, which are not unfrequently awarded to the prisoners for some supposed insubordination or for some other offence. This infernal den where multifarious devices are invented to demoralize the prisoners and butcher the spirit of manhood in them still holds about 2000 souls within its fold not taken care of by their brethren outside. We passed full 5 months and 10 days in such savage environments and were released on 18th July 1922. By the grace of Almighty God we successfully underwent this hard test of such horrible trials and tribulations and came out of the jail purer and more undaunted in spirit. We hope to serve our Motherland with unabated enthusiasm and redoubled energy and vigour."

C. R.

(Continued from Page 149)

year there were no more than 3 or 4 hand-gins in these villages. This year there are as many as 46 hand-gins among the above mentioned villages only. The figures about carding-bows and spinning wheels according to the returns before as are 19 and 344 respectively. Out of the yarn spun last year 40 maunds of it have already been woven into cloth and the remaining yarn, about 27 mds. is to be woven by the people themselves. Larger quantity of cotton stored this year shows that the people have begun to appreciate the value of Charkha and Khadi.

National Schools

The teacher of the Varad national school is very much devoted to charka. He picked up just a little knowledge of spinning and weaving at Satyagrahashram and made up the rest at Bardoli Khadi Karyalaya. He joined the school after learning all the processes of the art of weaving, from raw cotton to the production of finished cloth. Out of one hundred students in his school he has already converted about 40 into ardent lovers of khadi. They have resolved to stock cotton for themselves and to prepare cloth out of it. They purpose to do all the work of ginning, carding, spinning, weaving etc. for themselves and to wear only khadi prepared by themselves in this way.

The National School of Vankaner, a village in the sub-division of Valodsin, Bardoli Taluqua has also taken keen interest in the spinning class started there. Since January 1922 a teacher well trained in spinning and weaving was engaged in that school. A spinning class was opened under his supervision. Within three months it showed good results. The boys learnt how to card well and were able to prepare good slivers for themselves. This rendered spinning more delightful.

Other wheels in the village also received some indirect stimulus. People began to send their cotton to the school for being carded. The students thus served the villagers by preparing slivers for them and at the same time helped their school by earning for it a few rupees. During the spinning season the school was earning from 10 to 12 rupees every month through this source. Over and above that it also got something out of the yarn that the students spun. But the effect that it had on the spinning in the village was of infinitely greater value than this incidental income to the school.

Curse of Untouchability

There is a branch of the Bardoli Khadi Vidyalyaya in Vankaner also. The yarn spun by the people in that village is being woven by the "untouchable" weavers brought over there and employed by this branch. The village people realized that the weavers did not like to leave their homes and come to other places. They therefore began to show greater feeling of affection and regard towards them. Their dislike to the weavers' drawing water from the same well soon wore off and the weaver families began to be invited to marriage feasts in the village. But inspite of all this the weavers do not like to stay away from their homes for long and consequently the Karyalaya as well as the people have to undergo heavy expenses.

Dearth of Able and Devoted workers

Thus many difficulties arise in organising and carrying on khadi work but the workers become more confident and optimistic as they acquire greater experience and love for their work. Their greatest difficulty is their small number, and the question of questions is how long it will take this handful of workers to organize the work over such a vast field. Gujarat has got organizing capacity but organizers are wanting. Young men do not come out in their numbers to work for khaddar. The workers must know all the processes that cotton has to pass through before it is made into cloth. They must also know how to keep accounts. Above all they must be men of character. If such workers are separated from the volunteers enrolled by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee and are confined in the 'public jails' instead of being sent to the Government jails, Gujarat will amply vindicate its reputation. And what applies to Gujarat applies no less to other places also. Some able workers believing that Khadi work can be better done by older people join in other 'flashy', sort of activities. They will soon find, if they think over it that they dare not neglect Khadi. It is the industry which will conserve the prosperity of our villages. It is the industry which will bridge the difference between the rich and the poor and the touchables and the untouchables. It is the corner-stone of National Education and a symbol of Indian culture. It is not a thing to be laid aside in the battle of national freedom but it is a weapon to be effectively used in it.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

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To All Provincial Congress Committees

We again invite the attention of all Provincial Congress Committees to the importance of sending in their consolidated reports about the progress made in the prosecution of the Gaya Programme, at once to the 'Young India' Office by PRESS TELEGRAM and to the A. I. C. C. Office Patna, by post. Rough figures may be wired immediately if exact details are not available. District and Taluka Congress Committees are requested to send their reports not to us but to their respective Provincial Offices. A supplement of 'YOUNG INDIA' will be published as soon as detailed information is received.

Notes

Country's Progress.

We regret, we are unable, for want of information, to publish this week a complete statement of the progress made by the country in the constructive programme, upto 30th April, in the form of a supplement to 'Young India', as we proposed to do. Only 7 out of the 20 provinces have yet sent in their reports and even there the details are wanting. The information received is given in a condensed form below. The corresponding results on the 18th March are given in the opposite columns for the sake of comparison:

Province	L. S. Fund		Volunteers	
	18th March	30th April	18th March	30 April
Bengal	21434	105000	1249	over 2000
Gujarat	103000	825858	795	853
Tamil Nadu	11125	80000	450	887
Karnatak	4090	18582	450	783
Hindi		15008		2107
C. P.	5367	40000	393	428
Marathi		55608		2533
Rajasthan	nll	4990	nll	48
Special donations & Collections by All India Devotion	...	...	...	...
Total	804956	1200000	3316	7071

The above figures represent the actual results achieved approximately only, as in most cases the Provincial Congress Committees have not yet received returns from the Districts.

A glance at the table will show how figures have shot up since the 18th March with electric speed. Collections are reported to be still proceeding at full swing in almost all the provinces. With due effort it ought not to be difficult to double up the figures by the time the A. I. C. C. meets at Bombay, about the end of this month. The position as regards volunteers is most reassuring. They will not fail to respond in their thousands when the bugle of the battle sounds, if only we perform the up-hill task of the collection of funds. A glance at the volunteer figures of C. P. will illustrate our meaning. On the 18th March there were only 393 volunteers. As soon as the battle for the flag commenced they began to pour in from all sides. The present figure stands at 2533. The enlistments are still going on apace.

How Secretary of State Refutes Allegations

It is recorded of an ancient king that he had the inscription "*Ultima Ratio Regum*" "Ultimate logic of kings" carved on his pieces of artillery. But it was left for Earl Winterton to adopt it as a practical maxim of Government. Replying to a question by Colonel Wedgwood about the statement about V. Saper Jail horrors, published by Messrs Bhojraj and Wernham, extracts from which we published in our last week's issue, Earl Winterton replied that, "the report of the committee inquiry upon the V. Saper Jail had effectually disposed of many of the gross misrepresentations contained in a pamphlet, the authors of which had not accepted the invitation to attend the committee."

We do not know what the 'gross misrepresentations' effectively disposed of by the committee are. On the contrary the worst charges, the horrors of the bell-chain at night, indescribable torture caused by refusal of permission to answer the call of nature at night, the way in which prisoners were hustled at the latrine-parade and the manner in which more than one person was made to use the same latrine utensil at the same time, the callousness with which the warders sometimes assaulted the prisoners, resulting in the immediate death of one-prisoner and severe injury to several others—all these are admitted in as many words in the report submitted by the gentlemen selected by the Government itself, to inquire into the matter. And this in spite of the fact that the 9 prisoners exonerated were still in the V. Saper jail and at the tender mercies of the jail authorities against whom they were expected to depose, and out of the remaining 6 witnesses 4 were jail officials, who were themselves on their trial.

But supposing that even then the truth of some charges made against the jail authorities is not acceptable to the Government, the only reasonable and sane course would be to specifically refute them by holding an open non-official or mixed inquiry with more independent witnesses, that can carry conviction to an impartial mind. But the method which the Secretary of State of India has hit upon, of vindicating the position of the Government is strikingly novel indeed. Replying to Colonel Yate he said, "The authorities in India were considering whether action against the author of the pamphlet, was desirable." Excellent logic indeed, the very "*Ulima Ratio Regum!*" We hope the noble Earl will be as good as his word. We congratulate the Secretary of State on his heroic performance. But does he know that Visapur jail only typifies the general jail administration in India, and that day after day and week after week statements about treatment of prisoners in Mulan and other jails are appearing in the press, compared to which Visapur horrors are tender mercy? We make a present of the latest instances that have come to our notice (published elsewhere in this issue) to the authorities to afford them a further chance for giving a trial to the heroic method of vindicating truth, invented by the Secretary of State.

Faith Unshaken

The following from a letter from L. Sham Lal, pleader, Hisar (Punjab) who suspended his practice two years back in obedience to the call of the Congress, will show how one may keep his faith unshaken and spirit undamped in the midst of general gloom, produced by the dropping off of comrades and internecine strife.

"I am convinced," he writes, "that if there are left one thousand non-cooperators in India to carry on the struggle, and that if even one out of these, stands his trial upto the last, the Divine Guide is bound to come as promised by Him, to save humanity and to free India and the world...I venture to make this humble declaration that I cannot and will not resume practice so long as any Indian patriot is in jail, and in the meantime, however long, I will go on fighting for Swaraj even at the point of starvation and death."

We join Mr. Sham Lal in his prayer that God may grant him strength to stick to his resolve. This declaration we trust will be received with unmixed joy by that heroic band of non-cooperating lawyers of the Punjab who are no less determined to keep the flag of non-cooperation flying to the last, in that province. Hisar's T. S. fund figure stands at over Rs. 2000, and it has enrolled 100 volunteers.

A Paradox

Mr. Das has so often reiterated that non-violent non-cooperation is the only weapon which he believes in and which can bring about India's salvation that the following statement made by him in a speech at Mirzapur Park comes as a little bit of surprise. "You really can not non-cooperate on compartment principle," said he. "All connection with the bureaucracy must be cut off, if it is at all to be non-cooperation. But such non-cooperation need not be practised; for as soon as the bureaucracy realise that the people are ready for it and mean it in all seriousness they will give in."

The occasion for a practical application of this weapon, which according to Mr. Das is the only weapon that can bring about India's deliverance, according to this theory can only come, it would appear, on Greek Calends.

Those, however, who believe non-cooperation to be a living, practical weapon will find no difficulty in realizing that like any other virtue non-cooperation is a difficult ascent to perfection, and its adoption by easy stages is the only practical way when the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.

A Letter from Berlin

Foreign Propaganda

[The following are extracts from a letter written by a friend now in Berlin, who has been an exile in foreign countries for many years, ever since the days of violent revolution began in India. C. R.]

With regard to the main subject of this letter I must say that I quite understand and very much agree that there is no necessity of foreign "propaganda" for the Congress just as the Irish, Egyptians and Turks used to do, because our success will depend upon our work and results in India. I myself in connection with—was engaged in France before the war and for two years in Stockholm during the war, in Indian propaganda. My opinion is that *Propaganda for India* as such has been sufficiently made before, during and after the European War—and is being still made as best as could be done by even so-called unofficial and unauthorised Indians on behalf of the Congress. Europe and America therefore know by this time the just demands of the Indians, inside and outside the Congress, and there is no more necessity to point out the same demands in and out of season. Millions of pamphlets have been prepared and circulated free among them—even some of book-size—to all classes of people in Europe in their own languages, so that they know what the nature of the British Government in India has been and is. Now some of these Europeans and Americans themselves are working favourably for India by articles and publications, and the British Government finds itself unable to get one book written or published "independently" by any author or publisher—or even if published, it knows that even its own sympathisers who are convinced of its "mission" do not feel much impressed by such publications. By foreign work or agency of the Congress, it must not therefore be understood, not do I mean, such sympathy-winning work, for sympathy has already been won in all circles from which it could be expected and where it could not be won—it can no longer be expected, because they are interested circles, who are or have always been prejudiced in favour of "our rulers". Moreover, sympathy no longer helps against our enemies who are now in an unchallenged position owing to their capacity to employ arms against all our would-be friends, who on account of such a rule of force in Europe, are themselves attempting at self-preservation by making friendships and compromises with our and their common adversaries. This is of course a short-sighted policy on their part and is likely to end in their

own enslavement to England but one cannot blind oneself to the fact that even Soviet Russia and Afghanistan, my latest experiences, are doing this in daily practice whatever they may say in irresponsible talk. Both the communist and imperialist rulers of those countries are now in the thorough grips, especially of British agents and British politics, thanks to some mistakes committed by themselves or arranged for them to be committed at the beginning of their rule. Instead of Indians expecting the support of these countries, or even their sympathy, it is the European tottering Governments and their helpless masses, and finally even the so-called new factors against England's politics of imperialism, namely Turks, Afghans and Russians and of course Germans and their former Allies who are looking for some hope from India by which their lot may be relieved, at least according to their views and in the interests of these views. Days, months and even years have passed and are passing without any definite hope in that direction. Hence the doubt created by the suspense induces them to make peace with the stronger who are their own enemies and who reiterate and suggest even temporary or conditional friendship for them. But the faint hope from India also keeps them talking about their "real" sympathy for India. Probably it cannot be otherwise in these world-conditions when every force tries to draw everything to itself alone and none of them are capable of resisting such forces yet.

Still I say some useful work can be done for India—or let us say, Indian work in Europe for Europeans themselves, and that by publishing regular and authentic news of Indian events and explaining them by comment or criticism in Europe's own way and for its own benefit. Such comments and criticisms, made in Europe for Europeans, may also be useful to Indian leaders themselves in that they will be instructive. This latter kind of work, most Indians now in Europe or likely to come from India are not trained in, and have not practised doing—and when some of them do, as Roy is supposed to do in his *Advance Guard* or some other people have begun to do in a newly born paper—*Indian Independence*—they are likely to do it as they are doing in the name of this or that non-existing party in India, in favour of "pro-Bolshevik" "pro-Afghan" or "pro-Turkish" politics and decidedly against the Indian movement as a whole—thus serving only the British "cause in India," even under an anti-British label. I know it is very difficult to steer through all the party sentiments and prejudices and be above them in foreign countries, and still serve the Indian purpose. Even our own friends in India may not recognise us as theirs and as Indian, on account of their prejudices or sentiments against such works which are likely to be misunderstood by them. Still we must know, with how many prejudices we are daily putting up within every Indian in India itself, and finally even adopt them gradually without interrogating our memory or consciousness, because it has become inevitable to do so. We can never know what we are likely to do in order to incorporate a thing into our practice although we may rebel against it now or later upon "principle." Necessity will compel us to carry out many things against our own previous

"definite" wills or wishes—because necessities decide our existence and progress or our death and destruction. Let me not harp much further in this letter upon this vague "necessity."

Another thing which may be done in Europe for the Congress is to give the experience of European liberation efforts for the lesson and benefit of our Indian organisers. This I am sure has never been done, at least in such a way as to keep Indian movement in touch with, and enriched by, European experiments and experience. Whatever has been attempted or experimented in India in this direction has been like borrowing the worn-out clothes of Europe—as for example the demand for Parliamentary institutions by Home Rulers and Trade Unions by Labour leaders. Our movement must not only know the latest movements of Europe and America pursuing human emancipation but must be capable of even giving lead and new clothing to the dying efforts or obvious failures of these Western countries. Otherwise we will be always lagging and falling behind them, being continually ruled by them. Every failure in Europe brings an appreciation of the cause of that failure and thereby also a betterment of the movement instead of disappearance of the original object of the movement altogether, as will be imagined. Parliamentaryism and class-democracy have failed in Europe; hence Bolshevik Sovietism and class dictatorships. Even this has failed, something new and better and clearer is coming. This kind of understanding is necessary and will be helpful to our leaders.

My brother writes and I quite agree that the Congress is more often liable to be cheated than helped and it is very difficult to find out who is honest and who is a rogue, as many people in foreign countries are rogues. It is also true that even sincere people from India, officially authorised to represent the Congress, are likely to cheat and to become rogues upon landing in Europe or America. From my personal and hearsay experience with steady nationalists in various parts of Europe and America, I can say that many of them become swindlers and idlers making a living in the name of their country, and serving any body who may pay them in the way they are asked to do without using any independent and honest judgment which they ought to do even at the risk of losing their job if they have to serve any cause sincerely and effectively. From this point of view of experience, even fresh and sincere men from India will not avail Indian cause. With all their sincerity and independent judgment, they may fall victims to other cheats or corruptors in Europe. Especially banquet and speech and interview-givers are quite useless and even dangerous to be sent to Europe, because they soon get into the habit of standing in the lime-light from which it is very difficult to extricate them. Moreover banquets, speeches and interviews, like ambassadors, are not going to save India from its subjection but hard, studious work inside and out of India which will enrich India with real, useful experience.

You will see from my remarks as well as from a letter which I had addressed to Swarajya last week

(Continued on page 160)

A Melancholy Game

We confess we have not come across a more miserable and melancholy instance of quibbling, equivocation and evasion as some of the methods followed by the Punjab Government in meeting charges brought against it.

Some time back the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak committee had published some specific instances of scandalously inhuman treatment meted out to Akali prisoners in Multan Jail, with special reference to the period after 22nd March. The Government thereupon, obviously, to dispose of these charges, published a communique giving some undated remarks of some unnamed non-official visitors to Multan jail, "showing us if there was nothing wrong." "Any reader will take the impression," says an S. G. P. C. communique, "that the remarks concern the period referred to by the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. But the facts as discovered by responsible representatives of the Prabandhak Committee during their recent visit to Multan are astounding." All the three non-official visitors, who were known to have visited the Multan jail, being interviewed, "Two of them denied having written that report and the third assured them that the report published by Government was his, but that he had made it in February, only before the period complained of."

Of a piece with this instance is another. In communique No. 473, the S. G. P. C. made a definite allegation against the jail authorities about the beating of Akali Sikhs in Multan jail, with a view to extorting apologies. The communique ran:-

"All those who are to be set free on a particular date are first made unconscious. Some are put in a pond of dirty water. Pathan Lumberdars sit on their shoulders; their faces sink in water until they become senseless. They are all in that state carried to the office where their thumb impressions are fixed on some pieces of printed paper each containing one or two lines of English—probably a form of apology."

The Government Communique in reply to this ran:-

"The orders which allow of release after completion of two-thirds of the sentence, in cases in which no danger to the public is involved by release, are being applied to the Guru-ka-Bagh prisoners; and large numbers have been and are being released under these orders. In these cases no question of apology arises."

Mark the quibbling again. "In these cases no question of apology arises." Are there any cases in which the question of apology does arise? And what are the facts about these cases pray? The Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee has published the following further details in connection with this matter.

"We now learn that the Government through its letter no 9452 (Judicial) dated 30-3-23 has directed the superintendent of jails to secure the signatures of Akali prisoners to the English form reproduced below, as a preliminary to their release.

"I, having been convicted of the offence noted in the margin and now undergoing a sentence of for a period of years, accept the following conditions upon which the remainder of the above sentence will be suspended by the local Government under section no. I Criminal Procedure Code, namely:-

(1) I shall be generally of good behaviour to the satisfaction of the local Government, and

(2) In particular I shall not without legal sanction, attempt or encourage others to attempt to disturb the lawful possession of persons in occupation of any religious institution or edifice or property attached thereto.

(3) I will surrender myself to Government or any officer empowered on its behalf, at any future time, if called upon to do so.

If any of these conditions in the opinion of the local Government are not fulfilled, the local Government may cancel the suspension of the sentence."

"This means in practice" observe the communique "a broad hint to the jail authorities to exact apologies by any means, fair or foul."

The following facts published by the S. G. P. C. will serve to bring home to those unfamiliar with the ways of Government underlings, the terrible significance of this 'broad hint':—

"The jail authorities of the central jail have turned their special attention now to the Jathedar, Bhai Hazara Singh, who is suffering from an eye disease, shut up under a landage. The jail authorities addressing the Akalis say, "If you want to save your lives then apologize; otherwise you will not be let out alive."

[Communique no. 497]

"On the 4th April 1923, Bhai Mangal Singh was ducked several times in dirty water. He was similarly treated on the 8th also. On the 15th April, he was severely beaten and asked to beg for an apology and on refusal was caught by four men and his thumb impression forcibly taken on the apology form. The following articles belonging to him have not been returned:-

(1) Kirpan, (2) a sum of Rs. 6/—, (3) one coat, (4) one Pajama."

(Communique no. 490)

"On 6th April, Bhai Mansingh was doing his daily task. He was summoned to a secluded place and beaten senseless and dragged by the hair. In this condition his thumb impression was taken and he was thrown out of the jail."

(Ibid)

"On the 10th April, Bhai Sardarsingh was severely beaten, and when he was on the point of fainting, his thumb impression was taken and he was dragged out."

(Ibid)

What has the Government to say to these specific and definite charges, any one of which would be sufficient to damn any Government in the eyes of the civilized world, as unfit to function? Why has no attempt even been made to meet any of them squarely? Why does the Government shirk the challenge of the S. G. P. C. in its communique No. 485 to publish the report of Raja Narendra Nath and Rai Sahib Lala Sewak Ram—two ultra-loyalists who certainly could have no sympathy with the forces of 'lawlessness and disorder'—about the Attock Jail which the communique says, the Finance Member had promised the representatives of the S. G. P. C. to publish?

The Government is dumb; but the record of its criminality is being silently piled up in the silent archives of nature all the same and the day of reckoning cannot be far off.

Young India

10-5-23

Grown Electric

The time is fast drawing near when our mettle will be put on its test. The coming session of the All India Congress Committee is going to be a most momentous one. It will practically determine the course of our present movement for the present year at least. So far we have confined ourselves to discussions only, about the relative merits of this or that plan. We will now meet to decide upon a definite, practical step to be taken immediately. Discussions about plans are excellent, but no plan however perfect in itself can be a substitute for action. On the contrary endless academic controversy, empty weighing of pros and cons, without practical experience always does incalculable harm by promoting endless bickering and discord on the one hand and on the other by taking away from us our capacity for action, so that

"The native hue of our resolution

Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
From this regard their currents turn away
And lose the name of action."

That is exactly what has overtaken us. We have suffered cobwebs of our mind to grow, by our inaction during the last six months, till they now choke it altogether shutting out all light and air from it and making it a dwelling place of all wayward fancies and morbid fears which beset our path in whatever direction we turn. Now it is the fear about failure of popular response, then it is fear of violence—in the midst of absolute calm. At another time it is the rift in Hindu-Moslem unity that blocks our progress. It is urged that we must cure this malady or that malady of ours before we launch upon any real plan of action. No attention is paid to the fact that action itself is the sovereign remedy of our ills and not mere persuasion of which we have had more than enough. It is just like a sick man refusing to take the medicine before he is actually cured, when his cure depends upon his taking the medicine itself!

Take for instance the case of Hindu-Moslem unity. Never was intellectual conviction regarding its necessity stronger than it is at present, for never before did the flame of liberty burn brighter in India's breast than now. If therefore, the plant of Hindu-Moslem unity depended for health and nourishment on intellectual conviction alone; one would naturally expect it to be clothed in full veridical bloom now. Yet it has to be mournfully confessed that at no other time in our national history the sapling of Hindu-Moslem unity wore a more sickly or anaemic look than it does now. The reason is not far to seek. It has been continuously starved by being deprived of its food—common sacrifice and suffering of Hindus and Moslems. For paradoxical as it might seem, sacrifice, on the face of it is a destructive process, is the spiritual bread that sustains all noble

feelings and sentiments. Hindu-Moslem unity, like any other virtue cannot exist in a vacuum. It languishes or develops a sickly growth if it is deprived of all healthy channels of self expression. What it at present cries for is bread of action, of noble sacrifice that would give warmth and life. What it is offered is stone in the form of hard indigestible advice, or the breezes of an artificial agitation.

On the other hand wherever the matter has been dealt with in the right way, results have been most wonderful. For instance there is hardly any province in India more torn by internal communal conflicts than the Punjab. The root cause of this is stated to be communal representation. Sikhs are as much concerned in this affair and are as keen on the matter as any other community. There is many a sharp difference between Hindus and Sikhs in the matter of Gurdwara Reform. Yet such is the compelling power of sacrifice and suffering for the sake of Truth that when, the other day, the released Akali prisoners were brutally assaulted by the military at the Rawalpindi Station both Hindus and Mussalmans forgot all their mutual differences and volunteers from the local Congress, the Khilafat and the Nimaz Committees, in complete disregard of their personal safety rushed into the confused mass of the assailants and the Akali victims, to carry away the wounded. "In the noble work" says an S. G. P. C. Communique, "quite a large number of them received blows and injuries." About 30 of them were more or less severely injured. "It was a most touching sight," observes the same communique, "when the unconscious wounded Akalis were being carried at mid-night by Moslem volunteers to be tended and looked after by the Hindus."

And this in the storm-centre of Hindu Moslem conflicts!

Nor should it be forgotten that it was by the Hindus, Moslems and the Parsees standing side by side and exposing themselves to common danger that finally quelled mob-fury during the Bombay riots, when every thing else had failed.

It is therefore a most auspicious sign that C. P. has finally shaken itself free from cobwebs of idleness and inertia and launched forth its campaign of Civil Disobedience which is reported to be now in full swing. A batch of ten volunteers marches out every day carrying the National Flag in front. On the way it is greeted by enthusiastic crowds and served with refreshments. Sometimes the spectators form themselves into a procession and accompany the Passive Resisters for some distance; the number of processionists very often reaching 5 thousand. The Passive Resisters march on singing National songs. On reaching a certain point they are ordered by the police to stop which they refuse to do. The police officer then declares them to be an illegal assembly and they are arrested. Public life of C. P. has revived wonderfully by these draughts of pure ozone of action. The political atmosphere in the province that was as stagnant and stuffy as anywhere else three months back has suddenly grown electric. Intending volunteers are pouring in

from all places far and near to get themselves enrolled but they are enrolled only after the closest scrutiny and cross examination till they satisfy the Congress enrolling officers that they fully understand and believe in the implications of the Ahmedabad pledge. The latest situation as wired by a friend from Nagpur is as follows:—

"The number of volunteers who have marched to jail upto Friday is 85, Mahomedans forming not an inconsiderable number. The whole lath on Wednesday evening was of Mussalmans. It may be noted that they are convicted under two sections: under section 143 for being members of an unlawful assembly and under section 188 for disobeying a Government order. These sections like the notorious sections 108 and 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code are turned to use, never contemplated by the framers of the Indian Penal Code, Lord Macaulay. The sentences in the beginning used to be two months' simple, three months' simple, three months' rigorous. Then they became four months' and Wednesday's lath was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. There were two or three wealthy Marwari youths among these. The struggle is thus getting graver every day. It is probable that in about a fortnight when Jammalaji's turn comes he may have the privilege of the highest sentence—even two years, if they choose to prosecute the resisters under section 145. Jammalaji is in very high spirits, visiting three to four places every day and keeping ready batches of select jail goers days in advance."

C. P. felt the defence of the honour of the flag as a matter of moral necessity. It responded to the inner call and that solved all its doubts and difficulties. Is there anything, any object, any principle for which we are prepared to suffer and sacrifice without seeking guarantee against prolonged suffering in the security of large numbers or of a united-front promising early success? If not then we had better give up non-co-operation. If we think our neighbour will help to furnish us with this argument, even then non-cooperation had better be given up. There can be no greater illusion than to believe that we can evolve determination to act through the co-operation of a mass of indecision and confusion. Every delegate who comes to the All India Congress Committee, should do so after fully making up his mind and after coming to a definite decision, especially as regards Civil Disobedience. Then alone will he be able to help in the deliberations really, and not merely choke them with his indecision.

We have arrived at a stage in our national struggle, when every one must cultivate the habit of thinking and deciding for himself instead of expecting to find his brains in his neighbour's cranium. If we take care of our conscience, the brains will take care of themselves. In the preparedness for heroic sacrifice and determined action on the part of a few lies the ultimate hope of deliverance. Let every man keep his gaze steadfastly fixed on the central pillar of light—his conscience, and try to follow it to the best of his capacity and we will all reach the Promised Land much sooner than if we blindly grope for each other in the dark.

A letter from Berlin

Continued from page 167

on the subject of foreign propaganda of Congress, that I am not only against propaganda but even against sending propagandists to Europe. But some money on useful constructive, instructive work or study may be spent first on a small scale in Europe. I had recently written to my brother suggesting that one or two workers wishing to study and learn the situations and movements for some time may be sent by the Congress to Europe. I don't know if he communicated this to you, after he received this suggestion. That is all that I would recommend if the Congress has any intention of sending out its own authorised representatives.

Labour Organisation

At present, it appears to me that even our labour experts of the Trade Union Congress seem to have no opinion or experience beyond copying some foreign and useless methods adopted in England or Russia, just to cut a career for themselves. It is good that they are so, if the Congress will organise peasants and labourers on a vast economic scale, bound by no prejudices and limitations, but in the full interests of the labourers themselves. The main object in labour organisation must be production, distribution and consumption by the producers themselves without any control from any organised government or party from outside. In any change of society from one basis to another, these functions must be kept up uninterrupted by any political or governmental change and this uninterrupted flow cannot be guaranteed except by the inner self-discipline of the labourers of fields, factories and workshops undertaken by themselves and also maintained by themselves. Here the Soviet Government failed and the Russian Revolution proved itself a failure. Why? Because the labourers and technicians wanted the right to manage everything themselves where no politics was concerned—exactly what the pre-governmental Bolsheviks had promised; but when the Government came into power, it prevented them from becoming important in their own factories and thus cooled the enthusiasm of the workers for revolutionary production, which means also for the Revolution.

This is a very important lesson from the failure of Russian gigantic experiment which later labour leaders and revolutionists have learnt as having been fatal to European freedom.

So much is being talked about the organisation of labour both by Congressists and Trade Union "Leaders"—but nothing can be understood from them except that is talk. I hope the Congress at least realise it and it is better that it realises than the so-called "labour leaders" who want to create a party of their own with which, if advantageous to themselves, they will also fight the Congress for the Government, this one and any other foreign one. This kind of labour "organisation" must be nipped in the bud at all costs or sacrifice. Now the Congress intends to prepare for Mass Civil Disobedience which is also exactly what is being contemplated in invaded Germany and overruled Russia. But the first condition not only of the success

of such disobedience but even of a beginning of it can only be the satisfaction or contentment of the masses of town and country, also the skilled and intelligent helpers thereof, with the Congress programme, plan and politics more than with the "Trade Union Leaders." At least the new Congress must learn this if it does not want to lose its leadership in favour of the Trade Unionist or Bolshevik foreign agents. If the new Congressmen are ready to throw open or get them to regulate the city and country producers means to regulate their own affairs in their places of production and distribution—of course by reducing it to a systematic plan—then alone Civil Disobedience will become a serious talk and perfect success. Otherwise, all the pessimists of Civil Disobedience, I am afraid, will be justified in their calculation that bringing up enthusiasm and basing success upon such a frenzied enthusiasm alone will not last long or bring success. Upon production and distribution a long producers depends much more, than upon idealist speech-makers and organizers the ultimate success. We must consider all useful and successful work and technique as practical, shown by the direction of necessity in daily life and effort.

I am not afraid of the word Bolshevism or any other 'ism' but I am against any "ism" falsely so called. I don't know how you look upon my above suggestions, but I feel compelled in all sincerity to make a clean breast of it even at the risk of being called Bolshevik or Anarchist. After all, Governmental and ruling apparatus are dry, useless and sucking instruments, sucking the sap and life, like vampires, from the body of the nation, which alone produces and initiates by mutual aid, every productive and distributive function. The body of the nation must be organic and self-dependant; it must produce and distribute within itself, and without interference from outside forces, such as Government or politicians. Then alone will we have achieved *Swaraj* in its original, non-governmental, social, self-regulating meaning. I am not an idealist; but if you call my idea idealist, then I say that my idealism is very practical; if one does not feel compelled to carry out any pre-conceived and "pre-established" system, at the risk of practicality. I have lived under so many Governments, from the most "democratic" to the most autocratic (outside British Empire) and even the most "Bolshevik," that I can tell you that I am tired and desperate about any governmental scheme for India. Let others make, who want to establish their own, for those who want to live under it, but as consistent *Swarajists* we must continuously fight against every form of superimposed, non-producing, tax-gathering "waste-creating" government, such as we come about in every form and variety in all parts of the world. Producers alone form the wealth of any nation, (skilled, unskilled and hand and brain helpers in production and distribution included) and they have every right over their products.

Having been in the worst category of labourers at least for 2½ years in America, I cannot escape the consciousness or philosophy of the most advanced part of European Labour, since I have myself seen like them the failure of the Labour Revolution in

Russia. Mr. Roy, who apparently preaches the same thing, has not probably done one day's useful work and therefore must disagree with me just as I disagree with him and the Bolsheviks, after my experience with them. I can most easily collaborate and agree with the anti-communists and they probably with me than either probably with Roy. Still some who are not in my position or have not had the same experience as I, will easily fall into the error of "appreciating" depending and even agreeing, politically or for politeness' sake, with the rotten governmental Bolsheviks more than with men like me or those whom I respect. In French they say, *les extrêmes se touchent*, 'the extremes meet', so it is with political psychology; one set of mistaken men easily agree with their opponents, equally mistaken.

Unfortunately, we are all so accustomed to think in systems fixed once and for all, and within limitations enforced by governments, that we are afraid of getting beyond these systems and limitations, for fear of being pointed out as lunatics or criminals and punished accordingly. In spite of all that, the world is outgrowing and bursting systems and governments everyday and is recognising new frontiers and correspondingly new systems for guidance of thought and action—due to evolving forces. It is very hardly that we recognise these frontiers and forces, very often too late. Let us, Indian nationalists and Congressmen hope that we will be better, more progressive and intelligent and more heroic than others in believing and being convinced that in spite of everything catastrophic coming, the world is steadily feeling its way to deliverance.

Our head and brain has the power of becoming not one system alone for ever but a system of all systems—past, present and future—and it is this which we should learn to let it grow into, in order to feel calm and clear in the midst of all changes, and adapt itself to the system of the universe. Very few of us, especially those who know of any system or any part of it, are willing to grow into that system. Consequently, we and all who follow any of us or are led away by any other, pay a heavy price of suffering and illusion. It is this which is our and mankind's fundamental ignorance and it is this which every individual *Swarajist* must break up, before he can break any other physical or material chains.

I am sorry I cannot express myself more comprehensively or "systematically", let alone more understandably, in this one letter. I only hope, I have not made myself misunderstood.

In any case generalisations even in clearly and systematically written volumes will not avail anything practically. It is only on actual questions that these view points can be tested as regards their power to offer solutions, if they are capable of so doing.

About labour principles I hope that you at least will study authoritative treatises and pamphlets—not official theories "party" contradictions—and I believe you are capable of understanding, appreciating and even practising experiences and lessons with good results in our vast field in India. I may send you some such pamphlets in English but the most recent experiences are in the German language which I shall try to have translated for you into English.

The latest theory as corrected by the Bolshevik lesson is that all Governments are nothing but bureaucracy supported in the last resort by organised violence—not excepting the Bolshevik Government. So in our society there should be no Government. All evils in society must be corrected by itself from inside upon a newly economic organised, working basis.

Khadi Notes

More about Cotton-growing

Orders for various kinds of cotton-seeds continue to be received here from various provinces we will therefore here mention one precaution about cotton-growing which requires to be carefully attended to.

The Danger of Frost

In some places, otherwise fitted in all respects for cotton cultivation, cotton-plants with beautiful and healthy pods are sometimes nipped by frost. One night's frost is enough to destroy the pods, flowers and shoots. They wither up and fall off. But the plant itself is not killed by a single attack. It might recover once, after such an attack and begin to grow again. But if the frost becomes frequent there can be no hope of its being able to withstand it.

The best course in such circumstances is to grow 'short-period' cotton. In the bulletin No 7, we have described three varieties of cotton. The 'Mathia' variety was described as the shortest period cotton in it. Its life-period being short it is least exposed to climatic changes. It is by nature also a hardier variety than the others. It can resist the drought as well as frost better. In selecting any variety of cotton, for cultivation therefore, climatic conditions of the place must also be taken into consideration. Hot weather during the day and dew at night, after the plants have fairly grown up and the pods are about to be formed are very favourable to the crop as regards its quantity as well as quality. The hotter the sun about the harvesting time the more fully the pods burst. Cloudy whether at this time is very injurious.

Remedy for the Frost

But there is a remedy for the frost. We have had no practical experience of this remedy but there is no harm in acquainting the reader with it.

When brinjals, tomatoes or such other crops, that grow in the same season as cotton, are in danger of being frost-bitten the farmers water them heavily. Their vigilant observation enables them to guess any portending changes in the weather. Their method of observation though empirical, is a sure one. On detecting any signs of the coming frost, they water their crop thoroughly. They believe that watering the plant supplies it with warmth. This sounds like a paradox. For one would think that the effect of the watering was to produce coolness. The only likely explanation for this seems to be that watering gives fresh vigour to the plant and so increases its power of resistance.

Watering helps the plant against frost, if I may be permitted to use a simile, just as the spinning wheel does the tax-ridden people of India from chronic starvation. The income yielded by the charkha is but little when measured in positive bulk. Yet the starving

people if India would be able to resist many a kind of frost, which would otherwise prove most fatal, if they took to heart the message of the spinning-wheel. Just like that, is the action of watering the plants, that are in danger of frost.

But water supply is rarely available to cotton farms in India. So in most cases it is impossible to water the crop at the spur of the moment. But there is another remedy also. It is observed that the crop in those fields which are properly hoed remains in a better condition. Hoeing makes the soil loose and prevents the moisture from being evaporated. The moisture stored up in the earth during the monsoon season is constantly rising from one particle to another and so on to the topmost layer by capillary attraction and so the evaporation goes on. If the particles are loosened the rate of capillary attraction decreases. Thus the hoeing has the result of decreasing the capillary action. One would think that the effect of hoeing would be quite the contrary i. e. to dry up the earth faster. It is true that the uppermost layer of the earth gets dry but it prevents moisture from deeper layers from evaporating rapidly. So the moisture is retained in the soil and helps the crop. A crop raised in well-hoed farm, it is therefore obvious, is more likely to be able to resist the effect of frost.

Attention as regards hoeing, watering, etc. can more easily be given to the plants grown in a yard. Therefore in such places where there may be danger of frost, people should grow at least some cotton in their yards. In such places arrangements must be made to make cotton seeds available to every household. Some people might ridicule such an idea, thinking it to be futile. A government official of the cotton-research department laughed at the suggestion in the course of a conversation we had with him sometime ago. But was not the idea of hand-spinning also ridiculed in the early days of the movement? We need not be surprised then, if the importance of household cotton-growing is recognised, even as that of the charkha was, only after it becomes an established fact. We have some interesting figures to give in this connection but we would postpone them till the next bulletin.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

Wanted

Agents for *Young India* in all principal places in India. Full particulars about revised terms can be had on application from: **Manager Young India, Ahmedabad**

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Notes

Special Congress

The nation is sorely agitated over the formation of the new Congress party and is yearning to see some solution which would end the discussion and bring about unity and common effort. One of the suggestions to bring about this end is that a special session of the Congress should be held and that both the parties should abide by the decision arrived at therein. The essential element in their proposal would be the readiness of the parties to sink their own opinions in favour of the resolutions of a majority at such special session of the Congress. Have we assurance of such readiness? Not only is there no such assurance but I fear there is reason to think that if we take any action with such assurance in the mere hope of subsequent acceptance by all of whatever conclusions may be arrived at, we will meet with bitter disappointment. There is no definite hope or promise that the discipline of the Congress will be accepted without revolt by the new party. What then is the gain in convening a special session and spending several lakhs of rupees over it besides frittering away the time and energy of the people in the election of delegates and making other arrangements for the session. It would only continue the wasteful programme of indecision.

C. R.

The late Sir N. G. Chandavarker

We deeply regret to have to note the sudden death of Sir. Narayan Chandavarker which took place in Bangalore on Monday last. With a brilliant University career he made his mark as an Indian of the most advanced views in the late nineties, and won a comparatively early though deserved eminence in the year 1900 when he was elected to preside over the Indian National Congress at Nagpur. It will be ever regretted that a career of service of the Motherland which should have been followed up, was cut off by

Government claiming him in 1901. Most of his life thereafter was spent in Government service, and even the last days of his life which should have been of learned repose and given to the cause of social reform and education, so much after his heart, were disturbed by association with a Government with whom a large part of the country is at war. He was a man of remarkable versatility, and his private and public life were spotless. His political views differed from those of many of his contemporaries, but difference with him did not mean antagonism or bitterness. His tribute to the late Lokamanya will long be remembered as a specimen of that rare virtue, charity. In these days when controversies and differences are the order of the day, we may well to keep before us as many examples of it as our national history can give us.

A Heroic Struggle

The Ahmedabad mill-hands have now been on strike for over a month and a half, and the peacefulness and earnestness with which the strike has been carried on is creditable both to them and to their leaders. It will be remembered that Mahatma Gandhi espoused their cause in 1918, and the strike of that year was remarkable for more than one thing. It was remarkable indeed for its peacefulness but the earnestness of the strikers was soon put to the test with the result that Mahatmaji had to declare a fast to strengthen them in their determination. It appears that the association with Mahatmaji has not been lost on them. They are carrying out his precepts to the letter. No unemployed malcontents are to be seen about the city. Thousands of them have left for their native places, hundreds earn their daily bread by working away on the municipal roads, and the premises of the labour office are humming with the spinning wheels and looms which hundreds are busy with. Some of them are doing odd jobs as fruit-selling, khadi hawking etc. and even the children help their parents by earning a few coppers by spinning or even polishing boots. "Aren't you ashamed to polish boots?" the writer asked a little urchin, and straight he was told, "No, Mahatma Gandhi has said that one should not be ashamed to do any kind of manual labour."

The mill-owners are yet adamant, and seem to be bent on driving the mill-hands to despair and starvation. They have yet given no proof that they would starve or even that they would have to wind up their concerns if they yielded to the demands of the mill-hands who insist not on the original wages, but on a fulfilment of the old awards, and on proper arbitra-

tion. The time is coming when their obduracy will not only be inexcusable but criminal.

The Moral

But the moral of the struggle is one which should serve to inspire with hope the depressed spirits of many of us. It was so eloquently told by that utchin who had taken to heart Mahatmaji's precept of the dignity of labour. The whole struggle shows how much the teaching of Mahatmaji has permeated the mass mind. Another instance is afforded by the batches of volunteers at Nagpur who were belaboured by the police officials, thrown down and dragged senseless on the ground, but who did not raise a little finger in protest. We hear of Hindu-Moslem quarrels every day, and we are deeply grieved to feel that all these years of preaching have been wasted on us. The Akali struggle gave the lie to that impression, the Nagpur volunteers are giving the lie to it to-day, and so also are the Ahmedabad mill-hands. God willing, we may be able to successfully demonstrate by means of more undertakings of equally clean and heroic character that Mahatmaji's teaching has not been lost, but gone deep down into us.

An Explanation

Pandit Motilal Nehru stated to the public that an attempt at compromise failed by reason of Messrs Vallabhbhai Patel and Seth Jammalal Bajaj not accepting the proposals. It is true that on my way back from Lahore after consulting these two friends about the reiterated proposals for the suspension of the Council boycott. I wired to Mr. Das on the 29th of April, "Consulted Vallabhbhai and Jammalal regret cannot agree to suspension proposed." This was because Panditji and Mr. Das wanted to know before the 30th of April our attitude. Panditji in stating this could have also mentioned to the public that he had himself wired to Hakimji, Desubandhu Das and Mrs. Naidu on the 26th of April, as soon as he got the note of the Delhi conversations, that he could not agree to the proposals suggested therein. In fact in a circular sent on the 28th of April before my wire to Mr. Das, Panditji had vigorously repudiated the possibility of any agreement on the basis of the propositions embodied in the Delhi note and even complained that such negotiations could only serve to extend the period of inaction. He further emphasised that the real fact was that the genesis of the Swarajya party represented an entirely different mentality from that of the other party, and that this difference ran through the whole programme. If Panditji's statement published in the press has led anyone to think that the difficulty in the way of a compromise came only from one party, the impression should be corrected. Panditji wrote even on the 28th April that no patched up union of the nature suggested in the note will benefit either the Congress as a whole or the parties constituting it. The *Swarajya* in an editorial note complained about my not having disclosed the conversation at Delhi, in the appeal to the public that I made on the 1st of May. I did not think anything could be gained in detailing in that appeal, conversations that ended in nothing. However as an impression may have been created that I kept back something from the public, I shall state what happened when Babu Rajendraprasad

and I were at Lahore. On the 1st of April we met Mr. Das and had a talk on the Congress situation. Mr. Das made some suggestions for a compromise and we agreed to place them before the Working Committee on the 17th April. The Working Committee considered these suggestions and passed the following resolution:—

Babu Rajendraprasad and S. J. Rajagopalachari explained the proposals made by Mr. Das in the conversations held at Lahore, viz:

(1) That the work of the Congress should be divided into separate departments, each being placed in charge of a particular class of workers; i. e. Education, Capture of Local Bodies and Councils, Khaddar, Foreign Propaganda, Civil Disobedience, Untouchability and the like. Persons interested in particular departments should be entrusted with work in those departments;

(2) That a sum of rupees five to six crores be collected to finance the various departments so created;

(3) And, that a common platform should thus be provided for all.

The Committee having considered this proposal is unanimously of opinion that it cannot recommend this proposal to the All India Congress Committee as it is impracticable, and in regard to the abandonment of the boycott of the Councils, contrary to the decision of the Congress.

About the time of this meeting several telegrams were received from Mrs. Naidu, Panditji and others that the members of the Working Committee should meet them at once. In this connection the Working Committee resolved as follows:—

Read the telegram from Messrs Das, Nehru, Ajmal Khan and Azad and Mrs. Naidu suggesting a meeting of the Working Committee at Allahabad on 20th or 21st April to consider the Punjab situation and the possibilities of united action in future Congress work. Read also other telegrams in this connection. The Committee in view of the importance of putting forth all effort to fulfil the Gaya Congress Programme within the time fixed; and in view, further, of the fact that any meeting of the Working Committee before the 30th of April will dislocate all work in the country in that direction by withdrawing members from their respective provinces, authorised Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to proceed to the Punjab and in consultation with other members of the Working Committee and leaders present there, to take such steps as may be considered necessary in view of the situation, provided that they are not inconsistent with any resolution of the Congress; and if any further consultation with the Working Committee be necessary, to consult it by circulation or to call a special meeting of the Working Committee if unavoidable.

I accordingly proceeded to Lahore where on the 22nd of April Messrs Das, Panditji, myself and other friends met. There was no talk about anything to be done regarding the Punjab, but proposals for the suspension of the boycott of the Councils were reiterated. Dr. Ansari left for Delhi that evening. We had a talk again on the 23rd of April, after which Mrs. Naidu, Hakimji and myself left for Delhi where we had a further long conversation. Mr. Moazzam Ali also was with us at Delhi. In the course of this conversation Hakimji desired to reduce our talk to writing, so that he might

have something definite to consult Panditji and Mr. Das who had left for Allahabad and Calcutta respectively. Mrs. Naidu and others pressed that the Hindu-Muslim situation could not be met unless both the parties in the Congress united and suggested that the new party's Council programme should not be opposed. I admitted the need for unity, but urged that the unity in order to be effective should be real and that agreement merely on the Council question could not possibly solve Hindu-Muslim or other difficulties. The propositions to which we assented were therefore dictated by me in the following form.

1. We all feel the necessity for all the leaders of the Congress joining together and pressing an united programme before the people;

2. Unity over the questions merely of the Council will not produce enthusiasm or confidence in the people;

3. We also doubt whether unity in respect of the Council question and Constructive Programme will be adequate to meet the situation;

4. We feel that over and above the Councils and the Constructive Programme a joint plan of Civil Disobedience should be placed before the country, supported by all the leaders. Unity on all these points on either side without any mental reservations will alone produce a united front such as will capture the mind of the country in the present condition;

5. On this understanding there is no need and there should not be a Swaraj party.

Above are the notes of an informal discussion at Dr. Ansari's house, Delhi, in which the following took part, (1) Hakim Ajmal Khan, (2) C. Rajagopalachar, (3) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (4) Dr. M. A. Ansari, (5) Sjt. T. A. K. Sherwani, (6) Sjt. Moazzam Ali, (7) Dr. Syed Muhammad. The above note was taken by Hakimji to be shown to Panditji and Mr. Das, and I requested that it should be marked 'private and confidential' to prevent publication. I also told Hakimji that I would consult other friends of the Working Committee as to the possibility of any compromise at Ahmedabad and Bombay. On our way back Mrs. Naidu and I had talks with Messrs. Vallabhbhai and Jinnah over the proposal not to oppose the new party's Council programme. We discussed the pros and cons and Messrs. Vallabhbhai, Jinnah and myself felt that the proposed suspension could not be agreed to. I accordingly sent the wire to Mr. Das as stated already.

C. R.

its spurious character and it was that its unevenness followed after regular intervals and a sort of uniformity could be detected in its shabbiness.

But it is impossible to have every bank of yarn or piece of cloth examined minutely and critically as regards its purity when such fraud is going on. The only remedy lies in the Provincial Congress Committees becoming controlling authorities and their vigilantly checking any fraud that may be attempted.

National Flags

A gentleman connected with a national school in Behar inquires as to wherefrom flags can be obtained. The present national movement is such that the flag if imported from one province for use in another province loses its significance. The flag must be made from locally spun yarn and woven into khaddar by local weavers. It can be dyed after the method described in Dr. P. C. Ray's book "Deshi Rang".

Maganlal K. Gandhi

Khadi Notes Answers to Correspondents

Hand-gins

With reference to the discussion about hand-gins in the bulletin No. 7 the manager of a certain Khadi Karyalaya suggests that although the type of the hand-gin recommended in the above mentioned bulletin would no doubt be a useful household possession, it is important to have gins of still smaller size. The friend further adds that gins could be introduced in many a home if like the carding-bow a very small gin, just sufficient for one man's requirements could be devised.

The type of gin desired by this friend is known to be in vogue in Assam, and Andhra. The whole machine is not more than about 9 inches either in height or in breadth. The 'lat' and the 'kana' in it are both made of wood and are equal to each other in size and dimensions. We do not know what it costs but there is little doubt that labour required in making such a gin would not be much less than that required in making a larger one. If we want a simpler and easier thing, the wooden-board and the roller used in Andhra or Nanderbar would in my opinion be quite suitable for the purpose. The cotton is ginned in the following manner by this process:—5 to 10 bolls of seed-cotton are taken and their fibres are combed straight by means of fingers or anything that may serve the purpose of a comb. They are then laid on the board and the seeds pressed out by means of the roller. The lint separated in this way from the seed is very easy to card. It is better to have the roller made of iron. It should not be quite round but should be slightly prism-shaped. The prismatic curvature should be so slight as to be hardly perceptible. If the roller is perfectly round it will not catch the cotton fibres and cotton balls will be rolled away before it which does not happen in the case of a prism-shaped roller. The wooden board and roller can be got for a paltry cost.

Hand-spun Yarn

A friend from the Punjab writes that the special characteristics about very fine hand-spun yarns described in one of the bulletins are all right as far as they go; but they hold good in the case of very fine yarns only and not in that of coarser yarns. Unlike the former, the latter are full of 'रेशी' (fine hair sticking from the surface) and are difficult to distinguish from the mill yarns. People can never afford to make silvers after the Andhra method for spinning coarser yarns. Neither can they afford to spin them in the manner in which fine yarns are spun. The coarser yarns therefore are never likely to be spun in such a way as not to have 'रेशी' about them. So in judging the purity of yarn the presence of 'रेशी' can not help us much. Upto this time there used to be a peculiar kind of unevenness in handspun yarns which made it easy to distinguish them. But lately some mills, too, have begun to manufacture uneven yarn. Some days ago a friend brought to me a tangled bobbin of yarn and asked me to examine it and say whether it was hand-spun. The defects of the hand-spun yarn were well limited in that yarn. But there was one thing that betrayed

Young India

17-5-23

The Suspension Solution.

Shall we suspend all agitation and propaganda in respect of the boycott of Elections so that the new party's programme may go on unopposed? This is a solution suggested by some of our leaders. I maintain that this will not ease the position at all. What the nation feels instinctively is that the Congress should present a solid front.

A permissive unity is not what it wants, and it will prove to be a delusion and a snare. What the people want is that the new party should disappear by absorbing the majority or by being absorbed in it. One way or another, they do not want to have to decide between two sets of leaders. If the new party must exist it must take steps to grow. It must continue enrolling members and sympathisers. What does the proposal of suspension amount to? Having undertaken not to speak or to write about the futility of the Council programme you cannot speak or write to prevent the growth of the party; whose principal programme is Council-entry. While on the one hand, the new party carries on its work, absorbing members, you cannot take steps in defence without breaking the undertaking given. If the position is clearly realized, it must be obvious that a middle permissive position is not at all possible. The result will be total absorption. If it must be so, it is better; it is at once plainly conceded without the intervention of a period of futile isolation and demoralizing idleness. It is quite a different thing however, that instead of suspension by undertaking or agreement we by our own decision from time to time adopt positive in preference to destructive plan of action. If we go on with a campaign of filling the jails we need not keep talking about Councils. But we cannot adopt a policy or give an undertaking by which we cannot advise, cannot answer questions and cannot even save our existence. We must not give undertakings which would in the end prove difficult honourably and strictly to keep. If we do not want a new party to exist and if we cannot succeed in getting them to dissolve, the only course is to agree to be completely absorbed in it. True unity can be attained only if we realize that diversity of views does not mean division. If we cannot summon up the character for such unity the only solution is for the weaker to surrender to the stronger.

C. R.

The Issue in Nagpur

In one of his memorable articles on Civil Disobedience Mahatma Gandhi has expressed his dream of ideal civil resisters. They would be, he said, like flocks of innocent lambs being led to the slaughter house with full consciousness of the fact. When I read accounts of the great Satyagraha of the Akalis last year, I imagined that they must have answered Mahatma's description of ideal civil resisters. I had only to call my imagination to aid, as I was not

privileged to witness that sacred fight. But when I visited Nagpur last week, and when I saw batches of volunteers with the Swarajya Flag, being led to the scene of Satyagraha by Sheth Jammalaji, I saw with my own eyes the dream of Mahatma realised. It was a privilege to watch these vallant hands march through the town to the Civil Lines, doomed to be arrested and led to prison. They were marching cheerfully on, with 'Hindustan Hamara' on their lips, marching to the tune of that national song, and I am sure, without the slightest anger or rancour in their breasts. They are followed by motley crowds of people who march after them, for fun's sake or out of sympathy, who look no more than a band of rowdies, but the Satyagrahis refuse to take colour from them. It is a splendid spectacle. The crowd of rowdies also obeys as they approach the scene. Volunteers cry 'halt', when they are within a hundred feet of the spot, and the Satyagrahis then march forward all alone. They march until their progress is arrested. Sometimes a humane officer condescends to talk to them in human accents. If the leader of the band is an elderly man or a woman, he tries to reason with him or her "These pranks surely do not become your age or sex" he says and smiles. The man or the woman also smiles. "The question does not become you" he or she probably mutters in reply, and submits joyfully to the arresting officer. And yet these men are not drawn from the so-called lettered classes. They are mostly drawn from classes who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, who return home tired from the day's work and retire to their beds after prayer to the Giver of all good. You will not find much "culture" about them—"culture" of the accepted type. But culture in the sense of a consciousness of their duty and the readiness to give of their best to their Motherland, they have in abundance. Their best merit is that they are not people of "little faith." Not that the Marwari community itself has not given men to this movement, men who have enough and to spare. Such also marched the other day cheerfully to jail, having been given the highest punishment yet given. The Mussalman community has also given more than its full quota, and the fair sex is also represented.

And what is it that has drawn such devoted fighters to this movement? Surely it is the unique sacrifice of the men who are leading the movement, and their simple faith. But no less is the justice of the cause responsible for the hearty response. "Surely you should not offend the susceptibilities of those who are devoted to the Union Jack?" was the question put to Srijut Jammalaji by one of the police officers. Straight went the reply: "why should they resent the Swarajya flag? They might to-morrow resent my white cap and my Khadi dhoti. Am I therefore to discard them when I enter those sacred precincts called the Civil Lines?" That is the position so truly put by the man, than whom no one has sacrificed more for the Constructive Programme, but who feels that even his absorbing interest in that programme should not allow him to swallow the insult.

And what is this place called the Civil Lines? One might think that the place is probably within the

APPENDIX A

ARMY EXPENDITURE

(Excluding Military Works, Royal Indian Marine and Royal Air Force.)

	1922-23 (BUDGET ESTIMATES).			1913-14 (ACTUALS.)
	Expenditure.	Receipts.	Net expenditure.	Net expenditure.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Standing Army :-				
(1) Fighting services in India proper and Burma.	26,06,08,000	15,000	26,05,93,000	14,50,14,000
(2) Administrative services	3,60,29,000	5,20,000	3,61,09,000	1,29,74,000
(3) Miscellaneous units and expenditure	15,97,000	...	15,97,000	6,86,000
(4) Expenditure in England	6,43,15,000	17,65,000	6,25,50,000	2,16,30,000
(5) Forces in Aden	34,93,000	15,00,000	19,93,000	3,84,000
(6) Forces in South and East Persia	3,75,000	...	3,75,000	...
(7) Forces serving in the Colonies	11,73,000	12,60,000	87,000	-2,18,000
Total of I	36,81,90,000	50,60,000	36,31,30,000	18,04,70,000
II - Cost of Educational, etc., establishments, working expenses of Hospitals, Depots, etc. :-				
(1) Educational and Instructional establishment	1,09,97,000	...	1,09,97,000	52,97,000
(2) Army Education	37,92,000	67,000	37,25,000	11,71,000
(3) Working expenses of hospitals	3,24,75,000	1,80,000	3,22,95,000	79,99,000
(4) Working expenses of depots	1,57,86,000	36,73,000	1,21,13,000	41,84,000
(5) Working expenses of manufacturing establishments.	1,16,58,000	90,75,000	25,83,000	2,45,000
(6) Inspection of stores	10,75,000	...	10,75,000	1,07,000
(7) Military Accounts Officers	85,89,000	...	85,89,000	30,10,000
(8) Ecclesiastical establishments	7,70,000	...	7,70,000	4,61,000
(9) Administration of Cantonments	18,50,000	26,000	18,24,000	24,3,000
(10) Miscellaneous	9,36,000	...	9,36,000	3,98,000
Total	8,79,28,000	1,30,21,000	7,49,07,000	2,55,35,000
Add for exchange at Rs. 15 = £1	37,62,000	...	37,62,000	5,19,000
Total of II	9,16,90,000	1,30,21,000	7,86,39,000	2,60,54,000
III - Army Headquarters.				
Staff of Commands, etc. :-				
(1) Army Headquarters	61,90,000	...	61,90,000	28,56,000
(2) Staff of Commands	30,14,000	...	30,14,000	4,87,000
(3) Staff of Districts and Brigades	93,04,000	...	93,04,000	55,85,000
(4) Embarkation Staff	1,58,000	...	1,58,000	...
(5) Railway Transport Staff	4,86,000	...	4,86,000	1,30,000
(6) Miscellaneous	4,76,000	...	4,76,000	3,09,000
	1,96,28,000	...	1,96,28,000	92,50,000
Indebted recoveries from His Majesty's Government on account of part of A.R.C.	13,20,000	...	13,20,000	...
Total of III	1,83,08,000	...	1,83,08,000	92,50,000
IV - Stock account †	2,18,42,000	2,36,50,000	12,02,000	27,70,000
V - Special Services	1,98,64,000	19,000	1,98,24,000	34,95,000
VI - Miscellaneous charges and receipts :-				
(1) Indian Troop Service	1,38,86,000	19,00,000	1,19,86,000	29,03,000
(2) Carriage of troops and stores in India	1,20,56,000	...	1,20,56,000	...
(3) Miscellaneous	27,55,000	96,22,000	95,96,000	36,68,000
(4) Provision for new measures	22,13,000	...	22,13,000	...
(5) Reserve with Government	22,00,000	...	22,00,000	...
Total of VI	3,31,04,000	1,15,72,000	2,15,32,000	65,71,000
VII - Non-effective charges	9,28,97,000	32,18,000	8,96,79,000	1,68,51,000
VIII - Territorial and auxiliary forces	1,18,88,000	...	1,18,88,000	32,84,000
GRAND TOTAL	66,07,81,000	5,65,51,000	60,42,30,000	27,87,45,000

* Expenditure in England on stores included in the above statement has been converted at Rs. 10 = £1. We have not been able to obtain information as to the distribution of this expenditure over the various items and it has therefore been necessary to make a lump addition representing the difference between the rupee equivalent of the sterling expenditure at the rate of Rs. 10 = £1 and at the rate of Rs. 15 = £1.

† The figures given in the budget for 1922-23 for total expenditure and net expenditure are Rs. 1,76,37,000 and a minus figure of Rs. 60,03,000, respectively, the latter figure being a credit representing a portion of the reduction of stocks. The figure for gross expenditure includes expenditure on stores in England amounting to £752,400 converted at Rs. 10 = £1 whereas in this statement it is converted at Rs. 15 = £1.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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13. The thirteenth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

Cantonment area, and therefore under the Cantonment Act. No. (?) It is within the Municipal limits, and the whole area is open to the traffic of 'men and bird and beast.' The fact is that great men live there—Indians as well as Europeans—and the entry in those areas of "rebels" with Swarajya Flags, offends their 'Civil' temperaments. Not that they have lodged a complaint to that effect. On the contrary I saw some European gentlemen watch the arrests with smiles of curiosity on their faces. There is nothing like resentment on those faces. But Government imagines that they resent all this. Acting under this impression perhaps, it allowed its officers to belabour the volunteers until they fell senseless on the ground, on the day of the Jallianwalla Bag. The people refused to brook the insult. They instinctively saw their opportunity. They felt that that was an occasion when they might prove their capacity to fight and even lay down their lives for the flag, which is an emblem of their determination to have Swarajya by means of Ahimsa, Unity and Swadeshi. There is, therefore, about this movement, nothing of that "manufactured"—ness which Desha-bandhu Das so strongly abhors. The issue is absolutely certain and clear. Although I am of opinion that aggressive Civil Disobedience is at all times open to one who can wield the weapon, that the situation in the country is bad enough to justify it, and that no Council entry is necessary to make our Civil Disobedience righteously indignant, I want to emphasise the fact that there is not a trace of aggression in Shriyut Jannalaji's movement.

The movement is now in full swing. Over a hundred Volunteers will have gone to jail by the time this appears in print. Punishment which used to be considerate in the initial stages has now begun to be vindictive. The resisters are convicted under section 143 I. P. C. of being members of an unlawful assembly, and under sec. 188 I. P. C. promulgated by an officer of the Government. The resistance is offered in the most peaceful and non-resisting manner possible and it passes comprehension how the offence of disobedience can be brought under the second paragraph of Sec. 188 which only applies when there is imminent danger of a riot or affray. But every one knows now that the machinery of Government is in the hands of officers who are capable of making even the most harmless section of the penal law omnipotent and of applying sections to circumstances never contemplated by the framer of the code, Lord Macaulay. As it is, we already hear of threats to leaders and those who are prominent in the processions. For aught I can say, there may be a big round-up very shortly, all the leading workers being taken for abetment. The Magistrate who sentenced the latest batch talked of deterrent sentences and I am sure that if the movement progresses the offence will be brought under sections 145 and 188, and punishments ranging from two to three years, might be given.

Here therefore is a fight which the rest of the country cannot look on with indifference or even amused interest. I think the least that the All India Congress Committee can do is to set the seal of their approval on the Nagpur movement. That can be done immediately by the Working Committee. One of the most important questions before the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee will be whether the movement should not be given an All-India character

and whether all provinces may not be asked to send recruits to the battle-front which happens to be in C. P. to-day. It is a fight which if it is fought to the finish is fraught with great potentialities. It is a fight which will prepare people for an undertaking of a larger magnitude, viz.; Mass Civil Disobedience. I hope, therefore, that the Working Committee and the next All-India Congress Committee will give the question the consideration that it deserves.

Mahadeo Desai

The Sovereign Test of Manhood

Once, many long years ago, when I had just gone up from school to the University of Cambridge, I heard a sermon in the University Church, which left a very deep impression on my mind. Now, after more than thirty-three years, I can remember it still.

The words of the text were these:—"Be full-grown men." Just at that very time, I had recently had the wonderful experience in my own personal life of coming to early manhood. For in England, even more than in India, university life marks off the stage when a youth becomes a man. So the text appealed to me: "Be full grown men."

But, according to the University teacher, Christ's ideal of manhood was so strange! It was not so much a physical as a moral manhood, which Christ required. And the test, the sovereign test, of moral manhood, was that of doing something which required moral courage, something that was beyond the ordinary and conventional thing which every one else did. For instance, Christ said that it was quite a common thing for people to love those who had shown love to them. Ordinary gratitude made this easy to do. But to love those who didn't love you but disliked you,—ah! There was the test of manhood. A mere child in the spiritual life couldn't do that, but a man could.

The two Greek words, ΕΣΕΣΤΗ ΤΕΛΗΙΟΙ, remained above my writing table, in my room at College, for many years after I had heard that sermon. I used to test myself by this one sovereign test:—The conventional thing?—Anyone could do that! But had I the moral courage to go beyond the conventional, not for mere bravado, but for conscience? Had I the courage to set out on a new voyage of moral discovery and to fathom uncharted seas of moral freedom and responsibility? Christ seemed to be beckoning me ever forward to some new enterprise of courageous spiritual adventure, which would leave behind entirely the beaten paths. At first I did not know where all this would lead me; but it has led me at last to India and to many other parts of the world besides.

It has always seemed to me, that the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi's movement to the youth of India contains within it something of this same message of moral courage—"Be full grown men." He has been telling us all,—"Don't be mere children any longer, following one another like a flock of sheep, and going on daily with the same old dead, routine; never doing anything adventurous; never attempting anything that is brave and true. No! Be men! Strike out on new paths of moral daring! Risk every thing! Throw away life itself, to gain the higher life. Be men!"

I remember an Englishman once saying to me, "As for Mr. Gandhi, we may disagree with him profoundly"

but we can't help admiring him. He's a man!" It is difficult to describe the tone, with which this last word was uttered. The Englishman, who uttered it, had faced death a thousand times; and he was no moral coward either. He meant what he was saying and his admiration was sincere and just.

In the early days of the Indian national movement, one of those who had been most deeply affected by it, a student of Allahabad University, told me the story of his inner life. He said, that night after night in his sleep, and in his waking dreams when he had sat beneath the stars, there would come to him the beautiful but altogether sorrowful vision of his Motherland. It came to him always as a woman, a mother, who was weeping, and asking for his help and succour. He felt that he must do something. All his manhood within him was stirred, and he determined to put his love for his country to the test. Then he said to himself, "Let me see, if I, a Hindu, can truly love the Mussalmans."

This was, of course, long before Hindu-Muslim unity had become part of the Congress creed. So he started out on his new moral adventure, and did everything he could to win the love of Mussalmans. As he had been in earlier days somewhat bigoted against them, his first approach to them was received with coldness. He had also to bear reproach and misunderstanding from his own Hindu people. He ate food with Mussalmans and became outcaste because he did so openly. His mother and his family implored him not to do these things openly, but he went on doing them for conscience' sake. In the end, he won the love of the Mussalmans entirely, because they found out his sincerity and respected him for his moral courage. This was the story which he told me, more than sixteen years ago, and it has often come back to my mind.

Today, on every side, the movement, which Mahatma Gandhi has created in the hearts of the common people, is calling for *men*. This very principle of Hindu-Muslim unity itself can never be established except through men and women of moral courage and determination, who are determined that true love and sincere friendship shall prevail. If Hindus merely love Hindus, and Mussalmans merely love Mussalmans, what is there extraordinary in that? Is *that* any test of moral courage, of moral adventure? No! The sovereign test comes, when Mussalmans love Hindus as brothers, for the sake of the one Motherland, which bore them both as her own children, and when Hindus love Mussalmans as brothers in return.

When I was at Atrai and Patisar, in the distressed and recently flooded area of North Bengal, where famine was impending, there were all round about us Mussalman villages where Mussalman women and children were near to the point of starvation. The national volunteers, who were working among these villages, were all of them Hindus. One of these was a Hindu Swami, who was loved and revered by the Mussalmans for his saintly life and character. It was beautiful to see the reverence they paid to him. There, I saw before my very eyes true Hindu-Muslim unity, and my heart rejoiced. Those national volunteers had already reached their moral manhood; they were not mere children of convention, following the beaten pathway of sloofness, but *men*.

In the same way, we need today,—oh! how sorely we need them:—moral adventurers for the removal of the curse of untouchability. We do not need merely those, who would be content with standing at a distance and offering some dole of education from afar, but those who are ready to undertake the education of the untouchables themselves and will go close to them and love them with the purest, closest, tenderest love. It had been my own wish for many months past, to be set free to go down to Travancore and Malabar, where my heart is with those of the depressed classes, who are now making such a noble struggle to rise out of the degradation into which the inhumanity, practised in the past, has brought them. But it has not yet been possible. Where are the moral adventurers for *this* great enterprise of love?

I could go on to speak about the curse of drink and opium. Travelling on the same boat with me is a Government official, who knows the very latest statistics concerning the corruption of alcohol and opium in Northern India. He tells me, that, since Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment, there has been a sharp rise again in the consumption of alcohol, and that things appear now to be getting worse than ever they were before. Where are the moral adventurers here for this great enterprise also,—men and women who will give time, and care, and energy and patience, to do that dullest of dull works,—to study all statistics, to take records, to trace accurately, over whole districts, the havoc of the drink fiend, and the opium fiend; to expose, what is happening, fearlessly to the public, so as to get the evil righted?

There is, once more, the evil of 'forced labour', which Deshbandhu C. R. Das has brought to public notice, in his speech at Lahore. There are great openings here for a new enterprise of sacrifice and love. It only requires a moral leader, a follower of Mahatma Gandhi himself, who will fearlessly refuse to tolerate the old, wicked *begar* system, which has gone on unchecked for so long: and the evil could soon be broken.

But he who goes forward on such an adventure must be ready to face imprisonment for himself and for his followers, before this ancient wickedness is likely to be brought to an end. Here, therefore, is the sovereign test over again. Are we men? If we are, then such evils as *begar* will not go on any more upon God's earth. We shall wipe them clear away.

I have put down only half of the things that are in my mind, but this article must not become longer. There is the Kenya question now before me, which must take up my individual attention, for it has reached a point that is most critical of all.

We are passing down the Red sea while I write, and we shall soon be opposite that wonderful home of moral manhood, the desert lands round Mecca and Medina, whence of old went forth the mighty power of religious democracy, called Islam, that is still making the poorest and the lowliest of manhood to feel the true dignity of man. In the cave, not far from these very shores, the prophet, Muhammad, had reached at one time the very verge of outward defeat. Abu Bakr said to him,—*"We two are alone in this cave."* The prophet, Muhammad, answered,—*"No, there is One, who is with us, a Third,—that is, God."*

That answer of the prophet in the cave was the answer of true moral manhood,—the manhood, which never knows defeat, the manhood that has its strength established in God.

C. F. A.

Within or Without the Empire An American Protest

SIR,

With reference to your reply to my letter of September 21, 1922, published in the *Young India* of November 23, 1922, I beg to enclose herewith, for favour of publication in your paper, a letter just received by me from an American, Miss Blanche Watson, who has rendered great services to the cause of India by educating the American public about Mahatma's non-cooperation movement.

Tokyo, Japan.

Rash Behari Bose

January 19, 1923.

DEAR FRIEND,

I am an American who has given practically all of two years and much of a third year to writing and speaking on the revolution in India, consistently from the point of view of non-cooperation. I must confess, however, that I have never been able to understand the oft-used phrase "freedom within the Empire." It is understood I suppose that the Empire must ultimately cease to be an empire and become the "Commonwealth of Nations"—a phrase, by the way, with which visiting Britishers successfully befuddle Americans on occasion. The thought is never far from my mind that the acceptance of the phrase is as far as you will get!

We have been told by Indians that profit is at the bottom of the British connection, and this charge is borne out by our own understanding of American imperialism to date,—which means forced loans on our Haitis, and situations which revolve around our National City Bank. India, free, cannot tolerate that profit. Will England care to stay in India or have India within a commonwealth (?) without it?

The editor of *Young India* in his reply to you, uses this phrase—"the ready-made bond of friendship" (with England). I will put with your Americans who are authorities on international law and cannot understand any "status of equal partnership within the Empire," many other Americans who cannot see any real 'friendship' between a race which has all these years (with a negligible number of exceptional individuals) held itself a "superior" people. I confess that I am one of this group. We recall the shooting of men from the mouths of cannon, and match that with the tragedy of Amritsar and the treatment of the Akali Sikhs to-day. We think of the anti-Indian spirit that has crept into all kinds of literature which has come from the pens of British writers in the past (and which has made the Indian people appear to Westerners as half-civilised, heathen; absolutely unfit for self-government) and we compare it with present-day writings in the so-called Liberal publications of England to-day. To this evidence must be added the utterances of representative men who come to these shores from England—men like H. G. Wells, Sir Gilbert Parker, Sir Philip Gibbs, S. K. Ratcliffe (advertised as representative of the *Manchester Guardian*) and scores of similar publicists who take every occasion to belittle, misrepresent and malign India and Indians. We have all this in our minds when we ask ourselves, can a nation which continues persistently to misunderstand or to misrepresent a great people after 160 years of close acquaintanceship, ever be in a position to claim to be real friends? To the possible reply that this is an expression of governmental thinking and action, I would instance the vote of the great British Labour Party only this past summer upholding the position of the Government in its attitude towards India. Have the Indians anything to hope for from the people of England—barring the notable and noble exceptions?

The editor refers to the people of South Africa as having attained full freedom. Have they? Even with the strict censorship which Great Britain maintains to the end that we in America get little or nothing about the unrest in her Dominions across the sea and oceans, we have had echoes of a very considerable unrest in South Africa, and surely we realise that General Smuts is not a true nationalist but a spokesman (for all his apparent independence—and, at times, real independence of thought) for the British.

As a Westerner who has seen the results of European diplomacy I cannot agree with the editor of *Young India* that "alliances and ententes are necessary." Or rather, I would qualify that statement by saying that they are necessary—for imperialistic rule in the world but inimical to the peace of the world, which is the aim of Mahatma Gandhi. Without such alliances and ententes the Great War would have been impossible—the war which has started, without doubt, the disintegration of all Europe. The "lion and the lamb" may lie down together at some future time, we may trust, but not in this day and generation when imperialism is in the saddle—unless the lamb is content gradually to be drained of his life-blood for the benefit of his "lion" friend.

Mr. Rajagopala'achar has himself mentioned the two greatest impediments to full British connection,—namely the spirit of inequality which obtains to-day between Indians and White colonists in all parts of the Empire, and the possibility that India will be dragged into wars for the maintenance of imperialism. The "if" in this connection seems to a Westerner to be absolutely unsumountable. The objection to the proper recognition of Indians in the Colonial possession appears indeed to be a "fatal impediment" to full national development, for it is a thing that cannot be legislated into people. Its cause is rooted in prejudice and deeply rooted at that. And as for any abrogation of the 'duty' which India owes the Imperial Government to fight her battles against Turks, Egyptians, Afghans and other peoples, we Americans think of a little quarrel which runs something like this:

"We do not want to fight,

But by golly if we do,

We will not go ourselves—

We'll send the mild Hindu."

and we wonder if that, too, is not also a "fatal impediment" to full Indian freedom.

While any kind of self-determinism for India gained by violence (if it could be so gained) would be a tragedy in the eyes of India's well-wishers, is it not something akin to tragedy that the splendid non-violent fight of her millions should be directed towards half-freedom, a slave-freedom or a free-slavery—by whichever phrase one may choose to describe it? Does not Ireland carry some lesson for India? Are not "impediments" always impediments, when they are rooted in racial antagonisms and psychological dissimilarities? Some Americans ask, "Can the rule of one nation over another be justified, even if any number of the subject nation 'consent' to it?" I, too, question with you, whether under existing circumstances any thought of any connection with the British Government will not be a denial of the desire for real freedom on the part of Indians.

New York City, U. S. A.

Fraternally yours,

December 27, 1922.

Blanche Watson

The Significance of Figures

The statement of progress given below gives a fairly correct idea of work done towards the fulfilment of the Gayap programme till the 30th April. Taking into consideration the overwhelming odds that were ranged against those who had set to themselves the task of completing this programme, it is no mean record of achievement that they have presented to the country as a result of their two months' ceaseless and strenuous effort. Without any Bombay to make up more than one third of the total quota of the Tilak Swaraj Fund as was the case last time with six Provinces almost *hors de combat*, with the mass-mind tossed and buffeted about by the cross currents of conflicting opinions and counsels, every pi here represents a poor man's sacrifice of love and is an eloquent proof of the people's response to and faith in the programme of sacrifice and suffering and those who have faith in such a programme. It is a most encouraging instance of how one flaming soul can set another on fire and how determined action of a few people can make the chords of the mass heart break forth into sympathetic vibrations with itself. If therefore there are any who accepted the figure of 25 lakh rupees and 50 thousand volunteers as a purchase price for Swaraj as an insurance against risk and prolonged suffering, they had better wait and wait till Greek calends. But if the programme was conceived to serve as an index of the popular faith in or their readiness to respond to the programme of individual suffering then we say the field is most ripe for those who have the determination and the will to do and dare.

Gaya programme

Statement of Progress till 30th April

No.	Province	T. S. Fund	Present Cash Balance	Total of Volunteers
1	Hindustani C. P.	15609	21752	2107
2	Rajputana & Ajmer	901	4990	46
3	Karnatak	18582	11893	752
4	Gujarat	323858	915498	853
5	Bengal	105000	...	over 2000
6	Bombay	13015	...	115
7	Tamil Nadu	35253	87788	887
8	Marathi C. P.	50541	...	460
9	Sind...	85400	...	276
10	Behar	35000	40000	...
11	Maharashtra	38089	...	201
12	Andhra	123492	...	400
	Special Donations & Collections by All India Deputation.	661962	...	...
		1506702		8031

Table of Analysis of Volunteers according to Residence and Religion

No.	Provinces	Urban	Rural	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	Hindi C. P.	291	1,455	1,757	131	219
2	Ajmer	Nil	46	40	6	Nil
3	Karnatak	523	239	681	71	11
4	Gujarat	287	566	735	117	1
5	Tamil Nadu	438	449	710	175	2

Analysis of Volunteers According to Profession

No.	Provinces	Lawyers	Traders	Artisans	Landowners	Students	Clerks & other Employees	Manual Labourers	Others	Total
1	Hindi C. P.	8	77	34	864	11	249	145	719	2107
2	Ajmer	3	12	4	Nil	10	6	4	7	46
3	Karnatak	17	140	71	237	37	129	1	120	752
4	Gujarat	6	47	66	464	26	93	1	150	853
5	Bombay	Nil	32	6	2	2	58	Nil	15	115
6	Tamil Nadu	22	195	105	170	8	135	...	252	887

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Notes

Mahatma's Health

Mrs. Gandhi accompanied by Laxmi and some other girls of the Ashram saw Mahatma in Yarrowda jail on the 18th inst. Mahatma was brought to the superintendent's office as usual. Asked about the condition of his health Mahatma said that early this month he felt that his bowels required attention, and accordingly took some castor oil; but it had no effect and at night he had a severe stomachache. The pain was very severe and continued for three days. The doctor suspected dysentery and gave six injections. He had some fever owing to the pain in the stomach. The temperature did not go above hundred and one degrees, and the fever quite subsided within forty-eight hours. Under the doctor's advice he has been forced to give up spinning and all other work for a few days, and is having complete rest. Medical and other help has been quite satisfactory and leaves nothing to be desired. He is allowed any diet that he requires and is now transferred to Civil Barracks. He has a large compound there at his disposal for exercise purposes. He was taking only milk and fruits till the 18th and had not begun taking bread yet. His weight is said to have increased a little, but still it is less than his usual weight by nine pounds. He looked bright and cheerful. Mr. Indulal Yagnik and Mr. Munzer Ali Sokhta are kept with him at present.

Individual Resistance

Indecision has been the bane of political thought in the trying times through which we are passing. We decided at Gaya on offering Individual Civil Resistance to the wrongs of the Government. But now that the time has arrived for putting the resolution to practice, currents of indecision are preventing action. If last year the leaders had resolved on concentration on Constructive work and had put forth all their energies with single-minded purpose in that direction, nothing would have been better. But having fed the nation on the prospect of active battle and shaped thought and action towards that end, it will be suicidal

now to turn round to a different policy. The Constructive Programme is intended to build up the nation. The most important part of the work of nation-building in India is to spread fearlessness and the capacity of sacrifice. This is the capital achievement so far, of non-co-operation. Today there is a reaction which may yet be small, but which must be met by us if it is not to grow and put us back in the old grooves. It is imperative that a definite programme by which the example of fearlessness and sacrifice would be reinforced, should be undertaken and carried out by us. The emancipated mind is as important as, if not more, than concrete organisation. No price is too great if it will enable us to break the *Maya* of the ugly brute-force that at present rules over us. We can save all the organisation by economic of sacrifice but will find only an empty shell if we do not maintain, at the newly acquired level, national fearlessness and sacrifice.

Lawrence Statue.

At last one brave man has been found who has had the impatient courage to answer to the arrogant question of the statue in the Lahore Mall—"Will you be ruled by the pen or the sword?" "Not by either, but by my own conscience" was the answer of Sirdar Amrit Singh who courted arrest at noon, on the fifteenth of May. A question has been raised whether it was right for a civil resister to go with chisel and hammer to break a statue. The human figure should not confuse our ideas. There is no infringement of the law of Ahimsa in the assault on the statue. It was not to do dishonour to Lord Lawrence or his memory. It was not an attack on person or even property; for the statue is supposed to be the people's and stands on the people's grounds. The people through their accredited agents, the municipality of Lahore, have resolved long ago that the statue is an insult and should be removed. Brute-force alone now protects the insulting figure and any one with conscience and courage is entitled to protect his own and his people's honour, and undertake to suffer the penalties thereof. I offer my warmest congratulations to Sirdar Amrit Singh.

The Nagpur Battle.

At Nagpur the struggle is going on bravely and beautifully. Mahatma's heart would have been glad to see the peaceful and orderly battle conducted by his staunch and careful followers. This country is ours and the streets are ours. European residents and public buildings cannot take away our right to unify into a single nation and carry our symbol of peace and good-will. The so-called civil lines is that part of the city wherein the Government buildings stand and where, in some bungalows, European residents, among others,

live. The challenge of Nagpur questions our right to the soil of our country and our right to grow into a self-governing nation. The tri-colour flag is a symbol of unity, white, green and red representing all communities including even the European citizens that live among us, and is a message of peace and protection to all. The charkha on the flag symbolises non-violence, self-reliance and industry. It says 'peace not war, love not hatred.' Yet we are told, we cannot carry this standard of peace and unity, for men and women of the race that holds us in subjection are likely to be annoyed at this, our jubilant self-realisation. All municipal and other local bodies are warned that the grants from public taxes will be stopped if they exhibit the flag on their buildings. Non-co-operators have not sought or taken control over all local bodies. But the flag is not only the non-co-operators'. All local bodies that feel that they should protect the national right to live and grow should answer the challenge at every turn. Providence gives us the opportunity to unite ourselves, if only we resolve to cast off doubt and fear. C. R.

India's Case at Lausanne

The Executive Board of the India Independence Party has addressed a memorandum to the members of the Peace Conference at Lausanne, detailing India's grievances which she has to suffer. They say all the ailments are due to the doings of the "Perfidious Albion", whom they take to task for most of the misery to be seen in the world. *The Servant.*

"It is universally admitted that the chief disturbing element in the comity of nations of the world is", they declare, "the Perfidious Albion." The double dealing of the British has been the cause of many world tragedies in the past and present and promises the same in the future. A roman poet, two centuries before the Christian era spoke of the Anglo-Saxon as: "the non-wolves, whose home was the ocean, whose friend was the storm and who lived on the pillage of the world." Such were the Anglo Saxons then and such are the Anglo Saxons now, who want to monopolize the whole planet for their own exclusive use and beg claims for generations to come at the expense of the rest of the human race, though the earth produces enough for all and to spare! The world-war was one item of their designs of world-conquest, by which they devised the destruction of the great nations of Europe, and establishment of themselves as arbiters of the destiny of the globe over oceans and continents. There is no strategic position on the face of the earth like Gibraltar, Malta, Suez Canal, Aden, Bombay, Colombo, Madras Calcutta, Singapore, Hongkong, the continent of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and West, South and East Africa, where they have not established their effective control and reduced thereby all nations, great and small, to be at their mercy and sweet will. In the chain of their selfish designs there remains only one link of the straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to complete their domination over all nations of Europe. Hence they came to Lausanne Conference with their mouths professing peace and good will to all men, while their heads are full of designs of world subjugation and domination over nations. It is a curious irony of fate that all European nations—great and small—play into the hands of these past-masters of

confidence trick, in the hope of a political or economic gain of doubtful nature!

The India Independence Party has a message to all oppressed nations of Europe, Asia and Africa—including France, Italy, Russia, China and Japan—to the effect that all should adopt an economic policy based on common interest against Great Britain and take a leaf out of India's book. The policy of boycott of the British goods adopted by Mahatma Gandhi in India during the last two years has damaged the British trade appreciably and has better prospects in the future. If all the oppressed nations the world over make an economic pact with India they can bring Great Britain to her senses.

India was once a land of culture and prosperity and to-day it is all ignorance and misery. In India more than fifty millions of people, go to-day to sleep on one insufficient meal per day and millions die of hunger every year. The industries of India have been crushed by the Government and the commerce of India has been generally in the hands of British capitalists. The high posts of the State had been up to recently a preserve for the British born subjects of the King. At a critical juncture in the last war the British extracted one hundred million pound sterling from the poor tax-payers of India for the expenses of war, and nearly an equal sum they borrowed from Indians by compulsion, and promised to grant self-government to Indians at the conclusion of peace. So when at the conclusion of the armistice the people of India started an agitation for the promised self-government, thousands of them, including women and children, were made targets of bullets at that noted Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar in April 1919 day—the men and women were further compelled by the civilized British Government in India to crawl on their bellies as a sign of submission to Great Britain! It was this that moved even a saintly man like Mahatma Gandhi to call the British Government in India satanic, and to start a movement for the boycott of British goods in India under the name of non-violent non-co-operation with the British Government in India. Thereupon the British Government adopted the policy of sending hundreds and thousands of leading men, throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula, to prisons.

It is hoped and trusted that the civilized world after learning a few facts of the British rule in India will sympathise and assist Indian aspirations, and give the same recognition and justice to one-fifth of the human race, which has been given to many small states of Europe.

Khadi Notes

Danger Ahead

The All India Khadi Information Bureau was established by the All India Khadi Department to supply information about Khadi activity in various provinces to those interested in it, to study the difficulties in the way, to suggest a remedy if possible, and if it was unable, to bring them to the notice of experts for solution. The Bureau has stood sentry at its post accordingly and it has had the happy privilege of giving out the signal "All Well" so far. But the ship of Khadi has now entered upon stormy waters. Instead of "All Well" we have to sound the warning "Danger Ahead" now.

One of the principal reasons adduced by those who are opposed to the Councils is that Council activities

will paralyze Constructive work. I don't know how other items of Constructive work stand, but so far as Khadi activity is concerned, from all information received, it is showing signs of flagging.

Means or an End

While on the one side the Councils agitation has caused dislocation of Khadi work, on the other hand agitation for Civil Disobedience is levelling its blow at it no less. In the excitement for jail-going the very object of Khadi activity—whether it is a means or an end—is being debated upon. People seem to think as if the time is past when Khadi could be regarded as the essence of Swaraj and that Swadeshi is but a doubtful weapon for the attainment of freedom.

It is also believed that Swadeshi could be affected by an embargo on foreign exports after the attainment of Swaraj. But that Swadeshi will be no Swadeshi. It will be virtue practised under compulsion. True Swadeshi is the invulnerable bulwark of the nation and it can be only said to be accomplished if it is practised as a national duty. Be it an end or a means, Swaraj without it is a lifeless corpse and if Swadeshi is the soul of Swaraj, Khadi is the essence of Swadeshi.

Let us not, in our impotence to sustain the sacrificial fire of freedom by offerings of suffering forget that Constructive Programme also affords a fair field for suffering. A Sindhi friend has given up a lucrative service and has come down here to be imprisoned in the spinning-wheel and the loom. Who will say that this is not sacrifice? If he had rushed to jail in a frenzy of impatience he would not have won the hearts of the people. So long as jail-going was thought to be a difficult affair, so long jail-goers used to take it as a key to win the love of the people. But now fear of the jail has disappeared. The volunteers have now to find out a far more difficult way of capturing the hearts of the people. A man trained in national education and Khadi Propaganda for the service of the people will be worthier than a volunteer returned from jail. We have done precious little beyond preaching that national education and Khadi are the life of the people.

Only one preparation is necessary to serve the people in these directions, and for that one need only bury himself in obscurity, living the life of a convict. This jail is not an easy thing. Just as a convict is punished to solitary confinement for breach of jail discipline even so does one suffer the punishment of solitary confinement in the shape of social ostracism in this jail of Constructive work. Just as a man doing disservice is renounced by people, even so a man rendering true service may sometimes be renounced. But there is this difference that the latter is ultimately warmly accepted by the people. Instead, therefore of chewing the cud of rebelling against Government, we had better insist on rebelling against the idleness which is fast becoming our besetting sin. We are now able to see that the mis-government that we are labouring under is the result of our own weakness. It can only subsist on our weakness. It is like a tumour caused by the impurities in our body politic. It is tormenting. It no doubt but before we cut it open it is necessary to purify the blood, and this blood-purification is Constructive work, self-purification, Khadi, and national education, whatever you please. Where is the harm if workers in these fields were to be imprisoned? It is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

For them remaining in the jail or without it will be equally welcome. "Dead you will win the heaven, victor you will enjoy the earth" says the Gita. This blissful state will hardly be in the lot of those who go to jail in defiance of the Constructive Programme. Their going to jail will neither shame the Government nor inspire the people.

The Insurance of Strike

Ever since Gandhiji suggested the spinning wheel as an insurance against famine it is being used everywhere. Sir P. C. Roy is turning it to good account in Bengal though the public know very little about it. What little news we get about the Doctor's movements for its organization and other work, proves, that the spinning-wheel is a means of relieving distress. But in Ahmedabad it is being turned to a use which bids to be universal. During the mill-strike spinning and the concomitant processes, like hand-ginning hand-carding and hand-weaving, are being utilised for the relief of the mill-hands. This peaceful fight between the mill-hands and the mill-owners is a sight for the gods to see. The strike amply illustrates that for the last month and a half the principles that Gandhiji laid down for the strikers four years ago are being literally followed. A mill-hand wasting not a minute in idleness and accepting even half a loaf by manual labour for the sake of his principle is, without doubt, the victor; but it is impossible to find such employment for thousands of men. Only spinning and other incidental processes afford a fair field for such employment and the patient and indefatigable leaders of the Labour Union are opening the field out to them. They have organized this splendid carnival of employing him on the spinning industry instead of submitting to the temptation of sending them out to find work in distant towns, and they have thus blessed both the mill-hands and the mill-owners. It is apparent that mill-industry would receive a permanent blow if the labourers are scattered in distant places; and even for the mill-hands there is no little hardship involved. It is no easy thing for them to wind up their little households and set up fresh ones in distant places. I know that they would go to that length for the sake of principle. They are capable of great suffering having been born and bred in toil and trouble. It is no little strength for them that they can rest content on a little bread of toil. It is well that the leaders of the Labour Union have preferred to feed them out of their own manual labour on the spinning wheel to spending twelve thousand rupees for providing railway fares for those going outside. They have arranged so that the minimum wage per head may not be less than four annas. The wages for occupations other than spinning are much higher and therefore the average wage of each worker is six annas. It would be interesting to calculate the length of days for which the struggle can be continued. Out of the 12000 rupees that would have otherwise been spent on railway fare, supposing that six annas' wages gives a return of three annas, [in view of double wages being given for spinning] the labour office would have to spend three thousand annas on a thousand mill-hands, and at that rate they can go on for 64 days on 12000 rupees. And 64 days' organisation will place the whole

(Continued on page 174)

'Alwahid' Case

We have been anxious for some time past to place before our readers the full facts about the *Alwahid* case, the Judgment in which was delivered some time back. The sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment that was delivered, was so shocking—even in a land of judicial abnormalities like Sind—~~as to compel immediate attention.~~ Further interest was lent to the case by the fact that the victim was a young man barely out of his teens—being only 22 years of age—and that his sole offence was to publish a vernacular translation, in his journal, of an article that had already appeared in the *Servant of Calcutta*—without provoking any comment or action whatsoever, so far as we know, from the Bengal Government. The editor was tried and convicted under two separate charges, one under sec. 153 A, and the other under sec. 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment on each count, the two sentences to run concurrently.

We have before us the text of the judgment as well as the offending article. The original article is a reprint of a memorandum submitted by the Executive Board of the India Independence Party to the members of the Peace Conference assembled at Lausanne. The document is couched in carefully restrained and balanced language. It is remarkably free from passion. Most of the facts recited therein are such as have been repeated again and again in the columns of this journal, as well as in most other journals, in this country. With the exception of one or two mis-statements of facts—which clearly seem to be due to oversight and misinformation, than deliberate purpose—there is hardly anything in it which we are not prepared to endorse ourselves, and we do not feel the slightest hesitation in taking upon ourselves the full responsibility for reproducing the article *in toto* in another part of this journal.

The trying magistrate in his judgment has divided the article in two parts, each part being made the basis of a separate charge. The first part is dealt with under Sec. 153 A as calculated to create feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. It refers to England as "Perfidious Albion." It is an indictment of her policy of world domination and her sinister designs at the Dardanelles. The woeful results of England's land-hunger are depicted in pathetic terms. And finally England is charged with having compassed the destruction of great nations in the last European War, to attain that end. There is hardly any one these days, who believes any longer in the fiction that was once elaborately got up that England went to war against Germany out of purely philanthropic motives. All thinking people believed then, the world knows it now, that England's principal motive in plunging into the war was her commercial rivalry with Germany and her competition with the latter for securing the world-markets. And any one who has eyes can see how well she has succeeded in her object. As regards her designs at the Dardanelles, one has only to look into the files of old news-papers, and he will find how England had openly expressed her intention to hold Anzoc—"as another Gibraltar" as it was described at that time—and if the intention was given up, it was not for want of will or purpose, but only because the position was found to be militarily untenable. The charge of perfidy is now admitted even by her own statesmen. "The word of an Englishman," wrote Sir Valentine Chirol some time back, "was not long ago a

word to conjure with all over the East. It is so no longer." Her treacherous betrayal of the Mussalmans of India was denounced by none more strongly than by the Ex-Secretary of State for India himself, in his Oxford speech, just after his resignation.

In all this there is not a word about the Englishmen or their doings in India that can possibly inflame the feelings of Hindus or Mussalmans against Englishmen in India. In fact the document is not addressed to the people of India at all. It is addressed to the members of the Peace Conference at Lausanne. The editor has simply pointed out this fact to his readers without any comments. The form of the original document has been preserved in the translation; even the original caption has been retained as it was. How a general criticism of England's foreign policy addressed to the members of the Peace Conference at Lausanne can, by any stretch of imagination, be described as an attempt to create "feelings of enmity and hatred between His Majesty's subjects in India," passes our comprehension.

The second part of the article is dealt with under Sec. 124 A, as being seditious. It is a bare narrative, pruned of all epithet, of India's wrongs, her material and cultural decline under the British rule, her services to the British Empire during the war and her disillusionment, followed by a brief account of the non-co-operation movement and the circumstances that gave birth to it. It recommends to the other nations of the world to boycott British goods according to "the policy adopted by Mahatma Gandhi" and concludes with an appeal to the civilized world for active sympathy with India's aspirations.

The appeal to boycott British goods is, as we have already mentioned, based on a mis-statement of Mahatmaji's position. But we have still to learn that to preach boycott of British goods in a peaceful manner amounts to sedition against the State.

The fact is that our struggle has gradually resolved itself into a deadly conflict between the arrogance of brute-force, armed as it is with the entire machinery of a lawless law on the one hand, and the spirit of national independence on the other. And this judgment is nothing but an expression of the fury of the former at its present failure to crush the latter. Prestige complex has overspread the mind of Government, it has paralysed its judicial sense. It would be too much to expect—especially after our experience of the course of British justice during the last three years, in political cases—that Government would still perceive the flagrant abuse of law in this case and undo the mischief that has been done. And we delude ourselves with any such vain hope no longer. We publish these facts only to serve as a sharp reminder to us of the regime of law we live under, and to steel us against the trials that might come.

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spinning industry on a sound economic footing. This achieved, the mill-owners cannot but be moved. They will whole-heartedly welcome the mill-hands contenting themselves with half a loaf and refusing to seek a new employer. Their penance cannot but tell.

This Consummation is full of infinite possibilities for the settlement of conflicts of labour and capital throughout the world. It is a wonder that the spinning-wheel had not yet been recognised as an insurance against these conflicts. The time is not far when leaders in lands, torn by such conflicts, will see behind such a consummation the penance of the Sage of Varanasi.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

To Readers of Young India

The Economic and Financial supplement will be a special feature of 'Young India' for a year or more.

Young India

24-5-23

Gujarat's Resolve

The Resolutions passed by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee are worth noticing for the carefulness with which they have been conceived and for the practical unanimity with which all of them have been passed. The resolution advising the people that conditions are not suitable for the adoption of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character shows the measure of the strength of Gujarat and the extent to which the Gujarat workers are prepared to go. There is no scope at present for undertaking defensive civil disobedience in Gujarat, and for that of an aggressive character the workers have confessed their unpreparedness. Nothing is so good as a consciousness of one's own limitations. But the same workers by passing a resolution for intensive constructive work in selected areas have shown that they are anxious to get ready before long. Bardoli which was to have begun civil disobedience last year will very likely be selected as the area, and they will have fulfilled their debt to Mahatmaji if they succeed in carrying out his programme in due time. The idea is to select the best workers and to concentrate all of them in the area. They will pledge themselves to live the life of an ordinary hard labour convict living on what humble fare the villages can provide them, looking after the primary sanitary and educational needs of the people, spinning four hours a day, and preaching the gospel of non-violent non-cooperation. Their ambition will be to enter the life of each and every villager and to help him wherever his help is accepted. This will be the test of the villager's capacity to win Swaraj. The Gaya programme figures are an eloquent proof of the readiness of the people to respond. Not one of the workers going to work in these villages is less anxious to go to jail, but he is also conscious that if he can help to prepare a mass for a bigger programme he will have done a higher duty. If the response is nil, individual civil disobedience will be their only duty, and they are prepared for all contingencies.

The resolution for sending a strong contingent to Nagpur to join the battle for the flag is just as it should have been. Tamil Nadu has already Nagpur as one of the items of its civil disobedience programme. Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarti, than whom no one emphasises more the need of constructive work, has blessed the struggle. The Swaraj party is indifferent, but the All India Congress Committee might force it to take a definite attitude towards it. Even the Tribune has declared it to be the cleanest possible struggle. No battle was begun under better auspices and none had the promise of a better result.

The Word of an Englishman

The following is the diary of events referred to in the note 'The Word of an Englishman':— (P. 178) 1915

January

Secret agreement with Hussein (Grand Sheriff of Mecca). "Great Britain undertakes to form an independent Arab State, independent from every point of view internal and external... bounded eastwards by Persian Gulf, westwards by the Red Sea, Egypt, and Mediterranean, northwards by Aleppo and Mosul, &c.

(This "pledge" absolutely violated by Sykes-Picot Treaty (see May 1916). Of the "Arab kingdom" promised to Hussein and Feisal for their alliance against the Turks, nothing remains except the sandy wastes of the Hedjaz, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia practically annexed by France and England, without any "consent of the governed" or any shred of "self-determination.")

March 4, 18, 20

Russia to have Constantinople and the Straits, and to preserve a benevolent attitude towards the political aspirations of England in Persia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Egypt. The neutral zone of Persia to be handed over to Great Britain.¹

(This in spite of Treaty of 1907. The Persians were never consulted and their deputations to Paris were ignored. Compare: "This was a war for the emancipation of small States."—Asquith, November 9, 1916.)

April 26

Secret Treaty with Italy (Pact of London). Italy promised *inter alia* the Dodekanese, and a vast area of Asia Minor (Adalia, &c.), also Valona. The rest of Albania to be divided between Montenegro, Greece, and Serbia.²

(Compare: "The sympathy of H. M. Government for the legitimate aspirations of the Albanian people."—P. O. letter to Miss Durham, January 16, 1918.)

1916

April 26

Sazonov-Paleologue Agreement. Russia given 60,000 square miles between Persian frontier and Black Sea. Italy and French huge areas of Asia Minor to west and south.

May

The Sykes-Picot Treaty. France given all Syrian coast as far as Acre; all the ports and a vast hinterland to the Tigris, including Mosul. Great Britain allotted Acre and Haifa and Mesopotamia between Bagdad and Persian Gulf.

("We are not fighting for additional territory."—BONAR LAW, February 20, 1917.)

1917

August

Agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne; Smyrna given to Italy.

1918

January 4

President Wilson's XIV Points (accepted by Allies as basis of peace).

¹ See, "The Secret Treaties" by F. Seymour Coombs. (U. D. C., Orchard House, Great Smith Street, S. W. 1.)

² *Idem.*

Point XII.—The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire to be assured a complete sovereignty with guarantees of security and autonomous development for other subject races, &c.).

January 5

"Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race."—Mr. Lloyd George, Central Hall.

January 8

President Wilson's XIV Points accepted by Allies).

POINT II.—The settlement of every question of territory, sovereignty.....upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the peoples immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the..... interests or advantage of any other nation.

May 22

British and French commercial interests negotiate for the laying of a pipe-line from the Mesopotamian oil fields to Tripoli in Syria. Proposal initiated by British, led by Lord Long. Lloyd George said he knew nothing about them.

October 30. The Mudros Armistice

Rauf Bey said he signed in the confidence that the terms (maintenance of a *status quo*.) would be kept. Admiral Calhoun asked Rauf's hand and, turning to his officers, said, "It is true, gentlemen, that England always keeps its word, isn't it?" They all said, "Yes."

(A few months later Lloyd George and Curzon, in flagrant violation of the armistice, let loose a Greek army on Smyrna, which had been under the protection of the admiral's flag. See May 15, 1919.)

December

Secret minutes of Big Four. "Mr. Lloyd George replied that he saw no difficulty about the rights of France in Syria and Cilicia, but in certain places which he thought should be included in the British zone, and which under the 1916 agreement belonged to the French, namely Mosul. He also asked for Palestine. Clemenceau agreed that Mosul should be transferred to Great Britain. Palestine also granted."

Lloyd George discloses the secret Treaty with King Hussein, which was unknown to the French or Americans. Wilson thereupon proposed dispatch of Commission of Inquiry to Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia to discover whether the peoples of these regions wished to be governed by Europeans and Englishmen. Clemenceau and Lloyd George accepted this "in principle," but refused to appoint any commissioners. Nevertheless, two Americans, Messrs. Crane and King, were dispatched.

(Their Report, though unknown to the British, has been published in U. S. A.—a damning indictment of the whole system of Mandatory Government forced upon the Arabs.)

1910

March 25

"Germany to recognise the cession by Turkey of the whole of her territory to Mandatories responsible to the League of Nations."—Lloyd George, in Paris.

May 15

Greek army sent to Smyrna. Hundreds of Turkish civilians massacred. Greek occupation of Anatolia gradually increases. Wholesale destruction of Turkish towns and villages, whose inhabitants were exposed to every form of outrage and murder (See Reports of International Red Cross.)

October 12

Report of Allied Admirals (suppressed by the Government) condemns the Smyrna landing *in toto*; declares any ill-treatment of Christians in the town or district to justify violation of armistice; declares the Greeks guilty of looting, arson, and murder.

1920

February 26

"The pledge given in January, 1918 (see above 5. 18), was given after full consultation with all parties..... It was specific, unqualified and deliberate.

"The effect of the statement in India was that recruiting went up appreciably from that very moment.

"We might go to the Indian troops and say, 'Circumstances have changed; we gave you this promise in January, 1918; the Turk never gave it until November, 1918.' We might have said so; but I will tell you what they would have said. Whenever the British word was given again in the East they would have said, 'Yes, you mean to keep faith, but you will always somehow or other find an unanswerable reason when the time comes for breaking it.'—

Mr. Lloyd George, House of Commons.

March 16

Martial law proclaimed in Constantinople. Turkish Parliament closed and puppet Government set up. One hundred and fifty prominent Turks arrested with every form of indignity and deported to Malta without charge or trial, and kept there for two years.

April 26

Conference at San Remo. Smyrna and Thrace given to the Greeks. Mesopotamia and Palestine to be British "mandates." Syria and Cilicia, French, Albania, Italian, &c., &c.

November 25

Armenia (possessing neither oil nor coal) is abandoned by Allies and becomes a Soviet Republic. Independence recognised by the Turks.

December 23

Lloyd George harangues the House of Commons on the "sublime virtues" and "military excellence" of the Greeks—"a people whose friendship is vital to that part of the world."

1921

February 25

Arrival of Bekir Sami Bey, Gounaris, &c., for conference with object of "promoting peace." Document marked "Secret." March 10

"Lloyd George asks 'Could the Greek army smash the Kemalists?' Reply: 'Yes, they undertook to do this in three months if the Greek army was given a free hand.' On receiving this answer Mr. Lloyd George intimated through Mr. Philip Kerr that the Conference proposals need not be taken too seriously, and that an immediate Greek offensive would suit the British Government admirably."

July 4

Great Greek advance. Eskişehir captured, &c. Lloyd George jubilant, declared in Supreme Council and in House of Commons that the Sevres Treaty was a thing of the past and Greece was now entitled to the full fruits of her victory. Battle of Sakarya complete repulse of the Greeks.

1922

January 12

Lloyd George attacked Constantine as the cause of all the mischief. On leaving, Gounaris in utter consternation remarked, "He has found a pretext for jettisoning us."

February 15

Letter of Gounaris to Curzon: "We cannot maintain ourselves in Asia Minor unless we are given money, machine guns, munitions, &c."

(Lord Birkenhead said that neither he nor Lloyd George ever saw this letter, but later on admitted that they had overlooked it!)

August 2

Fethi Bey comes to London from Angora offering practically same terms of peace as those subsequently accepted by allies at Lausanne. He is treated with marked discourtesy and refused an interview with Curzon or any other Cabinet Minister.

August 23

Fethi Bey, realising that no discussion of his peace terms was allowed, and disgusted with the treatment accorded him leaves London. Before doing so telegraphs to Angora "Attack."

August 23

Turkish attack launched. Utter rout of the Greeks, who lost thousands of prisoners and nearly all their artillery stores, &c.

September 23

Request by Great Britain, Italy and France for armistice.

December 4

"The policies which led to the defeat of the Greek armies are very obscure and controversial. I have no knowledge of any evidence except statement in the Press that any British Minister encouraged the Greek Policy in Asia Minor."—Mr. Benbow, House of Commons.

December 8

Letter of Mr. Chrusacchi (Gounaris's secretary) denouncing Lloyd George as responsible for the disasters of Greece and the death of the Ministers, and charging him with deliberate trickery at the "Peace" meeting in March, 1921.

1923

February 5

Failure of Lausanne Conference. More threats from Lord Curzon, and abrupt departure.

March

Mr. Amery, interviewed by a French journalist: "Why not have the following understanding between the two countries? You are a Continental people, and we therefore leave you to carry out your policy in Europe. We are an Eastern Power and you leave us a free field in the East."

April 23

Second Lausanne Conference. Lord Curzon still in office. (Foreign Affairs)

Opium

Mr. Basil M. Manly, formerly, Director, U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations Joint Chairman (with ex-President Taft), National War Labour Board, writes:—

It has been the traditional policy of the United States of America to aid in all movements which promote human progress and mitigate human suffering. It is from this unselfish, humanitarian standpoint that the United States Government is engaged in fighting the opium traffic.

As early as 1880 when the British Government was carrying on a flourishing opium trade with China to the detriment of the Chinese people, the United States Government made it unlawful for any American citizen to engage in the opium trade in China by an agreement with the Chinese Government. This agreement reads:

"Citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of China; to transport it from one open port to any other open port; or to buy or sell opium in any of the open ports of China."

After the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, the United States immediately abolished opium traffic in these Islands. It was through the cooperation of the American States, American Government and men like Dr. Hamilton Wright, that China's efforts to abolish the British opium trade became successful. The United States Government has also taken an active part in International Opium Conventions to suppress the evil.

The people of India owe a debt of gratitude to Miss Ellen M. Motte, an American trained nurse, for writing her illuminating book, "Opium Monopoly," as a crusade against opium. Hon. William Mason, late member of the House of Representatives of the United States in 1926 introduced a resolution calling upon the British people and the members of the British Parliament and America to suppress the opium evil. Mr. Mason, a true friend of India, died without finishing his work. He had the idea that the United States Government should call upon all the nations that professed to come to an international conference with the object of arriving at an agreement to limit the production of opium and other habit-forming drugs for medicinal and scientific purposes. But his work has been vigorously taken up by Hon. Stephen O. Porter, Chairman Committee on Foreign Affairs, U. S. House of Representatives, Hon. Robert M. La Follette U. S. Senator from Wisconsin, and others. Mr. Porter has introduced the following resolution, which has been unanimously adopted by the House of Representatives and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

Joint Resolution

Requesting the President to urge upon the governments of all nations the immediate necessity of limiting the production of habit-forming narcotic drugs and the raw materials from which they are made, to the amount actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

Resolved by Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: that it is the imperative duty of the United States Government to safeguard its people from the insistent ravages of habit-forming narcotic drugs; And be it

Resolved further, That the effective control of these drugs can be obtained only by limiting the production thereof to the quantity required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, thus eradicating the source or root of the present conditions, which are solely due to production many times greater than is necessary for such purposes; And be it

Resolved further, That in the hope of accomplishing this end, the President be, and he hereby is requested to urge upon the Governments of Great Britain, Persia and Turkey the immediate necessity of limiting the growth of poppy (*Papaver Somniferum*) and the production of opium and its derivatives exclusively to the amount actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. And be it

Resolved further, That the President be, and he hereby is, requested to urge upon the Governments of Peru, Bolivia and the Netherlands the immediate necessity of limiting the production of coca leaves (*Erythroxylon* (Cocaine)) and their derivatives to the quantity exclusively required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. And be it

Resolved further, That the President be, and he hereby is, requested to report to Congress within six months after the approval of this resolution the result of his action.

From a careful study of the hearings held on this resolution and the hundreds of petitions and memorials presented by powerful organizations in its support, it is clear that the whole American nation is at the back of this movement to suppress the opium menace by checking its production at the source. To accomplish this, they must have international cooperation, and any nation that attempts to block this movement is certain to incur the displeasure, if not the active enmity of, the people of the United States.

President Harding and a majority of his Cabinet have endorsed this resolution, and the following letter from Secretary of State Hughes to Chairman Porter speaks for itself:

".....The object which you have in view--that is, the restriction of the commercial cultivation of the opium poppy and the coca leaf plant to quantities exclusively required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes--is one with which I am in entire accord....."

This crusade against opium and other drugs has been most actively promoted by William Randolph Hearst, through his daily papers in the most important cities in the United States, through his several monthly magazines, and through his three news services, which altogether reach more than 25,000,000 readers. He has unquestionably done more to awaken the American public to the menace of opium than any other individual.

Within six months after the passage of this bill, that is before September 1, 1923, an International Opium Conference will be called by the United States Government to meet in Washington, D. C. In this Conference India will be represented. Because of the immense importance of India as a producer of opium her delegates will receive great attention. It is imperative, therefore, that the views of the people of India should be properly represented.

At the last international conference on the subject held under the auspices of the League of Nations, it was an Indian delegate, Mr. Sastri, who blocked the movement to destroy the opium menace by pleading for the British Government's opium policy. Mr. Taraknath Das stated very emphatically in his testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee that this action of Mr. Sastri did not represent the opinion of

the Indian people, and that they were in no way responsible for the statements in support of opium traffic made by Mr. Dixon in a booklet, "Truth About Indian Opium," published by the India Office. Nevertheless, it is important that the real voice of the Indian people on this subject should be heard.

It is realized that under present circumstances the official delegates from India in the coming conference will be the British Government's spokesmen who may again oppose the American proposal of restricting production of opium to strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. This would be most unfortunate. We are certain that Indian patriots do not want to support the present situation in India by which not only the Indian people are being drugged, but Indian opium is drugging the world. It is very desirable, therefore, that Indian people's representatives (representatives of the All India National Congress) and Indian reformers should participate in the coming conference, even if they come in an unofficial capacity. In the meantime, it is very desirable that Indian leaders who are in favour of suppressing the opium evil in India and who are in accord with the resolution of Mr. Porter should send their opinions to Mr. Taraknath Das, 147 A street, N. E. Washington, D. C., so that the American people may be informed of the real sentiments of the people of India.

There is no time to lose. For the good of humanity and the salvation of her own people, India should cooperate heartily with the people and the Government of the United States to destroy the opium menace.

The Word of an Englishman

We cannot give a more effective reply to the judgment delivered in the *Abraham* case which we have dealt with in detail elsewhere than by publishing the salient features of England's diplomatic record for the period between 1915 to 1923, that has appeared in a diary form over the signature of Mr. E. N. Bennett in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*. The Editor of *Abraham* was sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment because he published a translation of an article in which England was referred to as 'Perfidious Albion.' A glance at the diary of events published elsewhere under the caption "The word of an Englishman" will serve to show the part that she has played in recent history. Referring to it in a prefatory note Mr. Bennett says:

"Even amid the debased standards of international morality to-day, (the diplomatic record of England), is unsurpassed for incompetence, greed and shameless lying. For the various secret treaties with respect to Turkey there was not even the excuse that they were made in order to secure allies in a time of desperate need. They were simply instruments for international loot."

- There is hardly anything half so emphatic in the memorandum submitted to the members of the peace conference at Lausanne, for publishing which the Editor of *Abraham* was victimised as the above remarks of an Englishman.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachar

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Notes

The Nagpur Battle

When I was in Nagpur and saw the National flag arrests going on, I wondered why the Government officers were wasting their time at the "frontier" line patiently waiting through long hours for batches of volunteers coming up at their own leisure. The Satyagrahis dictated their own numbers, their own hours and their own intervals. The officers had quietly to accept all the conditions; and the weather was trying in the extreme. What was the secret of all this patience on the part of Government? A friend who was with me put the whole thing in a nutshell when he said that it was only we that did not understand the seriousness of the fight; but the Government knew that they were fighting for their very life.

Subhadra Kumari

I had the honour and the privilege of being present when Subhadra Kumari of Jubhalpore carried the flag and was taken away in custody by the police constables of Nagpur. I shall not dilate on the absurdity of a single individual being called a procession, in order to be brought under the terms of the prohibitory order of the Nagpur Magistrate. I wish the reader for a moment to think and realise the full significance of the voluntary surrender of Subhadra Devi to the custody of policemen. This young lady was in the Allahabad Government school when the Non-cooperation call was made by the Congress. She left the Government school and joined the Benares Theosophical school, which too, she found did not suit her ideas, and left. For a girl to give up her studies is a sacrifice which perhaps may not be fully valued and appreciated by any but girls thirsting for education. But no Indian can fail to see the intensity

of feeling and the courage which must lead an Indian sister to give herself up to the custody of strangers of the class from which police constables and head constables come. No greater calamity could be imagined for a Hindu or Mussalman lady; but the wonderful revolution we are in has changed all this and for the vindication of our right, to live and move on the land of our birth, this frail sister of tender years has shown the way to us all.

The Issue

In the Nagpur struggle as in all other such struggles, the issue is this: Have the Government the power to enforce obedience by mere brute force? Till recently orders of the Government went like laws of nature, and every one obeyed them whether they were just or unjust, right or wrong. But now all this is changed. We have established a new law. Every order of Government is subject to this higher law, and the people can obey or disobey at their will according as the order is in consonance or not with the higher law. The *maya* was broken with the magic word of civil resistance. Is it an unjust order? Then we have the right to disobey and take the penalty. It is the establishment of this great saving principle upon which all arbitrariness and all tyranny must break to pieces. That is the essence of struggles like the Nagpur struggle.

"What do you think Sir?" Asked a man in foreign clothes in the verandah of a Municipal office, evidently a clerk. "Do you think we can get Swaraj by such sacrifices?"

This man, and there are many of that type, wanted every sacrifice to be weighed against immediate Swaraj or some other clear advantage as an immediate tangible return. Swaraj means, I know, many concrete institutions, which we have not succeeded in establishing,—our own Parliament, our own army and so on. But a great part of the freedom which we seek to attain is attained, when once we cultivate the capacity to fight arbitrary power with the readiness to disobey and to undertake the penalty. The Government should be compelled to realise that we obey or disobey according to our decision. Then, in future—they cannot issue orders relying merely on the ductility of a Section or Act which they have once enacted. They will have to see whether injustice may force civil resistance. The abuse of laws and sections cannot go on for ever unimpeded, but should be made to face a greater law, viz. the will of the people. So far we have submitted to the grossest abuse of law. Obedience has been the rule in the case of all the illegitimate

prohibitions and orders, and disobedience has been the exception. It is time we adopted a different policy and gave battle to Government.

"Every Vote a Trust"

Desh Bandhu Das said at Madras, referring to the coming Legislative Council elections, that every vote was a solemn trust. Every vote is in a sense a trust and should be given against the present system of Government by being totally withheld. Desh Bandhu said to the people of Madras: "Let the Council be your battlefield and let the Assembly echo the sound of that battle." Battlefield, indeed; where every rule and every regulation is framed to secure the bureaucracy from defeat or even inconvenience! The use of figures of speech has its advantages, but also sometimes much disadvantage. To break or to destroy or to wreck is a phrase constantly employed in regard to the Councils. What is meant is not destruction, but only disillusionment. The question is: Has there not been complete disillusionment already? Is any further process of mask-tearing necessary? "They should realise the importance of this fight," says Desh Bandhu about this battle for Council seats, "as then alone they would get Swaraj." Parliamentarism can go no further.

C. R.

Astonishing

Elsewhere 'The New Rebel' have dealt with the general tenor of Mr. Das's Madras speech. Coming to the details we find it full of statements that almost take one by surprise. "That is the fundamental distinction between my views and that of Mahatma Gandhi", said Mr. Das. "I do not think the Parliament will give you anything at any time out of love or out of generosity." As a matter of fact Mahatma Gandhi never held any such views, as everybody knows. He described Parliament, as a 'sterile woman'. Not only had he no faith in its generosity, he also held that no policy of bluff, brag or bluster could succeed with it. He was never tired of repeating that the English people knew how to suffer themselves and yielded only to superior suffering of others, and he exhorted his countrymen to cultivate that within them which could bid defiance to the 'hardest fibre that can be transported across the seas'. Yet this attitude Mr. Das would call as that of 'faith in the benevolence of Parliament'!

Sympathy for Imprisoned Leaders

Mr. Das is reported to have said in one of his electioneering speeches, that Mr. Netrajan had told him that the Liberals were responsible for Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration. "It is therefore clear," concluded Mr. Das, "that no one can vote for them." Again, in referring to the conduct of the non-Brahmin party in the Madras Legislative Council, he is reported to have criticised them for the incarceration of Mr. Yakub Hassan, and exhorted the people not to have short memories but to remember this fact in the coming elections.

We admit that every body has a right to ask the people not to vote for those who are responsible for the incarceration of the leaders. That would be a legitimate way of expressing sympathy for them. Nor can any one claim immunity from criticism on the score that the speaker happens to be a

Non-cooperator. But it would be a strange kind of sympathy that can use the wrongs of patriots as an instrument of propaganda against the very cause for which they are suffering. Now, Mahatma Gandhi's views on Council entry and obstructionist tactics are well-known. As for Mr. Yakub Hassan, he is reported to have exclaimed on hearing of the majority report of the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee, that it was not worth the paper it was written upon. If the public does really feel for the sufferings of the leaders, it will be its clear duty to non-cooperate in respect of both, the Liberals and the Swarajists alike. But for any one to canvass this argument for securing votes for this party or that, appears to us to be hardly justifiable on moral grounds.

Still for Special Session

Mr. Prakasham is still for a Special session. Considering the fact that Mr. Das has already expressed his inability to abide by its decision, we do not know how it can bring about unity unless the orthodox party decides to surrender completely. This might enable those who are tired of party strife but are troubled by their loyalty to the Congress-mandate, to square their position with their conscience. But is the ritual worth the sacrifice?

Mr. Prakasham lays emphasis on the necessity of joint Hindu-Muslim action, and in support of his proposition recalls an instance in which Mahatma Gandhi gave up the position that he had taken up, on being informed that he would not be able to carry the Khilafat Committee with him. Even taking Mr. Prakasham's statement as it is, though we accept it only with some reservations, we confess, we fail to see Mr. Prakasham's point. For if we accept his plea, this would precisely be the argument for rejection of the suspension resolution. As not only has the Central Khilafat Committee, that met at Bombay, passed no suspension-resolution but on the contrary, so far as we are aware, was strongly opposed on ground of principle to countenancing any political programme that involved the taking of the Oath of allegiance.

Two Pictures

It is interesting to observe how differences in temperaments work themselves out in practice. Both the Behar Provincial Congress Committee and Mrs. Naidu stand for the acceptance of the suspension resolution of the A. I. C. C. But while the former has accepted the resolution only because it believes it does not go against the Non-cooperation programme, the latter cares for Non-co-operation only, because the method of Council-entry does not at present appeal to her as efficacious. So, while Rajendra Babu felt it necessary to issue a manifesto to clear the misapprehension that might arise among the masses that boycott on the Councils had been removed, the latter in an interview, thought fit only to denounce those who were in favour of carrying on propaganda for the boycott, as unpatriotic and express mild scepticism about the utility of Councils as at present constituted. A proper understanding of these temperamental differences, we suggest, will conduce to real unity far more, than sacrifice of essential convictions or mere paper resolutions.

The New Psychology

I

The Intoxication of Success

"Nothing succeeds like success", said Deshbandhu C. R. Das in his speech at Madras on the 30th May. "Once the people taste success, it alters their whole vision." The whole speech is a magnificent illustration of the truth. The alteration of vision is there stamped on the entire face of it, coming as it does immediately on the success at Bombay. And we do not quarrel with his vision. We are only afraid Deshbandhu's own party will not congratulate him on the performance, which, so far as we can see, will not even serve his own cause. For, the formidable pronouncement is not splendid even as a vote-catching speech. It will alienate the sympathies of would-be adherents of the Councils party. For they could not have been prepared for Mr. Das's unkind references to persons and things, and for the vote of censure that he has passed on the Non-cooperation movement. They can understand the butly, blunt Mr. Abhyankar attacking every item of the programme without mincing matters. But they will not understand Mr. Das's lip-loyalty to Non-cooperation and his wholesale condemnation not only of the movement but of the author thereof. If they don't, for their edification we will tell them that at the back of it all is the success at Bombay. But how that success could make a man of Mr. Das's equanimity and humility so far forget himself as to make remarks which no responsible man would do, passes comprehension.

The gist of the first part of his speech is that so long as he was out, every thing was going on allright—the triple boycott, Civil Disobedience and all—he then went to jail, and as soon as he was removed from our midst, we—meaning Mahatmaji who was then leading us—bungled and mismanaged it all. "The terms came to me," he passionately exclaims, "and I forwarded them to the head quarters, because at that time I was in jail. If I had not been in jail, I would have forced the country to accept that." Such a great protagonist of democracy like Mr. Das must know that his opinion did not mean the opinion of the country. Mahatmaji who was at the head quarters had to consult not only him but many others outside and inside prisons. And what were those precious terms, and the motive which actuated those terms? The terms were the release of a handful of prisoners foolishly imprisoned, and the object was to delude Britain and the world that India accorded a genuine welcome to the Prince. Mr. Das, we are sure, knows that the terms were offered by one of the astutest Jews in the Empire, and if they appeared so luring to him, the Swaraj Party should not build high hopes on Mr. Das's success as a diplomat after he has captured the strongholds of the bureaucracy. Another charge that Mr. Das has laid at Mahatmaji's door is that on the top of kicking success away he sent an ultimatum to Government, and then laid down arms, with the Bardoli decision. The why and wherefore of the decision he does not trouble about. We do hope

Hakimji and Dr. Ansari and other friends who were party to the decision, will at least do what is their obvious duty, viz. to acquaint him with the circumstances that compelled them to take that decision. Mr. Prakasham has, we are glad, done so.

But Mr. Das is convinced that it was all bungling and mismanagement during his absence and the ultimate result was that 'whatever enthusiasm there was in the country, was strangled to death.' The only remedy with which that enthusiasm can be revived is the Councils programme. It is not that he is enamoured of the Councils. He loves the whole Non-cooperation programme 'I am not against any one of these things. I should love to see all those resolutions carried out in the spirit and in the letter. I should love to see every law court vacant. I should love to see every Government school and college empty. I should like to see that not one of our countrymen go to those disgraceful Councils and the more disgraceful Assembly.' But then, why not try to achieve all these things? Because the people are in no mood to listen to you. If they are in no mood, offer them a stimulant in the shape of a wrecking programme in the Councils. That will whet their appetite for resistance. When the moment arrives, "resign your positions in the Councils, shut up every shop, let the law courts be deprived of lawyers and litigants and the schools and colleges be emptied - and then those sixty lakhs of voters will stop paying taxes to the government." The Councils are to be the Open Sesame for Civil Disobedience. Mr. Das did Civil Disobedience, as he himself describes in vivid autobiographic detail, in 1921; but he had not then to strike any Open Sesame. Why then is it necessary today? Because of the people's mood. And who is responsible for that mood? Why, we? The 'we' does not include Mr. Das of course.

Regarding constructive activity he says: 'I do not quarrel with your Constructive activity.' It is not *his* at all. The Charkha, poor thing, came when the iron was hot for a fight, and that stultified all activity. People wanted bread in the shape of a fight, and you gave stone instead in the shape of a *Charkha*.

Mr. Das when he came out from jail found the times to be out of joint,—so it appears from his speech,—and he naturally got restive to set them right. We wish him all success in his effort. But why should he get impatient with those who do not want to go through the wild goose chase that he prescribes? Why should he ask them to sit mum? They have as much right to call a spade a spade as he.

II

Towards the Abyss

Mr. Das chooses to describe his policy as 'Direct Action'. Now, creating dead-locks is a well-recognised method of constitutional practice, used by all constitutionalists ever since the days of Stuarts and even earlier than that. But no one has yet dared to describe it as 'Direct Action.' In Western countries this method often proves efficacious in the settlement of knotty issues and its *raison d'être* as Mr. Israel Zangwell has nicely put it is something like this: "It is subconsciously felt that every cross (on the

ballot paper) is a substitute for a sword, and one fighting man is as good as another." The ultimate sanction of physical force is always there. Should the Government refuse to yield to a majority vote, resort to 'Direct Action' becomes necessary. But creating a dead-lock does not by itself constitute 'Direct Action.' The latter begins only where the former ends.

But says Mr. Das, "Creating dead-locks in the Councils is 'Direct Action' and not Parliamentary action because the Assembly is not Parliament, its power is less, it is not free to alter its constitution." This is rather a curious argument. "One may call his house an island if he likes. Is there any Act of Parliament against it?" significantly remarked Mr. Squeers to his newly arrived young assistant. But if we remember Dickens aright, the argument carried but little conviction to the young novice.

Pompous phraseology apart, what is there of 'Directness' in the 'Direct Action' of Mr. Das? We confess we find none. What is the compelling force behind his policy of dead-locks to make them effective and prevent them from degenerating into mere bluff? Not physical force? For Mr. Das professes to be an out and out votary of non-violence. Civil Disobedience? 'Most probably', one would think. But no, here lies another rub. Mr. Das does not consider, as he once pithily remarked, that disobedience by itself is either a private or public virtue. But then in order to be really civil it requires discipline and training, and Mr. Das is opposed to all previous preparation. He has characterised Civil Disobedience conducted under the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge as 'Disobedience according to the rule of three' as 'manufactured' and so on. He has a theory of his own. Civil Disobedience in order to be genuine must be spontaneous like a revolution. He does not conceive it as a 'progressive peaceful revolution' conducted according to an organised plan, as Mahatma Gandhi conceived it. Not by 'Lo here!' or 'Lo there!' Its coming must be sudden, swift and instantaneous even like the Apocalyptic coming of the Son of Man. What sort of thing that 'Civil Disobedience' will be, let Mr. Das himself explain:

"If Civil Disobedience is at all possible in this country—God forbid that it may be necessary—I say God forbid, because if it is necessary there will be such confusion and such revolution in this country that even a born rebel like me shrinks from the thought of it."

Probably like many another item of the N. C. O. programme he regards Civil Disobedience as an ideal only to be kept before the people for their distant admiration and worship, and not as practical politics.

So, the whole matter after all comes to this: not by 'Direct Action' of any sort, but simply by obstruction in the Councils Mr. Das will generate such an amazing force inside the Councils as will spread out to the whole country and energize it. "The activity inside must react on the activity outside, and the activity outside must react on the activity inside." "Have you not noticed", he proceeded to ask, "that when the Non-cooperation movement was at its height those people who went into the Councils also became violent?" Quite so. But not vice-versa. It is a well-known maxim of British practical

politics that no great Bill or measure is passed by the Parliament till its battle has been fought and won outside in the country. The histories of Reform Bill, Catholic Emancipation Bill, Female Suffrage Bill, all can be pointed out as illustrations of this fact. Parliament is a mere registering body, a barometer that faithfully registers the variations in the political atmosphere outside, but to imagine that changes in the political atmosphere can be induced by the manipulation of the barometric column, is the height of fallacy.

So much for the practical side of the question. But our opposition to the Swaraj party's programme is not based on the score of its futility alone. Of course the waste of time and energy involved in this wild-goose-chase is to be dreaded, but what is to be dreaded still more is the psychology that lies behind it and of which Mr. Das has just given us a foretaste. In Madras the Non-Brahmin party is supreme. Brahmins are in a minority. So, Mr. Das would welcome the former if it helps him and quietly jettison the other. The Congress chose him as its President twice and so he expects it to follow him. But should it refuse? Well, what does he care for the Congress? "I have a larger field outside. I have sixty lakhs of voters. I make my appeal to that larger number—larger than the number of members in the Congress today." The Council campaign has yet hardly commenced but the centre of gravity is already shifted from the Congress to the voters' unions. And why? Because the latter have received a certificate of merit by an Act of bureaucracy! Countless unfranchised tax-payers, the voiceless poor millions of India, all go by the board because, forsooth, they have no vote. This is the beginning of Mr. Das's 'Proletarian Swaraj'! "Once you are inside the Councils, what matters the Congress then? Are there not the voters' unions there?"

The question that confronts Congressmen today is not of mere moral disassociation from a wrong programme. The question that they have to decide upon is whether they can suffer a policy to prevail which must mean in the long run, supersession of the Congress by the voters' unions. Every member of this Congress who consents to go to the polls in the coming elections virtually becomes a member of the voters' union, which can be appealed to over the head of the Congress. Is the Congress to sit still while the Swaraj party goes on drawing away its members one after another, into a rival organisation? Must it not raise its little finger even in self-defence? It seems absurd. Yet this is exactly what the Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution would have it do. Let us be frank. There is no use in camouflage. If we really think it is desirable to let the Congress be slain in the interests of the Swaraj party or be absorbed into that party quietly, let us openly declare it. But for those who think otherwise, the duty is clear. They must fight the Swaraj party's propaganda or that of any other party for the matter of that, for their very existence. Every voter who can be dissuaded from participating in the elections will be a sheep saved to the flock of the Congress.

"The New Rebels"

Young India

7-5-23

What a Pity

In the far away corner where I have shut myself off from the world to enforce a week's rest of myself, I get no letters or newspapers. Yet what little I saw of them in my journey before I reached here, was enough to enable me to guess the amount of anger I have raised among many of my friends and colleagues. They have declared in unhesitating terms that I am dividing the country; and have mercilessly condemned me. The press is almost unanimously against me. The papers which all through wished that the country should accept a Councils programme are naturally jubilant over the Bombay resolution, and are in a rage at my attempt to rob them of their hard won prize. But I see that a section of the press which hitherto stood by the Congress majority, has also veered to the present policy of the A. I. C. C. majority, and is mercilessly castigating me for contumacy.

In spite of all this I fully believe that the country approves of, and wants a boycott of the elections. I believe that we have no right to allow and assist at the nullification of the solemn resolution of the National Congress, to justify such a serious relinquishment of duty. My colleagues naturally bring forward the most sacred of all motives and reasons. Mrs. Naidu and many other friends have by their eloquence and by their earnestness of appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity, given to my opposition to the Councils, the colour of unpatriotism and indifference to national calamity. I wonder why they are so unfair to me? Does any one believe that the Councils programme tends in the least to make Hindus and Mussalmans better friends? Will standing for elections and spreading the faith or fear of Councils help to remove Hindu Muslim differences in the Punjab or Agra or anywhere else in wide India? Why is this confusion of ideas so deliberately and cruelly used against me? If it is unity among leaders and cooperation among workers that we want, can we not in fairness appeal to Hakimji and Panditji and Deshbandhu to give up their journey to the Councils mirage, if we are sure that Councils will not make for communal unity? Can we not appeal to them in the name of the most sacred of all things—Hindu-Muslim unity, the foundation of our programme—to give up their *Maricha* hunt and work for Hindu-Muslim unity? I wonder why they heap on my poor head all the sin and all the unpatriotism of not caring for Hindu-Muslim unity? I wonder all the more when the Dasites themselves begin to appeal in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am surprised that Mrs. Naidu, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. T. Prakasham do not put their foot down on camouflage and say to Deshbandhu Das: "Brother, your Councils programme has at least an

equal chance of failure and disillusionment as of success. The nation's present need is the healing of Hindu-Muslim differences. Give up your party now; come, close up with the Congress".

I see that the *Tribune* has indicted a terrible charge against me. This journal has since November last been egging the Das party to revolt, claiming for minorities the right not only of freedom of opinion but freedom of contrary action from inside as well. It claimed that revolt was a kind of vigorous and effective propaganda. I have not here the back numbers of the *Tribune*, but I distinctly remember that when confronted with the question of unity in Congress it boldly asserted in defence of its advice that unity in the Congress was now so broad-based that such revolts and differences in programme would not affect it in the least. But now the same paper has drawn up a terrible indictment against me as an enemy of the country, in as much as by my refusing to accept the Councils programme I have divided the country. Verily we are in strange days and before strange tribunals, before whom loyalty has become the greatest offence against the State. I am told that on five distinct occasions I was given a chance to serve my people, but on every one of those five occasions I proved false to the cause of unity.

How? My refusing to accept the Councils programme at the Civil Disobedience Inquiry, was my first offence. I betrayed the nation by not signing the Patel-Nehru chapter in favour of the Councils programme. At the Gaya Congress next, it was my offence. I did not accept the Councils programme, and thereby betrayed the nation. At the Conference at Allahabad next, it was my offence; I made a mere truce instead of saving the nation by doing something more positive for entering the Councils. At the termination of the period of truce I again betrayed the nation by not forcing Council entry on my friends or at least an indirect programme of furthering Council entry. Again for the fifth time at Bombay I was guilty of treason, in the opinion of the *Tribune*, because I persisted in standing against the Das programme.

The *Tribune* says that if we accept the Bombay A. I. C. C. decision and submit to the consequences and as a culmination of it sit in December to consider the draft amendments of the Reform Act as proposed by the Das party, we would be indeed at our very goal of Swaraj. The journal is shocked at my stupidity in looking at such a glorious victory as a calamity. There is only a slight error in the argument. The adoption of consideration by Congress of the Das party's programme is very different from the consideration of the terms offered by the Government. The latter is something like our goal; the former would be merely the culmination of the Swaraj party's absorption of the Congress, but as far from our goal as ever. The Press has been dissecting me on the law and constitution and precedent. I do not think the stopping of further Civil Disobedience decided on at Bardoli is any precedent at all. It is one thing for the executive to stop a war after carrying it on for a while, and when it becomes necessary to stop it. It is quite a different thing for the executive to cancel altogether a definite step ordered by the Congress in

reference to a definite matter in the future, viz. the Council election of 1923. But I do not think we should ever decide such questions on points of law or technicality. I maintain that it would be a calamity to lead the people to the Councils, and I maintain that this is deliberately done now though indirectly, by us against the terms of the national decision. I maintain that it is our duty to prevent this calamity and that it would be an improper relinquishment of duty to stand by, when people are led on the wrong path. The nation as a whole may refuse to accept my view and may not boycott the elections, but it can never be the question with one whether people approve of what one advises. I say and do a thing because I am honestly convinced I am right. I lay no wager that the people will approve of what I advise. I think I have done well if I tell them what I feel is right. If the people will not boycott I can do no further. But I cannot be a party to compelling them by a committee decision to abandon a programme which they had decided on, and left it to us to execute. The decision of the A. I. C. C., if given effect to, will mean a complete reversal of the national programme.

C. R.

The Real Question

The Councils party is naturally pleased very much with the decision of the All India Congress Committee, to suspend boycott propaganda. If any one imagines that unity can be attained by half-measures, he is mistaken. If we want unity, he who runs may read the terms under which alone we can ultimately have it. After the Gaya resolution was passed, the 'Congress Khilafat Swaraj party' was formed with not half the hesitation which the nation should have expected in a matter of such vital importance to unity in the Congress. Yet it is said that I "by my *dhmagraha* and my unexplainable bigotry rent the country into twain."

I must admit I did not quite realise how weak we should turn out to be in the face of the stubbornness of the leaders on the other side, whose first step was founded on an extended theory of freedom of minorities, and whose present battle-cry is unity of all on their own terms. The inconsistency of the appeal is glaring. But what does that matter? What is important is that we should clearly understand the terms under which we can have the united front that all speak about. It is this. We can have unity under the Councils party's flag, or we must have disunion. This is the only alternative allowed by our friends. We may imagine third positions, like 'live and let live' and so on. But there is and can be no 'let live' for boycott, if we agree to suspension. The middle position now accepted by the new Working Committee means a free run of the country for the Swaraj party's programme, without answer or protest. We must make up our minds on this great issue. Shall we have unity under the Das programme or shall we brave the disunion born of a persistent opposition? We must sacrifice the old programme if we want the kind of unity for which the approval is constantly made.

After what I have said, one will be able to understand what the chief journal of the new party means

when it refers to the Bombay resolution as "the first mile-stone on the long road towards unity." Yet according to this journal, the resolution is "weak and vacillating." After examining the resolution, the *Mahratta* significantly remarks: "Time has come when the leaders have to revise, review and re-examine their programme and principles." The meaning of this becomes more obvious when the journal congratulates Dr. Ansari's courage in stating that he would go back even on the Non-cooperation policy in order to bring about unity in the country.

My advice is clear. The common platform is a great convenience. But we have worked that policy for forty years, and at no time did it seriously threaten the life of the Bureaucracy. The only policy and the only programme that frightened the British lion, are the policy and programme that we adopted at Calcutta in 1920. It is the only programme that shook the throne of arbitrary power. If we have not yet succeeded in getting up the requisite capacity to carry it out or in getting into the pushing line all the parties and all the people, it is a problem of work and time. It is not for us to throw away the new weapon and take to bows and arrows again. C. R.

A Real Conversation

"I think, Sir, the Das programme is the right programme. I want to discuss it with you."

"I have not clearly understood the Das programme; so you will help me. May I ask you some questions?"

"Very well."

"Are you one of those who believe that some of us may go into the Councils and some may remain whole-hoggers, or do you think the Das programme is so good that every one should accept it?"

"I think all should adopt the Councils programme—the whole Congress."

"You know then, that on behalf of all of us a demand is to be made by Mr. Das. Will it be the same as the present Congress demands—Swaraj and Khilafat—or something less?"

"Something less."

"Take Swaraj first. What will be the modification, as you understand the Das programme? You know the Congress demand is full Swaraj."

"Yes, we won't ask for full Swaraj. The modification will probably be Provincial Autonomy and all Central power, except army, navy and foreign affairs, with a time limit for further development."

"What about the Khilafat?"

"Very probably it will have to be given up."

"The Self-Government demand will have to go, you know, to Parliament."

"Yes, and through the proper channel,—the Viceroy and the Secretary of State."

"The reply will take time even if every one seriously helps and expedites the proceedings."

"Yes, I think it will take three years, the full period of the New Assembly."

"Meanwhile do you understand that the Das programme is, that members elected should sit in the Councils?"

"Yes."

"Having solemnly made a new demand do you agree that like reasonable men we should not assume a refusal, but wait for the result?"

"Yes, I think so."

"Then in the interval what is your programme in the Assembly and the Council? Do you carry on business in a reasonable manner, participating in good measures and opposing bad measures?"

"Yes."

"That is to say, you want all of us to participate in the business of the Assembly, as well as of the Provincial Councils, in small as in big matters?"

"Yes. But our attitude would depend on the attitude of the Viceroy and his Government. If they support our demand, we will behave well. If they oppose, we will modify our course."

"Suppose the Viceroy and his Government simply forward our demands and do not tell us what their own recommendations or views are, I suppose like reasonable men we should go on with business till Parliament disposes of our memorial."

"Yes, of course."

"Now, is not what you describe, just the same programme, as that of the Moderates?"

"Yes, it is exactly the same. But they have faith in the British Government. We have no such faith."

"Do you mean that we send up our demands knowing full well that our demands will be refused? And yet we should wait for three years for the reply as if we did not know what the result would be?"

"Yes I think so."

"Then what is the object of waiting in this manner for three years?"

"To gain time, to consolidate our forces and build up the national strength."

"This is important is your main object, in favouring this programme, that we should gain time for building up national strength?"

"Yes, just that."

"When you make the demand, and say you will wait for an answer, meanwhile carrying on like Moderates, do you not lead the people to believe that you are seriously expecting something to come out of your demands?"

"Yes."

"Now, when you turn the people away from their present struggle to hoping for something from your demands in the Legislative Assembly, do you not think that their self-reliant activities will slacken?"

"People will get stronger by the political education they will get in following the fights between Government and the members of the Legislative Councils."

"I smiled at this idea. But the friend was quite serious."

"What do you think our representatives will do in regard to the national schools?"

"They will move for grants and get them recognized."

"So they will get absorbed among the State schools."

"Yes, it is no harm."

"So we will make the best use of the Councils. Do you not agree with me that it is only severe struggle and sacrifice that will build up our national character and strength?"

"Yes, sacrifice is necessary."

"If we keep up the struggle whether we win or lose in our battles, we go on gathering strength like a young man taking exercise. If we settle down into peace and keep hoping for something from the Councils, which we know we cannot get, the people will get weaker and weaker."

"But during the three years they will get stronger."

This was his fixed idea, and to my question how they would get stronger, he could only say: The Legislative Council proceedings would give them strength."

C. R.

Resolutions Passed by the Karnatak P. C. C.

The Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee has passed the following Resolutions in its meeting of the 4th instant:—

(1) That this meeting of the general body of the Provincial Committee, having carefully considered the resolution of the A. I. C. C. held on the 25th, 26th May 1923 at Bombay, regarding the suspension of propaganda in furtherance of resolution no. 6th of the Gaya Congress, resolves unanimously that the resolution of the A. I. C. C. is 'ultra vires' and is calculated to nullify the effect of the Gaya resolution.

(2) This Committee calls upon all Congress Committees in the province to safeguard the Gaya resolution wherever necessary.

This meeting further strongly recommends that in view of the situation created by the A. I. C. C. Resolution, the A. I. C. C. should meet without delay and reconsider and review the said resolution.

[The second resolution was passed by forty votes against three, the remainder not voting.]

By another resolution, the Committee strongly approved of the Nagpur National flag Satyagraha and promised active help and offered fifty volunteers as a first instalment from Karnatak.

To Readers

We regret that owing to the peculiar conditions under which this journal is at present being conducted this week's issue could not come out in time.

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'Give us a trial'

'You gave a fair trial to Mahatmaji's programme of boycott of Councils; why not give our Councils programme too a similar trial?' That is the gist of a speech that, Mr. Ane of Yavatnal delivered immediately after the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay. Why may not the protagonists of a policy of violence similarly argue: 'You tried Mahatmaji's non-violent Non-cooperation for three years; why not give our violent Non-cooperation also a trial for the same period?' Mr. Ane might probably reply straightaway that he would not mind acceding to the latter request, if there was in existence anything like a violence party. But the consequences of that compliance are not difficult to imagine.

The question however is: Have we indeed given the boycott programme a fair trial? Have we had the patience to carry out that programme in its entirety? Can we seriously say that the programme has been fully tried and has been found to be a failure? We are afraid we cannot say so. The response to Mahatmaji's call for a boycott of the Councils, on the part of the voters, was not inconsiderable. An overwhelmingly large majority of voters did not go to the polls at all. We succeeded in destroying the prestige of the Government to an extent which was appreciated by the reasonable section of the British public. Men like Col. Wedgwood and Sir Valentine Chirol admitted that the Councils did not represent the people of India. No doubt we did not succeed in dissuading the Moderates from going to the Councils. To that extent we could not achieve what we wanted to. But what does that show? It only meant that we had to put forth a greater effort this time. A very large number of the Moderates themselves realise today that the Reforms are a huge camouflage; a very large number have seen the hollowness of the Reforms, fairly enough, to be in a better mood to listen to us. Is it wise to give them up as lost? would it not be better to bring the overwhelming pressure of public opinion on them, and thereby dissuading them from walking into the trap?

The chances of success in this direction are, we submit, better today than they ever were. When we boycotted the Councils three years ago, the sacrifice behind the boycott was potential. After the boycott came the great carnival of sacrifice which took not a few of the Moderates by surprise. What have we done to make that sacrifice fruitful? In the teeth of the agitation for Council-going, that has shaken men's faith and beliefs to their foundations, we venture to suggest that the whole Council programme is the surest way to make that sacrifice infructuous. If only our veteran leaders could make up their minds to continue the tradition of sacrifice that they initiated, if they could make up their minds to cap the magnificent edifice of sacrifice with a yet larger sacrifice—sacrifice not of their wealth and their belongings, but a sacrifice of their judgements,—even the stones would melt. A number of them sacrificed their judgement in 1921 no doubt; but the keenness of their desire to go to the Councils was not so much in evidence as it is now.

The people know that there is an honest conviction in the minds of many of their revered countrymen that

they would serve better by going to the Councils, than by remaining out. Is it vain to hope that even the handful of men that went to the polls would not do so, if those who have set their hearts on Council going sacrifice their judgments and their inclinations with a view to a better Consummation, viz. a complete boycott of Councils. Would any sensible Moderate dare to go to the Councils in face of such overwhelming public opinion, such overpowering sacrifice? We submit not. Why not try that method and pay to Mahatmaji the only real tribute that you can pay thereby? The deadlock you will achieve thereby will be far more real and effective than the deadlock you imagine you can create after having gone into the Councils.

Mahadeo Desai

Noblesse Oblige

Of late we have been hearing of several proposals to secure the release of Mahatma Gandhi. The Swaraj party has declared its intention to make his release an 'essential preliminary condition' for cooperation with the Government in the Councils. We confess we are ourselves impatient for the release of Mahatmaji. And if he were free to express his opinion from the jail to-day, we should have nothing to say on this point. But that is not so, and in its absence we feel the public owes a sacred duty to him to which attention must be drawn.

In every civilized country death is supposed to confer certain privileges or immunities on the deceased, whose sanctity society undertakes to protect. We think it is but fair that these immunities should be extended to civil resisters in jail also, who are likewise supposed to be in a state of civil-death. For instance Mahatma Gandhi free could well be left to take care of any person who ventured to affix his effigy on cigarette boxes and labelled them 'Mahatma Gandhi Cigarettes'. But now that his voice is hushed in prison, it would be the duty of the public to see that such an outrage is not perpetrated upon him. He could contradict misrepresentations about himself while he was free; but it would be the duty of the public not to lend ear to or countenance such misrepresentations now. Similarly it is up to the public to see that his name is not mixed up with a political programme to which he was uncompromisingly opposed on score of conscience. It is a simple matter of 'noblesse oblige.'

In saying so we do not for a moment forget that the country has sore need of Mahatmaji's presence at this hour. We fully allow for the fact that his name is a word to conjure the people with, and the temptation of making his release an integral part of an otherwise un-popular political programme, natural and well nigh irresistible. We are conscious also that by adopting this attitude we lay ourselves open to the charge of such journals as the *Indian Social Reformer* of, 'letting Mahatmaji die in jail rather than depart from the pet rules of Non-co-operation.' But we are firmly of opinion that in this matter the one thing that ought to prevail, is, regard for the opinions and principles of Mahatmaji himself, and the last thing that he would like is to see his name drawn as a red-herring before the people, for electioneering purposes.

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Notes

Congress President

Provinces are suggesting names for the Congress Presidentship. There cannot possibly be any doubt as to who should bear that responsibility this year. Moulana Mahomad Ali's term of imprisonment will expire in ordinary course well before the Coconada session and there will be no practical difficulty of any kind in the way. No honoured name can be suggested which could approach in fittingness the name of All Brothers. The nation cannot select a better President to lead it or find a worthier recipient for its trust than Moulana Mohamed Ali.

C. R.

Lalaji's Health

The whole of India must have received with utmost pain and concern the reports about Lala Lajpatrai's ill health that have come from time to time. Lalaji is a veteran general whose body has borne the strain and fatigue of over half a century of incessant warfare. He is now reported to be suffering from continuous low fever. Dr. Beli Ram of Lahore, who was consulted, diagnosed liver complaint. But the jail doctor, under whose care Lalaji at present is, suspects tubercular affection of the lungs and is treating him with tuberculine injections. It is a well known fact that in all cases of lung trouble and particularly in cases of tuberculosis cure depends mainly on pure, open air and suitable environment, everything else being of subsidiary importance. We are afraid, unless he is speedily removed to some suitable hill-station, his recovery might become problematical. But inspite of this he is still being kept in the close, confined atmosphere of the Lahore jail, whose effect on the health of a patient in Lalaji's condition can be imagined only by those who have had some experience of the stifling heat of a Lahore summer. Yet, Earl Winterton had the audacity to say the other day in the House of Commons in reply to a question regarding Lalaji's health, that "there was no reason to believe, the authorities in India were carrying out their duties of caring for the health of the prisoners!"

Lalaji has been a most uncompromising enemy of the bureaucracy all his life, but he was a chivalrous foe always and seldom failed to infect his opponents with the same quality. Constituted, as the present bureaucracy however, is, one must be prepared for the worst. In that case the least that we can do is to possess our soul in patience and not to add to the mental worry and anxiety of the caged lion by unworthy and unseemly acts of begging concessions on his behalf. He never asked any quarter to the Government; throughout his strenuous career, he always chose to undergo physical hardships and privations than show the white feather. And we are sure nothing will cause him greater pain or embarrassment than to receive anything by way of concession from Government after it has proved itself to be devoid of ordinary feelings of chivalry and fair-play. We take it that the various attempts that are being made by non-cooperator Congressmen and others for obtaining his release through the intervention of Parliament or similar other means, are absolutely unauthorised and inspired by a mistaken sense of sympathy against which unhappily, Lalaji is no longer in a position to safeguard himself.

Intolerable Burden

Replying to a question by Mr. Rees Davies, whether the Government would enquire about Lala Lajpatrai's health, Earl Winterton replied "that if enquiries were made into the health of the prisoners there was no reason why it should not be made in regard to others, involving an intolerable burden upon public funds." He was "disinclined to agree with the suggestion." The brazenness of the reply is simply staggering. Only the other day in reply to a suggestion by Mr. C. D. Hardie, a labour member of the Parliament, that in view of the grave distress owing to the closing down of the locomotive works at Springburn, in consequence of back of orders, the Government might anticipate the requirements in railway locomotives, the same Earl had replied that 87 locomotives costing 894 thousand sterling for State railways had been already ordered during the present year and that the High Commissioner was ordering for 10 more, costing £. 50000. Questioned further, he replied that although the High Commissioner was not authorised to anticipate requirements still he would suggest to Viscount Peel to send a copy of the question to the Government of India, thereby implying that he was quite agreeable to the Under Secretary of State making that recommendation to the Indian Government. That would have involved no burden on India's resources! The doubling of Salt Tax for the maintenance of a worthless 'Indian Civil Service' which, as it has been aptly pointed out,

is, neither Indian, nor civil nor a service, but on the contrary rides on India's neck like the fabular Old Man of the Sea, was not a burden, but the expense of making an enquiry about the health of one of India's noblest sons is "an intolerable burden upon public funds!" We can only describe the noble Earl's own reply as intolerable hypocrisy. But well might the indulge in such cheap camouflage so long as we have nothing better than inertia or mere wordy talk to pit against the 'hardest fibre' Of the 'most determined people in the world.'

A Message From London About Kenya

What I had feared is taking place. We are clearly losing ground in this country and the whole weight of capitalist British Imperialism is against us. Yet I am thankful that I came, for it has been possible to make clear to humble and quiet hearts that the Indians are not out 'to exploit the African native' and that the name of Christ ought not to be degraded by being mixed up with a sordid policy of racialism and racial exclusion. I did Dr. Arthur, the Kenya Missionary, an injustice. He did not join the Deputation, though he came out with it. He also did not accept Government money, though he was offered it. It is my great hope, that I have been able to banish from his mind, and from the mind of the Bishop of Uganda, many false ideas about the Indian claims. They are both of them good men and men of prayer. I have met them both and I trust that they will understand better.

We are not out for 'domination'! Nothing can be further from our thoughts. We must make clear to the whole world, that we would sooner perish than injure the African native, who is so pathetically weak and helpless, and who has suffered from oppression, even as we have suffered ourselves. God forbid, that we should do one single thing to injure the African native! He is our brother; and our first care should be for him and his interests, not merely for ourselves.

I want to tell you in this letter, how very deeply I have admired Mr. Shastri during all these days and how I have rejoiced in the firm stand, he has made against those in authority, who have tried to bend him from his purpose. This Kenya struggle has united us as nothing else could do; and out of our defeat, which now appears to me imminent, we shall find our true unity and our true goal as a people. We needed these bitter lessons. Just as the crude iron ore must pass through the furnace in order to be wrought and tempered into steel, so we need the furnace of education to weld together the people as a nation.

I cannot tell you how tired and weary I have been owing to the incessant strain. Even yet, nearly a month after my arrival in England, I have not been able to spare even a day to go north to see my sisters. They have been waiting eagerly for me, but I have explained to them the duty which has called me and they have written to me not to come to see them until my duty to India is done.

Your Affectionate
C. F. ANDREWS.

The Working Committee

(By George Joseph)

Political conventions grow with the development of all democratic assemblies. The Congress in its attempt to work out a representative polity for India is no exception to this rule. The situation now is rather grave and certainly extraordinary; and it would be a matter for thankfulness if out of the confusion the country should be able to evolve a principle or two of radical importance. I have in mind two specific questions:— First, the relations between the Congress and the All India Committee; secondly the current fashion of calling the Working Committee a Cabinet.

The constitutional position of the All India Committee is not altogether clear, the obscurity arising from conflicting sources of authority. While the Committee is supposed to be the body charged with the execution of the policy of the Congress, it is not elected by the Congress. The Congress is a deliberative assembly composed of delegates mainly elected by the District organisations, the elections taking place usually in the second week of December. The point to note is that the elections are direct. The Committee on the other hand is elected by the various Provincial Committees which in their turn are elected by more primary bodies. From the very nature of the case, it is obvious that there is no assurance of consistency between the Congress and the Committee. If, however, the Congress elected the Committee either by the common majority after ballot or on the basis of one of the many schemes of proportional representation, the desideratum of congruity can be reasonably secured. As a matter of fact, this basal possibility of inconsistency has hardened into fact on several occasions. For instance, the meeting of the Committee in Calcutta directly after the Special Congress of 1920, threatened awkward developments. The Congress had just passed the historical Non-co-operation resolution in the teeth of strong opposition. The minority consisted, amongst others, of a respectable section of the Committee that looked like controlling its decisions. In spite of the overwhelming victory registered in Mahatma Gandhi's favour in the Congress, it seemed for a while as if the executive body would frustrate the purpose of the Congress altogether. In view of the difficulties raised it was proposed by a member that the executive task of the National Assembly should be entrusted to a Council of Action (the phrase was adopted from the precedent of Direct Action in England), to be composed of whole-hogger non-cooperators. Mrs. Besant, practical woman that she was, saw the necessity of some such arrangement and supported the suggestion. But the nation was then revolutionary and the proposal was rejected nearly unanimously.

But it is not merely the constitution of the Committee that is anomalous, but its functions too are difficult and thankless. The theory is that the Committee is an executive body. There was a time in the long ago, when theory accorded with facts. The Committee met rarely and when it did meet, the attendance was meagre. A small number of distinguished men assembled together and decided what

had to be done. The fact that only a few people came together made it possible for the Committee to fulfil its functions on an executive basis. Now things are different. National work has drafted so many men into its ranks and the Congress has become so important a body that meetings of the Committee attract large number of people. Now-a-days, they number anything between one and two hundred. Of one thing we may be sure. When an assembly is numbered by the hundred, it will by the sheer fact of numbers cease to be an executive body; it will become deliberative. You may have very useful debates, fine expositions of policy, eloquent speeches, things already done may be approved of or condemned; but it cannot get it to do anything. Experience shows that it is just this that has been happening in recent times. But this development of the Committee into a deliberative house raises an important question: What are to be the mutual relations of the Committee and the Congress. The anomaly inherent in the constitution and the differing franchise has worked itself out in the field of practical experience. The truth of the matter is that the two bodies are tending to develop on a bi-cameral deliberative basis—not the English but the Roman.

The executive work itself has passed into the hands of the Working Committee. The Council of Action whose formal creation was impossible in September 1920 had to come into being if the work of the nation was to go on. The stone that was rejected of the builders in September, became the corner stone in the December constitution. The phrase Council of Action was ignored, but the Working Committee became really the Council of Action. It was an executive committee and as long as Mahatma Gandhi was free, it fulfilled the necessary condition of executive action—the Committee was of one mind; and because it was so, it was able to turn out a remarkable amount of useful work. It met once a fortnight and was full of energy and fulfilled a sustained policy. But the experience gained after March 1922 suggests the necessity of defining the matter in two specific ways. The first is that the Working Committee should be composed of people with one mind about national policy. The Committee is not meant to provide for the representation of conflicting views. The place for that is the Congress and (according to my reading of the case) the All India Committee, both of them deliberative bodies. If an executive body does not possess one will, its work will be paralysed. It is an open secret that the inefficiency of the Working Committee that resigned in Bombay was partly due to divided counsel almost from the beginning. The second point I should like to see grow as a convention is that the Working Committee should act as a Cabinet. There may be occasional differences of opinion which should be disposed of as amongst the members of the Committee by a majority. But as far as the rest of the world is concerned, the members of the Committee should act and vote together. This is the usual rule followed by political executives all the world over. If any member feels that such joint action would violate conscience or grave principle, the remedy of resignation will be open to him.

The New Psychology

III

Metaphysical Truth

Deshbandhu Das has often expressed a holy horror of metaphysics. He has often declared that he does not want metaphysics; he wants Swaraj. Yet, some of the conundrums propounded by him in his speeches would tax all the brains and all the resources of any metaphysician. Non-cooperation is the only weapon that he believes in that will bring about India's salvation. But it is to be worshipped as an ideal only. "Non-cooperation is a movement," he says. "Its characteristic quality is that it moves, it develops." But at the same time he refuses to admit the possibility of its adoption by progressive stages.

"You really cannot non-cooperate on compartment principle. All connection with the bureaucracy must be cut off. But such non-cooperation need not be practised; for as soon as the bureaucracy realize that the people are ready for it and mean it in all seriousness, they will give in."

He is an out and out believer in Non-violence. Swaraj can come only through Civil Disobedience. But the time for applying it will probably come on Greek Calends.

"If Civil Disobedience is at all possible in this country,—God forbid that it may be necessary—I say God forbid, because if it is necessary there will be such confusion and such revolutions in this country that even a born rebel like me shrinks from the thought of it."

Again, an ideal only.

To proceed with Civil Disobedience. It is obedience to a higher law. It must be non-violent. But such obedience cannot be tendered in a calm, cool, deliberate manner. It must be accompanied by a hurricane of feelings, it should break out like a revolution with the probable result that Deshbandhu has depicted:

Again. He would leave the *Principle* of the boycott of Councils resolution of the Gaya programme, intact. The fact that the boycott stands may be proclaimed to the world with the flourish of trumpets by all means; but for any Congressman to try to make that boycott a living fact, would amount to treason against the Congress!

Deshbandhu will, of course, take his stand on truth. But the very definition of truth according to him is that "it cannot be defined." It is enough, that Deshbandhu has stated the aims and ideals of the Swaraj party. The various members thereof can go about making promises to their constituents. But if the Swaraj party's definition of truth is the same as Deshbandhu's, the true meaning of these declarations and promises, and the sense in which they are to be fulfilled must from their very nature remain undefined. If laymen fail to catch the proper meaning underlying them, well, it will be their fault; and let them suffer for it. We are afraid, if that is to be the basis of Swaraj party's commerce with the people they will have to seek for some surer and firmer guarantee than that afforded by the fluid terminology of Mr. Das's definition of metaphysical truth.

'The New Rebels'

Young India

14-5-23

Social Reformer and Khaddar

For some time past the *Indian Social Reformer* has been trying to minimize the importance of the spinning-wheel. Recently it wrote that the wheel is merely symbolic of simplicity and that hand-spun should be used, as far as possible just out of our regard for Mahatmaji. The last number takes us a little further. The editor has 'not been able to find any resolution of the Congress justifying the exclusive interpretation that is being put upon Swadeshi by some earnest Congressmen, as meaning only hand-spun, hand-woven cloth.' If it is only for authority of a Congress resolution that the Editor of the *Reformer* waits to advocate the use of Khadi, it should not be difficult to convince him. Let him read even the Calcutta resolution that he quotes. It runs: "This Congress advises the adoption of Swadeshi in place goods on a vast scale, and in as much as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation and are not yet likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement."

The italics are ours. The *Reformer* gives in italics that part of the resolution which gives reasons for the advice to revive handspun industry in every home, and conveniently ignores the fact that the activity contemplated in the resolution is the introduction of the spinning-wheel in every home. It is obvious that the wheel was not sought to be introduced in every home as a toy or a symbol, but as an instrument of production to supplement the produce of Indian mills, not many of which weave Swadeshi yarn. To the *Reformer*, on the contrary, all that the resolution means is that if Indian mill-made cloth can be made available, it will not in the least contravene this resolution to use it 'even in preference to Khaddar'. But that 'if' does not actually make the mill-made cloth available, the inadequacy of which was given as a reason for the Calcutta resolution to introduce the spinning-wheel in every home. The *Reformer* does not show anywhere that the output of mill-made cloth has increased so greatly since the Calcutta Congress that the spinning-wheel is now fit only to be worn in watch-chains as a symbol or kept in drawing rooms for purposes of decoration. The circumstances mentioned in the Calcutta resolution have not undergone any alteration and therefore earnest Congressmen are perfectly justified in continuing their efforts to introduce the spinning-wheel in every home and hand-spun cloth in every wardrobe.

The *Reformer* argues that in the Ahmedabad Congress of 1921 khaddar assumes a more prominent place. What can give the wheel more prominence than its introduction into every home that was advised by the Calcutta resolution? If anything could, it should be quite clear to the *Reformer* that there is ample authority in Congress resolutions for earnest congressmen who are not satisfied merely with voting for or against resolutions but are intent on giving practical effect to them.

It will be worth while now to turn to the Ahmedabad resolution, which, the *Reformer* tells us gives greater prominence to khaddar than even the emphatic resolution passed at Calcutta. The Calcutta resolution proposed khaddar in order to supplement the product of Indian mills. It did leave room for the *Reformer's* academic 'if'. But the Ahmedabad resolution takes away even that consolation. The Ahmedabad resolution advocates hand-spinning industry on economic grounds, to provide a supplementary occupation to India's starving peasantry. The relevant part of the resolution runs as follows:—

"This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-cooperation, or in the principle of non-cooperation, but who consider it essential for the sake of national self respect, to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full national self-expression, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry, necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practice the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments."

Add to these resolutions the volunteer pledge of the Congress which makes it obligatory for every one seeking the privilege to suffer imprisonment or death for the Motherland through the Congress, to use khadi exclusively, and it becomes impossible to understand how the *Reformer's* researches into the Congress proceedings have not enabled its Editor to discover any authority for the earnest Congressmen who ask him inconvenient questions.

Congress resolutions are quite clear on the point that the *Reformer* has raised. If they are found inconvenient by members of the Swaraj party, surely they waste their time in misinterpreting them. They have the far easier course of repudiating them. They are not unfamiliar with the course, the *vieau d'être* of their party being Council entry against the resolution of the Congress to the contrary. Why swallow a camel and strain at a gnat? Surely mere symbol of a spinning wheel can be brushed aside with much less trouble than the whole policy of non-cooperation.

A. T. Gildwant

Wanted

Agents for *Young India* in all principal places in India. Full particulars about revised terms can be had on application from:

Manager *Young India*,
Ahmedabad

Complete Answer to Deshbandhu Das's Criticism

Of Mahatmaji's Generalship

in
December 1921

[When I met Deshbandhu soon after his release at Calcutta I noticed that the obsessing idea in his mind was that Mahatmaji had committed a great blunder in not accepting the terms approved by himself in December, that Mahatmaji's generalship till then was faultless but that it failed in December. I did not think that this view of Deshbandhu Das was to be public property, but I see that he is still so full of it that he has given it a place in his speech of Madras. The assumption made against Malaviyaji in Shriyut Krishnadas's statement is too harsh, but the main argument is not affected by this defect, and the statement is a timely and convincing document.]

C. R.]

To

Sj. Shyam Sunder Chakravarty
Respected Sir,

You have kindly sent me a cutting from the *Swarajya* of May 31st 1923 containing certain statements made by Deshbandhu Das to a Madras audience on May 30th, in regard to the negotiations that passed between him and the Government immediately before the arrival of the Prince of Wales in Calcutta. You have been good enough to ask me if I could throw some light on the negotiations referred to in Deshbandhu Das's speech and on the proposal of holding a Round Table Conference in December, 1921. I give below the full extract from Deshbandhu Das's speech.

"I myself led people in prison. I started the movement in Bengal. I sent my son first to jail. My son was followed by my wife, and then I went to prison, because I knew there was electricity there. I knew that the spirit of resistance that manifested itself was mighty, and the proudest Government would have to bend to it. And the proudest Government did bend to it. You bungled it, and mismanaged it. Now you turn round and ask people to spin and do the work of the charkha alone. The proudest Government did bend to you. The terms came to me and I forwarded them to the headquarters because at that time I was in jail. If I had not been in jail, I would have forced the country to accept them. After they had been accepted you would have seen a different state of things."

At the time to which these negotiations refer I was at the "Ashram" at Sabarmati serving Mahatmaji as his personal assistant, and everything passed through my hands. I would not have ordinarily disclosed the telegrams containing the actual terms of negotiations; but having regard to the veiled insinuations against Mahatmaji contained in the above report of Deshbandhu's speech, I feel it a duty, now that Mahatmaji is not in our midst, that I should in compliance with your request disclose the whole truth about the matter.

Preliminary Explanation

But I must try to help the reader to come to a proper understanding of the situation at that time. You will find, what is already public property, that Pandit Malaviyaji was apparently acting on behalf of Lord Reading in these negotiations. He was the intermediary to help in calling off, if possible, the *hartal*.

But even before that, Panditji, immediately after some confidential conversation with Lord Reading at Simla, had suddenly come down to Sabarmati to have Mahatmaji's consent to certain proposals. That was on October 22, 1921. The consultation was, of course, confidential; but I was able to study Mahatmaji at very close quarters, being constantly by his side, and it is my conviction that Malaviyaji did not succeed in his mission. That was, I believe, the first contact between Panditji and Mahatmaji in regard to something in which both Panditji and Lord Reading were vitally interested. Then the Prince landed in Bombay on November 17, 1921; and we know of the *hartal* there and its tragic sequel.

The Proposed Deputation

The second incident was Panditji's apprising Mahatmaji by wire from Benares, dated 16th December 1921, that he was arranging a deputation of about seven to the Viceroy, on 21st December, to press upon him the necessity of a Round Table Conference. He (Panditji) was soon coming to Calcutta to arrange for the Conference; while he was immediately sending Messrs. Jannadas Dwarkadas and Hridayanath Kunzru to Sabarmati to explain the situation to Mahatmaji. The essential part of the telegram was that if the proposal of the Conference was accepted and if Government stayed hands and released leaders, Mahatmaji was to "withdraw opposition to Prince's welcome and suspend Civil Disobedience till Conference terminated." The Prince was due in Calcutta on the morning of the 24th December, and Mahatmaji was to give his consent by wire to Malaviyaji's proposals of the 16th. In other words, the *hartal* was to be called off immediately, pending everything else. The date of the proposed Conference was not mentioned, nor its composition, nor who the leaders that were to be released—whether they should include only men like Deshbandhu Das, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others who had been imprisoned under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, or whether they should also include Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and the other "Fatwa" prisoners.

While Malaviyaji was conducting negotiations with Mahatmaji, he was also sounding Deshbandhu Das and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the Calcutta Presidency Jail, with a view to getting their permission to the calling off of the *hartal*. Both the latter were persuaded to wire to Mahatmaji to the effect that they were agreeable to the calling off of the *hartal* if Government should only promise to call a Conference and if only the Criminal Law Amendment Act prisoners were let off. The reply by Mahatmaji to this wire from Sj. Das and Maulana Azad was characteristic of him. He would not build his present plans on the mere promise of a Conference conveyed through Panditji without reference to date and personnel. And what was more important, the release must be the release of all, including the Karachi and Fatwa prisoners.

Malaviyaji hoped that he could settle with the Viceroy about the date and the personnel, but neither Sj. Das nor Malaviyaji could agree to make it a condition that the Karachi and other Fatwa prisoners should also be released. Malaviyaji implored Mahatmaji by wire to relax on the question of the release of Karachi and Fatwa prisoners. But Mahatmaji was inexorable.

The points of Difference

While Mahatmaji would on no account call off the *hartal* on a mere promise of an indefinite Conference,

Sj. Das could build high hopes on such a promise. The other point of difference was that Mahatmaji could not even think of calling off the *hartal* without including the great Karachi and other Fatwa prisoners in the list of releases, while our other leaders were quite agreeable to waive that issue. It was on these two points that the proposal of a conference broke down.

Who Bungled?

Says Deshbandhu Das in his Madras speech: "The proudest Government did bend to you." My answer is that the Government did nothing of the kind. They were simply manoeuvring for a favourable position. They were anxious to proclaim to the world and to England in particular, the success of the Prince's mission and wel come here, without committing themselves to anything out of which they could not wriggle. Mahatma Gandhi was the only man whom the Government could not fool, whereas it was the other leaders who did "bungle." It was Mahatmaji who saved India's honour at the most critical juncture. What could Deshbandhu have done, if he were out of jail at that time, but dragged the fair name of India's leaders into the mire by accepting Malaviyaji's conditions, which were no conditions because they could have been brushed aside by the Government the moment they had served their purpose, which was to get the leaders to call off the *hartal*. "The terms came to me and I forwarded them to the headquarters, because at that time I was in jail" says Deshbandhu. By headquarters I take it, he refers to Mahatmaji. What terms came to him? None at all. He was simply consulted by Malaviyaji after the latter had failed to get Mahatmaji's consent to the conditions proposed by him as the price of calling off the *hartal*. The dates of the telegrams make the whole point clear. If the so-called terms came at all to any body, it was to Mahatmaji in the first instance. When Panditji failed with Mahatmaji, the former tried to put pressure upon him by getting Deshbandhu Das and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to consent to his (Malaviyaji's) proposals, and he succeeded in persuading both of them to write to Mahatmaji as against Mahatmaji's conditions. And what were the terms that Deshbandhu accepted and forwarded to the headquarters? Were they the terms that enhanced either his sense of self respect or that of the Congress itself? Deshbandhu was obsessed with the idea of something turning up as the result of the proposed Round Table Conference. One is simply amazed at the credulity that could put faith in a Conference of that sort which did not commit the Government to any vital particular as Mahatmaji wanted that it should commit itself.

• II

Significance of the Prince's Visit.

I have given a bird's eye view of the whole series of events transpiring at the time with my running comments; and I might here close with merely giving in chronological order the telegrams that passed between Mahatma Gandhi and the other actors in the drama. But it appears to me highly important to recognise the part which Malaviyaji played in the transactions. But to understand this again we must get to the rock-bottom of the whole affair, namely the political significance of the Prince's visit. I will first of all give here an extract from "The Nation and Athenaeum" of 28th January, 1922, which explains itself and has a direct reference to Malaviyaji:—

"The Nation and Athenaeum,"

January 28, 1922.

Reflections in India—The Prince's Progress.

(By Our Indian Correspondent.)

p. 615. Whom the Viceroy consulted it is difficult to say; but told on good authority that in inviting the Prince he acted against the advice of his Provincial Governors, who reported public opinion as everywhere hostile, and in accordance with the assurance of his Indian Counsellors, Pandit Malaviya and others, who promised adequate success. (Italics are mine.)

The correspondent goes on to add—"This account, if true, shows how little eminent Indians can know about their own countrymen; but any how, it is easier to believe than another account which says that the Prince has come to India because he wanted to come."

The Diplomatic Moves.

If Malaviyaji had promised "adequate success" on the occasion of the Prince's visit, it was of course extremely honourable for him to do his utmost to persuade the Viceroy to throw out something in the nature of a concession to public feeling, which would conceivably help Panditji in his attempt to induce some of our leaders, at any rate to call off the *hartal*. This was a piece of diplomatic manoeuvre on the part of Malaviyaji; and the Government of course were quite agreeable. The one thing that mattered with the Government was the calling off of the *hartal*, and everything else was subsidiary. The Round Table proposal was, indeed, a move on the diplomatic chess-board, which, if it did not serve its purpose, could be easily manoeuvred back into some other position of vantage. Mahatmaji saw that "the Government was not really penitent"; but was simply playing a game of diplomacy in the interests of the success of the Prince's mission, and he wired to Panditji on 19th December, 1921:—"Conference will be abortive unless Government truly penitent and anxious to settle three things" (i.e. the triple demand regarding the Punjab, Khilafat and Swaraj). Deshbandhu Das did not see through this game. He was fretting in jail and accusing Mahatmaji of having "bungled". Lord Reading was, indeed, a far greater diplomat than Deshbandhu, and had almost out-maneuvred the latter had not Mahatmaji saved the situation. But Deshbandhu was picturing to himself how the great opportunity for wresting Swaraj from the hands of the Government had passed through Mahatmaji's "bungling." It seems that Deshbandhu has in his composition a good deal of faith in declarations and promises—a faith he ought to have shed long ago in the light of actual facts and experiences.

Why the Prince Came.

Why should the Government be so anxious about the success of the Prince's visit? The people of India had been officially told that the Prince wanted to come out to India out of sheer goodwill towards his future subjects, and there was nothing of a political game underlying the affair. But the real fact was just the reverse if we are to believe the report of the Director of Central Bureau of Information of the Government of India itself. That there is such a Central Bureau of Information of the Government, most of us have heard; but it appears that its reports do not see the light of day in India. It is a sort of a confidential bureau to which access can be had only by the highest officials. But apparently these reports can find entrance into the Dominions overseas, and a

periodical published in Melbourne (Australia) under the title of "Stead's Review", in its issue of November 26, 1921 made certain important statements based on the report of the Director of the Central Bureau of Information, which disclosed the true official secret of the purpose for which the Prince was brought over to these shores. I quote only the following few sentences.

"The masses of India, ignorant and illiterate as they are, are wedded to the idea of personal rule. They understand and appreciate the pomp and pageantry of power, and will be swept on their feet by a wave of emotional enthusiasm for the Kaiser, the Hind and his son. Above all the officials count on the winning personality of the Prince himself. *They fore that aided by the background of oriental magnificence, the Western Prince may eclipse the personal influence of the Eastern Master.*" (The italics are mine)

A Recapitulation.

Therefore to sum up the whole story: Lord Reading had declared that the Prince was coming out to India in a spirit of goodwill and affection for his future Indian subjects; whereas the fact of the matter was that, that visit was intended to have a definite and outstanding political objective. That objective was that the whole popularity of Mahatma Gandhi among the masses should be countered by the Prince drawing off their affections to his own person. The name and fame of Mahatma Gandhi, it was fondly hoped, would be eclipsed by a sudden and tremendous uprush of loyal mass feeling towards their future King-Emperor. The bureaucracy was building on its experience of such unexampled loyalty to the present King-Emperor, then the Prince of Wales, during the anti-Partition days. That was the original purpose, and it was a political purpose. Then, Malaviyaji lent his services to the Government in the matter of the Prince's visit, and tried his utmost to make matters smooth, as, indeed, he was bound in honour to do, seeing that he had himself favourably advised the Government in the matter. But he failed. He tried his best, but could not catch the Mahatma napping, though he succeeded in winning over Deshbandhu Das who had been picturing visions in jail of "bending the proudest Government" to his will and getting Swaraj as the result of a Round Table Conference. As a countermove to the declaration of the *hartal* the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act had been set in motion. Therefore, if the *hartal* was called off, there would be no purpose in that Act continuing in operation. Therefore, to regard as a great concession the withdrawal of that Act on the cancellation of the *hartal* by Congress leaders would be simply childish. But the release of the Karachi and other native prisoners would have been some evidence that the Government wanted to bend to the will of the people. But on that point Government was adamant and Malaviyaji and Deshbandhu simply gave the whole show away by not being equally adamant. Then, in the matter of the Round Table Conference, both Malaviyaji and Deshbandhu stated everything upon a mere promise. This was equally childish; for here the Government were not committed to anything—neither in the matter of the date, nor that of personnel, nor of anything else in particular, nor even whether the decision of the said Conference, if it did come to anything, should be binding on the Government. On all these grounds it is clear that there was nothing in the whole transaction which would justify Deshbandhu Das in his boast that the "proudest Government" did bend and was about to surrender, if only Deshbandhu were out of jail and had an opportunity to prevent the "bungling" which, in his imagination, did occur at the hands of Mahatmaji.

I have finished, and must now place before you true copies of the whole series of telegrams—ten in number—between the dates 16th December, 1921 and 22nd December, 1921. These require careful attention if the reader is to discover for himself the true inwardness of the whole transaction which Malaviyaji initiated and into which the rest of the parties concerned came to have a part through Malaviyaji's intervention.

With kindest regards,
Yours sincerely,
KRISHNADAS.

(TRUE COPIES).

(1)

To Mahatma Gandhi from Pandit Malaviyaji.
Benares, 16th December, 1921

Am arranging deputation of about seven to Viceroy on 21st to press upon him necessity of Round Table Conference. Hence going to Calcutta. Jannadas and Kunzru reach Sabarmati tomorrow to explain situation. Desire to have your authority to say, that if Conference is accepted and Government stays hands and releases leaders, you will withdraw opposition to Prince's welcome and suspend Civil Disobedience till termination Conference. Calcutta address till 21. No. 31, Bartallah Street.

(2) MALAVIYA.

Mahatmaji's Reply to Malaviyaji
Sabarmati, 19th December, 1921

Saw Jannadas (and) Kunzru. Please do not worry (over) repression. Conference will be abortive, unless Government truly penitent and anxious settle three things (Punjab, Khilafat and Swaraj).

(3) GANDHI.

To Mahatma Gandhi from S. C. R. Das and
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
(Clear Lane Telegram).

Calcutta, 19th December, 1921. Received 8 P. M.

We recommend calling off *hartal* on following conditions: 1. Government calling a Conference (which shall) soon consider all questions raised by Congress. 2. Withdrawal of recent Government communiqué and Police and Magisterial orders. 3. Releasing all prisoners under this new law unconditionally. Reply immediately, Care, Superintendent, Presidency Jail, Calcutta.

C. R. Das

(4) A. K. AZAD,

Mahatmaji's Reply to the above
Sabarmati, 19th December, 1921

Your wire. Composition (and) date (of) Conference should be previously determined. Release should include prisoners convicted for Fatwas, including Karachi ones. Subject to these conditions in addition (to) yours, we can, in my opinion, waive *Hartal*.

(5) GANDHI

To Mahatma Gandhi from S. J. Shyam
Sundar Chakravarty

Calcutta, 20th December, 1921

Bengal opinion favour opportunity for negotiation which proposed Conference will afford. Giving assurance of real truce (on the part of the people) thought reasonable. Releases suggested by you may be expected before Conference actually meets. Wire advice immediately.

SHYAMSUNDAR

(6)

Mahatmaji's Reply to S. J. Shyam Sundar
Sabarmati 21st December, 1921

• My opinion, either Conference can take place without suspension Non-cooperation; or, if truce essential, terms (of) Conference, its composition etc. must be previously settled. We are not offering aggressive Civil Disobedience. If Government

means well, they should retrace steps by unconditionally withdrawing notification, disbandment, and public meetings, and doing partial reparation by discharging those unwarrantably imprisoned. Was it not wicked (to) enforce laws which were under promise of repeal? Let them put down violence, veiled open or intended; but we must resist with our lives this wanton (and) violent suppression (of) freedom (of) opinion.

(7) GANDHI

To Mahatma Gandhi from Pandit Malaviyaji

Calcutta, 20th December 1921

Implore you, wire immediately to following effect (begins) If points mentioned in Das's telegram to you accepted and composition and date Conference agreed upon, you will call off *hartal* and see that pending conclusion of proposed Conference Non-cooperation activities other than those relating to national education, Swadeshi and prohibition of intoxicants without picketing, in any case will be suspended and that a real truce will be observed on your side. Such assurance essential in best interests of cause we all hold dear.

MALAVIYA,

(8) 31 Burtollah Street

Mahatma's Reply to Malaviyaji

Sabarnati 20th December, 1921.

Regret exceedingly inability (to) give undertaking asked. Non-cooperation can cease only after satisfactory result (of) Conference. In no case have I any authority (to) decide for Congress.

Gandhi

To Mahatma Gandhi from Mr. Jannadas Dwarkadas

(Clear Line Telegram)

Calcutta, December 21st 1921. Received 12 p.m.

Can you imagine how heart-breaking it is for me? Cannot express despair in words (stop). Came full of hope only to find that your subsequent telegram to Panditji and Das practically cancelled all you told me (stop). Fail to understand (stop). I venture to believe it is not yet too late (stop) Earnestly beg of you to respond to the appeal for truce in larger interest of country (stop). You of all cannot fail to take higher standpoint (stop). Your consent may yet enable us to bring about Conference, which country at large including large number of your followers, desires (stop). Pray wire fully. Jannadas Dwarkadas, 55 Chowringhee

(10)

Mahatma's Reply to the above

Sabarnati, 22nd December, 1921

My word to you abides. Prepared individually unconditionally attend any Conference Viceroys putting you wrong track. Tell me concrete terms to be observed. Only cannot waive voluntary *hartal* till terms stated telegram to Das satisfied.

GANDHI.

N.B. -The words in brackets have been inserted by me to explain the telegrams, where they might be obscure. Krishnadas.

There is a school in Varad in the Surat District in Gujarat where Mr. Prakasham can see a school at work on these lines and the influence (that it has acquired over the entire population of the village. The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee has decided to concentrate on Bardoli Taluka for the next few months. Leading workers from Congress and Vidyapith circles are settling down in different villages to take the real work of mass awakening in hand. That is the correct lead. I hope other Provinces will follow.

National Education

(By A. T. Gidwani)

It is refreshing to find Mr. Prakasham varying his daily denunciations of anti-Council propagandists to devote some attention to the problem of National Education. Is it to be hoped that he will put some concrete proposals before the Working Committee at Nagpur? In framing his proposals, Mr. Prakasham will be well advised to countenance no grandiose schemes. He should keep very clearly in mind the limitations within which we have to work and the direction that has to be given to our educational movement if it is to help us in attaining Swaraj.

It is not necessary to recount the circumstances under which it was found necessary, in many provinces, to start national colleges. Students who boycotted Government owned, aided and affiliated colleges, required these institutions to complete their studies. But for that circumstance, a true National Education movement should have been started with the village school and not a university. But the course we followed has had its own advantages. Our schools have fared better because for those who wished to have higher education, there was a provision in our organisation. But more important than that is the fact that collegiate institutions have served as recruiting ground for national workers, through whom a village movement can best be run.

And that point I would like Mr. Prakasham and the Working Committee to keep always in mind. Our institutions cannot provide lucrative careers for our students and we ought not to make vain efforts to disguise that fact. Only those students can join our collegiate institutions who have business connections of their own and have come to our institutions for culture, or those who wish to devote themselves to public work. Here and there mechanical and technical institutions will succeed and should be encouraged. But the attention of the Working Committee should be devoted mainly to the needs of the village movement and the training of workers for it. Besides these objects, the Committee can usefully aid the development of vernacular teaching by subsidising the work of vernacular textbook publication, in which direction a co-ordinated effort is immediately necessary.

One cause of the slow progress in the village education movement is a false ideal, a futile ambition, to start 'model schools' with a teacher for every class and perfect equipments. The Congress model school should preferably be in a small village where no extravagant standards have been previously set up. The curriculum should be of the simplest, capable of being worked by one or two teachers. National tradition through the national epics, devotional and patriotic songs and spinning should be the main occupation, and there should be no ambitious programmes of studies beyond simple reading, writing and arithmetic. For the rest, the teacher must take to his duties from the point of view of a missionary who wins the hearts of the people by self-less service.

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Edited by C. Rajagopalachar

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Go to Nagpur

"I trust that by God's grace and the blessings of Bapu and all other elders I shall be able to pass the incarceration with courage and peaceful mind and utilise the time in spiritual meditation."

So wrote Jammalal Bajaj, the beloved of the nation, on 16th June in a letter written the day before his arrest.

"There is every probability of the leading workers being arrested possibly before

18th instant," he said in the same letter, and the statement has proved true. Those who have known Seth Jammalal Bajaj and his work during these last three years, will understand the true sincerity and depth of feeling hidden in the simple words reproduced above which he wrote in expectation of his arrest.

Of Jammalalji's generosity and unlimited readiness for sacrifice of any sort that the cause demanded, the nation knows. No one had tasted like Jammalalji the sweets of domestic happiness, wealth, position, influence and what is coveted by men more than any thing else—friendship with the great and the powerful;—in short everything that makes for abstinence from the sufferings and privations involved in the great enterprise initiated by Mahatmaj. Yet in a moment he changed

his life completely and spurning all the ease and pleasures that could be purchased by his wealth and the power and influence that lay at his feet he plunged into the thick of the fight like the humblest worker. Who can say our nation has not risen in stature?

The struggle at Nagpur has reached a critical stage. The Government of the Central Provinces, apparently after consulting the Viceroy, have decided to carry by storm what they failed to take by siege. The battle these two months was slow and steady, and despite the underlying ugliness of slavery and abuse of law, had the outward beauty of the tournaments

of the days of chivalry.

But now the tactics are changed. Foiled might of brute-force has burst forth into anger and proposes no longer to be patient. It seeks to end the battle at one stroke. The nation must realise the meaning of the challenge. It should decide that it will not allow the struggle to end now and prove that it is at once ready for further sacrifice. All the provinces are ready to send men. The call has to be rounded vigorously. The wholesale arrest of brave Bhagawan-dinji and his fellow workers and volunteers at one stroke cannot defeat the determination of the people, but rather must help it to take quick and irresistible shape. The Government will see that non-violent battles cannot be dealt with like mobs and riots. We seek arrests and do not avoid them. Government gains nothing, therefore, by increased



Seth Jammalal Bajaj

arrests or arrests in advance of the so-called offence. It matters little whether we are arrested at the Civil Lines or at the railway crossings or at our lodgings or even at the railway station where the volunteers alight. It saves a lot of trouble if Government will take charge of us earlier still, for instance on a mere charge that

one has made up his mind to offer disobedience and in our own houses. The civil lines frontier is after all a make-belief. The frontier is between slave-land and free-land. The whole of India is slave-land. Increased arrests and increased abuse of law are therefore truly addition to our ammunitions. Only we must not allow the challenge to go unaccepted.

The renewal order of the magistrate is amusing. The shifts to which authority has to have recourse in its attempt to dress arbitrariness in the tattered clothes of legality are necessarily grotesque. We were told formerly that European residents were annoyed by the flag. Now sixty-two gentlemen have signed in two petitions stating that they are much annoyed by persons coming deliberately for courting arrest and by the crowds that collect to witness the arrests. First, the annoyance caused the order of the Magistrate. Now the order itself causes the annoyance. Yet the struggle goes on between the will of an awakened people and the crumbling power of arbitrary Government.

C. R.

Notes

Defensive Propaganda.

In a circular issued by Pandit Jawahrlal Nehru to the Congress Committees in the United Provinces he remarks that it is clear that the people have not understood the meaning of the resolution of the All India Congress Committee. It is no wonder that ordinary people are unable to understand the All India Congress Committee's resolution. The explanations of the Working Committee do not make it more easy to understand. We are told by Pandit Jawahrlal's latest circular that the Congress is decidedly against Council-entry and that it has not at all changed its attitude towards the Councils. Such explanations, Pandit Jawahrlal finds, it has become necessary to make and to repeat in circulars. Throughout the country and not only in the United Provinces are such explanations necessary and not only are they necessary to be told in a circular to Congress officials, but they ought to be told to many an ordinary Congressman who would otherwise be misled by what is going on.

This is just what we, who object to the All India Congress Committee resolution, claim the right to do. Pandit Jawahrlal says that the Congress is "decidedly against Council-entry." Should not everybody know this? Do not the people stand now in need of being told this very clearly? They talk of conserving the influence of the Congress and about unity and discipline, and the emphasis on discipline is very pronounced after the All India Congress Committee resolution. Just imagine how high popular appreciation of the influence of the Congress will be, when with the following solemn resolution of the Congress still remaining untouched, they see the greatest and most accredited leaders—leaders of the Congress—standing as candidates and asking for votes:

"This Congress resolves to advise that all voters shall abstain from standing as candidates for any of the Councils and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of this advice."

From Bombay Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's voice is perhaps even more emphatic than Pandit Jawahrlal's. We are told that to avoid unnecessary doubts and

misconceptions the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee makes it clear that it holds fast to the conviction that the true focus of non-cooperation lies in the complete boycott of Councils.

C. R.

No Half-way House

It requires no argument to prove that if we sincerely believe as Mrs. Naidu has declared, that 'the true focus of non-cooperation lies in the complete boycott of the Councils', we can accept the Bombay compromise consistently with loyalty to non-cooperation, only if we are convinced that

(1) the compromise resolution does not affect the Gaya Congress resolution;

(2) that the suspension of active boycott propaganda would not jeopardize the success of the boycott of the Councils. The reply to the first question is supplied by no less a person than Mr. Das himself. In the course of an interview with a representative of the *Hindu* (Madras) he said:—

"The Gaya resolution consists of two parts. Its first part advised the people not to stand for the Councils. In the second part it asked the voters not to vote and directed a propaganda to induce them not to vote. The resolution of the A. I. C. C. has touched the second part of the Gaya resolutions, and that part of it has thereby been suspended." "If people think", he added, "that under these circumstances the Bombay resolution has left the same position as it was left at Gaya, they are welcome to that belief; but in my opinion the resolution which is partly suspended, cannot be said to be left untouched."

And no doubt that is how the public also interprets it. It is sheer perversity to expect that people will consider abstention from the polling booths as an act of loyalty to the Congress when those who exhort them to do so are denounced as traitors to the Congress by responsible Congress leaders.

As regards the second question, we have the opinion of Pandit Jawahrlal himself that the observance of compromise resolution would adversely affect the success of the boycott. Interviewed by a representative of the *Aj.* (Benares) he said, "had there been no suspension of the Gaya programme regarding the boycott of Councils, the Swarajists' success was possible...but as it was their success was doubtful." Under these circumstances it is idle to pretend that one can faithfully observe the compromise resolution and at the same time pay one's full measure of loyalty to the Gaya Congress mandate. The only manly and straight course would be to definitely and unequivocally accept the one and reject the other. There cannot be possible any half-way house of diplomatic rest between these two positions.

Beside the Point

We are sorry to find that our appeal in our last issue to the Swaraj party not to perpetrate an outrage against Mahatmaji in his absence by mixing up his name with a political programme which he had denounced as 'conscienceless', has deeply hurt Swarajist feelings. It complains that we have done

injustice to the Swaraj party by suspecting its *bona-fides* and ascribing to it the motive of using Mahatmaji's release as an electioneering stunt to popularise an otherwise unpopular programme, and asks whether orthodox non-cooperators have a special monopoly of the love of Mahatmaji. We are afraid, *Swadesh Mitran's* complaints are all beside the point. Orthodox non-cooperators, never claimed any such monopoly. We are perfectly willing to grant that the Swaraj party's love for Mahatmaji might be as great as anybody else's and even greater, and if they think that the only way of satisfying it is to secure his release through the Councils, nobody can prevent them from doing so. They will have as much liberty to urge his release as any Liberal or Moderate when once they are inside the Councils. But we fail to see why the Swaraj party should find it necessary to make Mahatmaji's release part of its electioneering cry? Why should this extra rider be added to cumber the Swaraj Party's programme which we are informed is too popular to stand in need of any extra embellishment or charm to commend itself to the public? Why should unwilling voters be drawn to the polling booths by trailing Mahatmaji's release in their way? We hope, we would not be told next that this too is also in consonance with his political convictions and that the Swaraj party propose to do so out of love for Mahatmaji's principles!

Disingenuous

But while *Swadesh Mitran* has been at pains to prove that the inclusion of Mahatmaji's release in the Swaraj party's programme was inspired by sheer love and regard for Mahatmaji's person, the *Social Reformer* has at a stroke cut the Gordian knot by declaring that Mahatmaji's own feelings or convictions need not be referred to at all and bases its justification of the Swaraj party's position on ground of public utility. Commenting upon the activity of the Babar Akali Jatha in the Punjab it says:—

"Only a few months ago, the Central Publicity Office of the Government of India, in his review of Indian Administration during 1921-22 handsomely acknowledged that anarchical crime had practically ceased, largely owing to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's Idealism. The recrudescence of such crime in a part of the Punjab, where Congress activities have been intense, after Mahatmaji has been a year in jail, conveys its own meaning which we trust, will not be lost upon the country."

The argument is extremely disingenuous but unfortunately it cuts both ways. If we accept *Social Reformer's* diagnosis that the present outbreak of violence is due to the exhaustion of the idealistic impulse of Mahatma Gandhi's movement, as correct, may we inquire how reversion to the antidiluvian method of constitutional agitation is going to revive this impulse? Is it not on the contrary clear as day-light that on deprivation of the safety valve of Direct Action which the present programme of non-cooperation supplies, the pent up feelings of the people would find vent in manifesta-

tions of a still more uglier type which would make matters worse? It is no use trying to blame the exhaustion of idealism when at the same time you are busy, spade in hand, demolishing its very foundations.

The *Social Reformer* further makes the amazing statement that Mahatma Gandhi attached so great an importance to Non-Violence that he would have promptly thrown Non-cooperation overboard in order first to put down this sinister development. It is hopeless to cure such amazing misconceptions at this late hour. We believe, the *Social Reformer* must be aware of Mahatmaji's telegram to Malviyaji in the course of 1921 negotiations, published in all the papers, in which he said that non-cooperation could only cease after the three outstanding questions i.e. Khilafat, Punjab and Swaraj were satisfactorily settled. We also hope, the *Social Reformer* is not unaware of the famous declaration which Mahatmaji once made that even if the Amir of Afghanistan invaded India he would still consider it a crime for any non-cooperator to assist the Government or to cooperate with it in any way in repelling the invasion. But probably these facts do not suit the *Social Reformer's* convenience. What the public needs to be reminded of is Mahatmaji's release through the Councils—not his opinions. We hope, the public, in whose interests the project of entering the Councils with a view to obtaining Mahatmaji's release is proposed to be undertaken, will lose no time in clearly giving out its opinion about this gratuitous enterprise.

Khadi Notes

Khadi Vidyalaya

The work of the 2nd session of the Akhila Bharat Khadi Vidyalaya is going on at present in the Satyagrahashram, Sabarnati. It will end in about 2 or 2½ months. According to the scheme of the Congress Khadi Department it was decided to continue this Vidyalaya for one year. Two sessions of six months each were to be held. The first session lasted from June 1st to December last. The 2nd session commenced in March this year, rather late, owing to delay by the Provincial Congress Committees in sending students. The total number of students is 60. Some provinces could not under the rules send students, as they had not so far fulfilled the conditions entitling them to send students further.

The province of Bengal did not send any student this time. It might be due to their intention of opening a Khadi Vidyalaya at Mymensingh and training about twenty of their students there. That Vidyalaya was to be conducted by one of the students of Khadi Vidyalaya who has received training here in the last session. But, according to the latest news received, it seems the Vidyalaya has not yet been opened. Want of students is said to be the cause of that. But the applications received here from Bengal show that the news about the intended Mymensingh Vidyalaya did not get full circulation. We have received applications from other provinces too and more applications are daily pouring in. About 700 applications have been received from candidates desirous of receiving training in Khadi work. Most of the applicants insist on coming to Satyagrahashram, being attracted by its name; but on coming here, most of them begin to feel that there is nothing

difficult about Khadi work and that it can all be learnt even at home, and therefore they begin to wish to go back after picking up some superficial knowledge in a desultory manner. In spite of the clear condition in the rules of admission that no superficial or haphazard training will be given, many are impatient for this sort of information only. Besides this many of them get dissatisfied with the rules regarding boarding, thinking them to be rather strict. Owing to some such reasons some students get disappointed and go back leaving the Ashram. Much money is wasted thereby. Now, if Khadi Vidyalayas be opened in every province and arrangements be made to train the students of the respective provinces there, much expense will be saved and many difficulties solved.

If every province can arrange for the expenses of its students and necessary suitable room for the Vidyalaya, the All India Khadi Department intends to help such Vidyalayas with the expenses of training and implements and also to arrange for their regular inspection, so that every province might have a suitable institution for training in Khadi work. The Provincial Khadi workers are requested to pay attention to this suggestion and to let the All India Khadi training Department at Sabarmati know whether such arrangements can be made by them in their provinces and whether they will be in a position to spare such Khadi workers as can be useful for running these institutions. They are also requested to give their opinion about the necessity of opening such Vidyalayas as well as the probable difficulties that might be in the way. It is necessary that this should be communicated to us at the latest by the 8th July.

Khadi Activity in the Punjab

The Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Khadi Department, Sjt. Bishan Nath, says: "In the Tehsil of Nakodar in the Punjab, Khadi activity is going on more vigorously than in any other part of the province. Hand-loom have been put up in the homes of farmers in about 16 villages. The girls of the farmers devote all their time after finishing the household work to learning weaving, and in weaving fine Khaddar after having learnt the art. Even ten years' old girls are seen engaged in this work enthusiastically. They use only hand-spun. They prepare all their own clothes and can even spare some for their brothers and relatives. The professional weavers use mill-yarn in the name of Swadeshi, may even foreign yarn in sufficient quantity for warp. They could not be prevailed upon to give up its use. So we began to teach weaving to the womenfolk and girls of the farmers, and we have achieved good results from this. The author of all this arrangement is Sant Mansa Singh, who is at present undergoing one year's imprisonment. One Mahomedan gentleman, Mian Jan Mahomed, also has helped a good deal in this. The credit of setting 20 looms in a village of this Tehsil, Singhpur by name, is due to this gentleman."

Sjt. Bishan Nathji further writes that in Kamalia too, besides the Tehsil of Nakodar there are working about 35 fly-shuttle hand-loom which are worked by the girls of the farmers in their own homes, using hand-spun yarn only.

Correspondence

The representative of Gujarat Khadi Mandal who is travelling now-a-days in the Punjab writes:—

"There are two varieties of cotton grown in the Punjab—the native and the American. The latter is called 'Narma' here. This foreign variety is grown only in the canal irrigated areas and it is about five or ten rupees per md. (80 lbs), dearer than the ordinary cotton. Women who spin use only native cotton. The season for the ordinary variety of cotton lasts from Ashwin to Magha. At that time it costs 25 to 30 rupees per maund. At present the rate is Rs. 40. The yield of lint out of this cotton is 33-35 p. c. As the price of cotton has gone high, women who spin and who according to the custom prevailing here purchase their own cotton and sell out the yarn, earn less. The spinner gets wages for spinning at the rate of 4½ to 5 As. per seer (80) tolas. It also includes carding charges. So, at some places the women spin without carding it. When asked, they argue that if they have to do their own carding also, they would save nothing from their spinning wages. Even this meagre wage cannot be earned in these days in some places on account of dearth of cotton.

"When the women spinners were shown the carding-bow devised in Gujarat and when they were told how easy it was to card with it, they were greatly delighted and showed impatience to learn the art of carding. It is quite plain that carding-bows should be soon introduced in the Punjab; and if this is done spinning activity would be greatly helped. The Secretary of the Punjab Khadi Department is trying to get volunteers for this work, but has not yet been able to achieve any success in it.

"In some places, carding-bows are used, in which thin bamboo slips are tied in place of gut. These slips are tied to the bows with pieces of gut on both sides. These bows are very weak and so cotton cannot be carded well with them.

"The village people spin their own yarn and get it woven by weavers. This custom is prevalent in many places. Khadi is seen used here in greater proportion than in any other province. Here is a very good field for Khadi. There are places here which can supply Khadi enough for many Khadi Nagars like the Khadi Nagar of Ahmedabad. But it requires to be developed properly. The weavers prepare mixed Khadi in large quantities and the merchants do not take the trouble of sorting the pure and the mixed, but rather sell all as pure. But at present demand for even such Khadi has on account of different reasons diminished all at once, and the pure Khadi customer cannot get what he wants. Khadi activity suffers on account of such disorder.

"The merchants sell mill yarn of 12 to 14 counts, by making it into hanks like those of the hand-spun, at a cheap rate, in Amritsar and Rawalpindi. To escape from fraud, people have begun to buy yarn from the houses of the spinners and to get it woven themselves by professional weavers. Lala Krishan Chandji, who has been appointed as the inspector for the province of the Punjab by the All India Khadi Production Department, is working very vigorously in this line."

Maganlal K. Gandhi

Young India

21-5-23

Vagabonds and Habitual Criminals

The slightest indication of strength on our part unnerves Government, and provokes it into acts of angry madness. That is what has happened in Nagpur. The fight went on merrily, and in a spirit of good humour on both sides, so long as the bureaucracy was sure that we would fire out. But two months' determined fighting showed that we were not men to fire out. Jinnalalji began sending stronger contingents and had made preparations for a huge demonstration on the 18th. How else was he to celebrate the incarceration day of Bapu, who regards him as his fifth son? So he made an appeal to the country, and the country responded. The authorities were taken by surprise, and began running amuck. The fifth son was taken with his best colleagues and in the morning there was a big roundup. Every camp was besieged, and every one who cared to offer himself up as a volunteer was taken. There were upwards of 250 arrests, and the latest telegram is that they have all been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. The eighteenth could not have been more fittingly celebrated.

That is, however, past history. What shall we do now? To understand the significance of the arrests is to understand the duty before us. It must be remembered that our friends have been imprisoned not because they actually marched through the forbidden area with national flags, not because they broke any order lawfully promulgated. They were arrested under sections 55 and 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code. These sections are intended to deal with vagabonds, habitual robbers and thieves and sturdy rogues, people who in the words of the section "are found taking precautions to conceal his presence," "with a view to committing a cognizable offence." It was not for the authorities to see if a single one of these arrested answered to this description. It was sufficient that the Government of the Province, or the Government of India, could hunt out a few sections from the Criminal Code which by the slightest possible pretext could be pressed into aid in the circumstances. In the mad days of Martial Law in the Punjab, a single magistrate chose to describe in a charge sheet Gandhiji, Lala Harkishanlal and others, as conspirators. But under the reformed regime of Lord Reading, a whole Government does not blush to take in some of the best sons of the land as vagabonds and sturdy rogues, "having no ostensible means of subsistence." The national workers have evidently no means of subsistence, except service of the country. The bureaucracy in India have no better means of subsistence, than catching the national workers by their throats. Which vagabondism is worse and more criminal, history will say. But history will be as we will make it. It fills one's

heart with joy to read the manifesto issued over the signatures of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, George Joseph and others, to the people of Nagpur. A meeting of the Working Committee is also expected to be held there, and so also has a meeting of the Khilafat Committee been announced to take place there. The members of the "Swarajya" party in Nagpur who were callously indifferent upto now have also, it is heard, begun to bestir themselves. Mr. Vithalbhai Patel a prominent member of the "Swarajya" party said at a Bombay meeting that the fight must be continued and fought to a finish, if only to serve as practice in the art of Civil Disobedience. The Bengal "Swarajya" party wired Congratulating Jinnalalji on the day he was arrested. These are sufficient indications of the fact that our leaders, no less than our people, are determined to demonstrate to the world, who really are the vagabonds and habitual criminals.

Mahadev Desai

The New Psychology

IV

Differing Tactics

Quite a broadside has been directed against Deshabandhu for his having charged Mahatmajl with having "bungled and mismanaged" affairs whilst he was in jail. As was expected he has tried to reply to the criticism. He seems to have slightly quieted down, the charge of 'bungling and mismanagement' is not repeated in those very words, but there is anger and indignation which is not quite righteous. How shockingly off his rails he has gone, when he has tried to ridicule the statement that he was given no new terms. He repeats the terms indicated in his wire of the 19th, emphasises the fact that the proudest Government gave him a line clear to transmit the message at once, and asks if all that was a "piece of Maya." He should have understood that nobody made the slightest suggestion that these things did not take place; only identical terms were offered to Mahatmajl long before they were offered to Mr. Das. That is one thing. Another is that he was not at all concerned with the negotiations of other parties. 'I will not trouble you with the other telegrams to which I was not a party.' But his memory fails him, we are afraid. Baba Shyam Sunder Chakravarti's revelations clearly prove that his memory has failed him. These revelations make painful reading. One cannot but feel that it has been a most melancholy episode.

We however agree with Deshabandhu when he says that he made no insinuations against Mahatmajl. Clear, frank condemnation is no insinuation, and one may reverse a personality one of whose actions he may feel compelled to condemn. Has not Sir Shankaran Nair said the same thing? He has a high regard for Mr. Gandhi, though he condemned his non-cooperation. The fact is that Deshabandhu never minces matters, and he felt that no matter how it affected the prospects of his programme, the truth as he felt it must be told.

Not so Mr. Vithalbhai Patel. He has seriously taken Mr. Das to task for having made those accusations against Gandhiji. He had no right, he is reported to have said, to declare that Mahatmaji had erred. The idol of 300 millions, he had the right to err, as also to mend his error. Mr. Das was in jail when the alleged error was made. What did he know of the situation in the country? Mahatmaji was going about the length and breadth of India, he, i. e. Mr. Vithalbhai was with him, long during that period; he, i. e. Mahatmaji had opportunities to consult his other colleagues, and he knew what was to be done. "Is not it preposterous for Mr. Das to stand up at this time of the day, eight months after his release, to tell his countrymen that Mahatma Gandhi 'bungled and mismanaged?'" Mr. Das's conduct in having made that charge was unpardonable, says Mr. Patel, and he is waiting to see if Mr. Das will now retract what he has said.

We can understand all this and more, if Mr. Vithalbhai's indignation was righteous. But no. Towards the conclusion of his speech he said that he did not understand how Mr. Das thought of benefiting his party by making those insinuations. That was, in short, hardly wise tactics. Do not tread on the corns of the people whom you want to appeal to; try to humour their prejudices, burn incense at their pet fads, and sit mum wherever you know that your words will alienate their sympathies. That is the secret of electioneering. You must be careful about your p's and q's at every step. We wonder if Mr. Das will revise his tactics in the light of this sage advice.

"The New Rebels"

Reign of Terror in the Doab

The Situation

The latest reports from the Punjab indicate that the activity of what is known as the Babar Akali Jatha and the official reign of terror that has followed upon it, has created a most anxious and critical outlook in the Doaba District in that Province.

The Babar Akali Jatha is a secret organisation and its aims and ideals are not clearly known. Although it takes its name from the Akalis it has nothing in common with the present Akali movement, and it does not owe allegiance to the Shironani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. It styles itself Babar i. e. the lion, in order to emphasise its difference of methods from those of the Satyagrahi Akalis. Some time back this organisation started a relentless war of reprisals against such people as were believed to be giving support to the Government in carrying out its policy of lawless repression against the Akalis. Persons suspected of acting as informers or of having given false evidence in political cases, were especially marked out for punishment. The plan of operation followed by the Jatha is somewhat like this:—

"Three men issue a notice warning all those who have been the supporters of Government. Further, when they have fixed a certain man they pronounce the sentence of death on him and give him notice that within a certain time they will carry out the

sentence of death. At the foot of the notice they sign their names and their designations, and they warn the police that they are the only people possible and nobody else. In their general notice they have also warned the authorities that if they succeed in capturing these three, another three will take their place and carry on the crusade."

In this way they have committed about a dozen murders. This rectudescence of violence after three years of perfect lull is itself an ugly symptom; but what is still more alarming is the way in which the authorities have taken advantage of the present opportunity to stamp out all national life from the Doaba tract. Doaba districts have always been in the forefront of Congress activity. It may almost be said that if there was any part of the Punjab, where non-cooperation movement really caught deep root as nowhere else in India, it was this part. In the year 1921-22 the number of Congress Committees in this area was over 200, the number of members nearly 30 to 40 thousand and the district was dotted over with numerous Panchayats and arbitration courts. In the rural population the Akali element being predominant, the panchayats attained a success here as it is not easy to imagine in other parts of India. Besides this these two districts were once the centres of Khadi activity and in Hoshiarpur district over 70% people were seen to wear Khaddar. Naturally the districts came in for a good deal of official attention but the people stood their ground and bore the brunt of repression bravely. As soon as the political murders commenced, the Government at once seized upon the chance of its life. A close cordon of the police and military was thrown round the affected area. The two districts were overrun by the members of the C. I. D.—of whom 300 are reported to be active in the Jullundhar district alone—and the process of combing out the culprits commenced. The methods adopted by the military for this purpose are vividly described by Pt. Santanam of Lahore as follows:—

"The latest information is that troops have been sent and also a large body of police who have formed a cordon and who are advancing in regular formation, making the closest possible scrutiny into the villages and hamlets on the way, the operation resembling the casting of a net and dragging it along for catching fish. Under pretence of investigation over 300 men have been arrested on all sorts of charges—sections 302, 120 I. P. C., sections 107 and 110 Cr. Pr. Code. Whole villages are called together, the men made to sit under burning sun from morning till night for days together, for purposes of identification. Nobody has been allowed to go for his ordinary duties and many a crop has been ruined by the men being kept busy in this way during the harvest season. Indiscriminate arrests are made for complicity in the murders and even men who are just coming out of jail and who could have no possible connection with these murders, are rearrested."

Closely upon the heels of these military operations followed the usual police reign of oppression and extortion. The police and the petty village officials like Lambardars and Zalldars got a golden opportunity to feed fat their greed as well as private grudge, and they are reported to be implicating all such persons

as happen to have incurred their disfavour. An idea of the wholesale and indiscriminate nature of the reign of terror may be gathered from the fact mentioned in the report that "two marriage parties", which had come there from outside their districts, were kept without food or water for two days."

The arrested men are hurried away to various jails and it is reported on good authority that these prisoners are not allowed to see their relatives or consult their legal advisors. That is not all. Side by side with this, the report says, goes on the collection of punitive tax. "People are subjected to all sorts of indignities and abuse without rhyme or reason. The tax falling heaviest of all on those belonging to the Congress or Gurdwara Committee. Women are said to be threatened and abused."

While this reign of terror is going on progressively in the affected area, no news about it is permitted to leak out. The representatives of the Congress Committee who were sent to investigate the matter were promptly arrested for no specific reason. The S. G. P. Committee's deputation, that had gone to Jullundhar to conduct investigations, was forbidden to proceed with its task by an official notice which was also served without any section being mentioned. In the mean time from what little information has trickled through the 'gagged silence', it is clear that all the worst features of the 1919 Martial Law are being repeated over again. The Congress organisation in the Punjab is in a state of complete collapse and the S. G. P. C. has postponed decisive action for the time being as it has completed its year and is just now busy with the fresh election of its members. Whether Congress will bestir itself still and take some decisive step, remains to be seen. Just now what is patent to everybody is that 4 years after the martial law happenings in the Punjab, after three years of intense N. C. O. activity, a similar situation to that of 1919 presented itself on a much smaller scale in that very province and found the Congress as helpless, as unprepared to meet it, as before.

II

The Genesis

How is it that a violence party has raised its head in the Punjab after three years of training in non-violence, and under the very nose of a movement of religious and patient suffering, such as, the like of which the world has never seen before? Why should the authorities under the cover of suppressing violence be so anxious to crush the Akali spirit in the Doaba Districts so ruthlessly under their military heel? To get a clear answer to these questions one must trace the etiology of the present situation in the Punjab through the last 4 years.

The Sikh community of the Punjab has always been distinguished by its loyalty to the Government. It is the main source of supply of the best recruits to the army and has rightly earned the title of the 'Right Arm of the Government.' The Government in its turn has always been anxious to retain its friendship. But if there was anything for which it was still more anxious, it was to protect it from the infection of the heresy that the Congress had set itself to preach.

Therefore when three years back the Sikhs started their Gurdwara Reform movement, it was welcomed by the bureaucracy with secret hope and sympathy, as it was thought at that time that by keeping

busy with internal religious reform, Sikhs would remain safely out of the nationalist movement which was just then gathering strength. But the soul of the Sikh community once awakened from its lethargy under the impact of religious fervour refused to be cribbed or confined within communal boundaries, and simultaneously with the religious awakening commenced an ever increasing association of the Sikhs with the Congress movement, so much so that in March 1922 S. Kharak Singh, the President of the S. G. P. C. was elected the President of the Punjab P. C. C. also. The Government tried its best to isolate the Sikh religious Reform Movement from the Congress by patronising the one and repressing the other. In one of the famous communiques in February last year the Punjab Government declared its fullest sympathy and support with the Akalis so far as their religious Reform movement was concerned, but at the same time warned them of the consequences in case they failed to disassociate themselves from the 'mischievous propaganda', by which euphemistic phrase was of course meant Congress activity. In reply the Sikh community gave clearly to understand that both the threats and the gratuitous offers of patronage of the Government were equally uncalled for and unwarranted and what it wanted was justice pure and simple and no favour. The consequence was that S. Kharak Singh was arrested and thousands of Sikhs were thrown into prison on one pretext or another. The first attempt of the bureaucracy to isolate the Akali movement from the Congress activity thus ended in a miserable fiasco.

Then came the Guru-ka-Bagh episode followed by an orgy of lawless repression particularly in the Akali rural areas of which probably there is no parallel in modern history. A large number of punitive posts were established in villages. In Jullundhar district alone there were as many as 29 such police posts. In Hoshiarpur their number was not less than 20. In the collection of the punitive import, Akalis and Congressmen were specially selected for heavy fines. "Last year" goes on the report,

"There were complaints received of untold oppression by the police stationed in the district, and harrowing tales of cruelty practised in the collection of the punitive tax. An enquiry was made by the Congress which brought to light many strange and heart-breaking stories of suffering and cruelty."

In several places, to be a member of a Panchayat was by itself regarded as crime and a systematic attempt was made to stamp out these organisations by carefully weeding out all those who served as Panchas. With Congress organisation in the province almost on the verge of collapse the Government could go on with its work without let or hindrance. At the same time the matter failed to receive proper ventilation through the press also, as a result of the distracted state of public feeling owing to communal dissensions. And so the Akalis were left to stew in their own juice.

The Sikhs are a sturdy and gallant race. They are warlike by instinct. But they are intensely religious. Under the magic touch of Mahatma's doctrine of Satyagraha they underwent a complete transformation which resulted in the miracle of the erstwhile lions of the Punjab marching to receive Mr. Beatty's *lathi* blows like meek lambs. So long as living contact with the religious ideals and spiritual exaltation evoked by the Guru-ka-Bagh happenings lasted, even those who had

not accepted the creed of suffering, as the followers of S. Mota Singh who styled themselves as "communists" forgot their ideas about violence. But when the struggle prolonged itself and tales of harrowing atrocities on Akali prisoners began to pour in from all sides, from the Multan, Lyalpur, J. G. Khan, Attock and other jails and the repression still went on with unmitigated severity without evoking the active sympathy either of the distracted public or the still more distracted Congress which was by this time deep in the whirlpool of the Councils' controversy, the minds of some of those who had never fully imbibed the spirit of non-violence began to be clouded over with a doubt and out of desperation they again turned their thoughts to violence.

III Hands Off

This in brief is the genesis of the violence movement in the Punjab and we have tried to show how the complete isolation of the Akali struggle from the Congress has been in no small way responsible for it. The question that confronts us to day is whether the Congress can still afford to pursue its lonely course, when on one side there is a violence party which disowns all allegiance to the S. G. P. C. and on the other there is the Government bent upon crushing the spirit of one of the best and most promising Congress districts by resorting to methods of terrorism under the cover of putting down violence, or whether the time has not come for it to revise its attitude of isolation and indifference in the light of past experience? Can Congress stand aside and watch all this merely saying, "Am I my brother's keeper?" and still retain its sovereign position? Yes, it may do so if it dares; but it will be only at its peril, of which it has but just had a foretaste. We are of opinion that a stage has been reached in the development of the situation in the Punjab, when it can no longer be treated as a merely provincial matter but must engage the serious attention of the Working Committee of the All India National Congress itself in conjunction with the S. G. P. C. The Working Committee is due to meet at Allahabad or Nagpur shortly. We are of opinion that a joint deputation appointed by those two bodies ought to proceed to the affected area at once to conduct investigations. It is true, it is no part of the duty of a Congressman, who believes in non-violence, to help the Government in its rule by murder by denouncing before the authorities those who imitate its methods. It is no part of their duty, we repeat, to denounce or blame those who give protection to the members of a proclaimed party not out of sympathy with their methods or objects but purely out of milk of human kindness at considerable personal risk. On the contrary so long as humanitarian considerations continue to sway human nature, such men are bound to receive their full measure of admiration and praise. But certainly that can be no argument for the authorities for prohibiting entry into the military area of such men, who want to win their misled brethren from their methods of violence by reason and argument, and to win them over to the side of expiation and repentance by prevailing upon such of them as might have been guilty of bloodshed, to deliver themselves up to the authorities. But should the

authorities, for reasons of their own, prohibit the deputation, by an order, from proceeding on their peaceful mission, we are firmly of opinion that it would be their clear duty to disobey such orders. It is in the interest of the Congress and the S. G. P. C. to sterilise the country of all element of violence; their very existence depends upon that. If we cannot convey an appeal to our erring brethren in the prohibited area by word of mouth, certainly it ought to be within our power to convey a speechless appeal to them through vicarious suffering and sacrifice offered by hundreds and thousands of us, which cannot fail to affect those for whom it is intended. The alpha and omega of our political faith is that we will be able to convert the Government to sanity by our pure suffering. Our faith must be a delusion and an impossible dream if we cannot like-wise convert those who are prepared to lay down their lives for us, but unfortunately have chosen a wrong method.

Besides, there is another aspect of the question. Abjured as we have every other weapon of warfare, our success depends solely on our ability to furnish reply in terms of suffering to every species of tyranny or oppression that might be devised against us. We cannot suffer any obstacle to set limit to our onward march. Section 144, Press Laws, Sedition Laws and a host of other penal enactments barred our progress and we swept them all aside. But wherever Government drew a military cordon round an area, it acted as an opaque, solid wall which we were unable to pierce through and behind which the authorities carried on their wicked will at leisure. It is clear that engaged as we are in a life and death struggle with the greatest military despotism on earth, we must be in a position to find a solution to such a state of impasse even, if we are to ultimately succeed, and if the current of our progress is not to be reversed. No nation in the world has gained freedom without first overcoming the hypnotic terror of the military. Whilst in the course of the last three years of non-violent fight we have overcome many a terror it must be admitted that the idea of military rule still continues to have a paralysing effect on the nerves of our countrymen. Yet it is clear as day-light that so long as we have not learnt to live in the midst of military troops quartered upon us, as freely and without fear as in the midst of the members of our own family, so long as we do not learn to regard bayonets and rifles as familiarly as the spinning-wheel, Swaraj must remain a distant dream. It is therefore high time that the dread of the military should be proved to be an empty illusion and phantom of the mind, and for that nothing more is required than a little enterprise and power of initiative. Bullets can have no terror for those who could receive *lathi* blows on their eyes and on their faces in cold blood. And certainly it ought not to be too much for the victors of the Gurdika-Bagh to be able to compel the Government to either riddle innocent unresisting men with bullets or to stop terrorising harmless innocent villagers under the pretext of putting down violence.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by C. Rajagopalachar

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Notes

Two Don'ts

Don't vote. Don't subscribe for the new loan. Why not? First of all, the Government stands where it did in regard to the triple demand. And now the monster of the hour in the Empire is racial discrimination. Let us not be beguiled by the fact that the different branches of the same wicked organisation are putting forward different policies and carrying on a seemingly fight, one for us and another against us. "This Kenya struggle" writes Mr. Andrews to the people of India after his recent noble and pathetic struggle to save his nation from further injustice to India, "has united us as nothing else could do; and out of our defeat, which now appears to me imminent, we shall find our new unity and our true goal as a people. We needed these bitter lessons. Just as the crude iron ore must pass through the furnace in order to be wrought and tempered into steel, so we need the furnace of affliction to weld together the people as a nation."

If the Kenya grievance is not remedied, cannot all of us act together and offer a protest indeed worthy of the great issue? "Equality or no voluntary participation in your empire", should be our united answer. In perfect peace and with good will, all of us could keep out of the present elections, not merely withholding the majority and the minority in the Congress, but even the Moderates who have tried British faith till the last point.

Then Salt. They gave us a reformed constitution which they promise will in the fullness of time grow into full self-governed freedom. We were told even by those who had rejected it that it has immense possibilities as a battle field. The Viceroy has however mercilessly exposed the falsehood of these

notions by certifying the Finance Bill and doubling the Salt Tax against the decision of the Assembly. And when has he chosen thus to lay the constitution bare and show that dressed up in the Reforms Act, arbitrary Government still must be supreme? Just when you are asked to revoke your boycott and give your vote for the Councils, what a recommendation to accept the invitations to the Councils this year?

Let us not mistake our condition, Mahatmaji and the All Brothers are still kept in jail. To prove its own might and strength the Government dares to keep the nation's greatest and most beloved in prison. Let us not make the Great Cross a mere election cry. Let us make it a battle-cry and refuse to touch the Government until it repents and purifies itself.

Then Nagpur. If you want a current and continuous act of arbitrariness, you have the struggle at Nagpur. In the early hours of this month's Gandhi day, nearly three hundred men were arrested, for the offence of carrying the tri-colour symbol of our struggle for freedom or of harbouring or helping men who might intend to carry it.

Is there any doubt that if you subscribe for the new loan or vote for the new Councils, you signify your consent to be governed as heretofore? It is not your duty to say, no, at once?

New Loans

The Government of India has notified its new loans repayable in 1933, 1940 and 1955. What the Government of India will be in the year 1933, 1940 or 1955, will depend on the determination of the people of India and the will of God. One smiles to read the confident tone of the Government of India in these notifications. Yet this trust in its own immortality might have been somewhat modified at least by reason of its confessed bankruptcy. The loans total 24 crores. The *Vinaya of India* discusses the situation as regards the loans and says:

"Apart from these considerations, there seems to be a feeling in the market that the new loan will not attract the attention of businessmen to any great extent by reason of general depression in trade and large accumulations of stocks and of want of money in the market. It is also suggested that the new loan will not appeal much to small investors and that it will be taken up mostly by banks and those engaged in money-lending business."

It may be remembered that the Finance Member laid great stress on the part to be played by the small investor in these new loans. There is a general feeling that the people may not care now to lend their moneys to the Government, but that the big banks will make up the issue. This is no doubt true. We are entangled in such complex snares that at every turn we find all voluntary action impossible.

The people's moneys are not theirs', but are held up in such a way that at the instance of Government they can be easily manipulated. In fact slavery is made self-supporting in every possible way. Our moneys are in banks whose officials will not accommodate merchants who come dressed in Khaddar or are non-cooperators or even active nationalists. A big effort to extricate our investments and organise truly Indian Central Banks, free from all political wire-pulling, is a great desideratum. Till then, the small investors should take care of themselves.

Release Mahatmaji

All election parties now raise the cry of Mahatmaji's release; and the Congress Council party also cannot ignore it. Mr. Natarajan the Bombay leader of that party suggested that the "prompt liberation of Mahatma Gandhi" should be included in its programme. But the *Tribune* is more cautious. It knows that the Government may not listen to the proposal, for non-cooperation is yet alive. So this journal would not have Mahatmaji's release as a necessary preliminary in the Swaraj Party's demands because it would mean launching out at once on the promised scheme of indiscriminate obstruction, and an exposure of its futility. But as an election cry, the release would be so convenient and effective that one is loth to give it up. Hence the following passage wherein from being an inconvenient condition precedent, it is sought to be made an incidental and probable consequence.

"The Government may not listen to the proposal, in which case there is no meaning in making Mahatma's release a 'necessary preliminary' to the submission of the Swaraj scheme. If it is intended that no Swaraj scheme should be formulated or submitted if Mahatma Gandhi and others are not released, it would mean that the Swaraj Party in the Councils would have to oppose Government on this issue and not on the scheme of Swaraj. But it is probable that Government might prefer, if at all, to deal with a scheme which is the result of consideration by Mahatma Gandhi rather than one without him. And it is equally probable that Mahatma Gandhi might not at all approve to negotiate Swaraj with Government in this manner. In any case, the country will be unanimous and enthusiastically support any plan that will secure Mahatma's release; and if the Swaraj Party declares its aim to be to get the release of Mahatmaji through Council entry, the present opposition to it might be withdrawn and the Congress might yet be a united body."

To the non-cooperator the question of the release of Mahatmaji can present no difficulty. Pandit Motilal Nehru made his position perfectly clear in one of his earliest speeches. Release of all war-prisoners is an essential part of the final settlement which we hope for. But that settlement can come only with success in the war and as a mere symptom of the victory. The release of Mahatmaji or of any other prisoner cannot be got as a means to help us in the continuation of war. If any one hopes for this it betrays ignorance of the conditions of our war. No Government would be so foolish as to release your general in order that you may conduct your campaign with his help. If we imagine that we can make the Government believe that the battle has ended and obtain his release, then to turn round and begin the fight again, we understate the intelligence of our opponents. If we imagine that we can use any powers in the Government of India Act successfully to get Mahatmaji released in spite of the Government's opposition, we have not read the Government of

India Act. Our chief has been taken prisoner in a mortal combat between Government and the nation. The nation has not surrendered and will not surrender. So far as India is concerned the only method of releasing Mahatmaji is, therefore, to win in the battle. The release is the end of the struggle one way or the other. It cannot come in any preliminary election-cry unless we surrender.

The Cautious "Tribune"

The *Tribune* of Lahore is the wisest and most earnest well-wisher of the Das party. Yet it appears that it does not command the influence that it deserves in the counsels of that party. The *Tribune* it was that persistently and in anticipation counselled the leaders of that party not to rest content with mere Congress agitation, but to exercise freedom of action, and stand for the Councils in spite of the Congress resolution. The journal expressed itself clearly against a programme of obstruction and favoured rather the Natarajan-Jaykar idea of discriminate obstruction—cum cooperation.

But to bridge the gulf from boycott to entry, some convenient formula acceptable to present national psychology is necessary, and latterly the *Tribune* as well as Messrs. Natarajan and Jaykar have found an interpretation for the obstruction programme, which, as things and details stand now undefined, satisfies their own temperamental leanings. Yet occasionally the *Tribune* has to sound its note of warning against future difficulties. It wrote recently as follows:

"We have only two words to say by way of criticism of Swaraj Party's decisions at the recent Bombay meeting on which we commented yesterday. In the first place why do the party insist upon the faithful observance of 'the principles and policy of the party as laid down in its programme passed at Allahabad on the 22nd February?' The programme is not like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, eternal and unchangeable; and circumstances may arise in which very useful members of the party may find it impossible to observe these principles and policy in their entirety. Has not the party, by the way, seen enough of the evil effects of making a fetish of a particular programme?"

The other point which the *Tribune* wishes to impress on the Council Party leaders is, that they should not fail to use their connection with the Congress in the elections. The new party has so often made its point in defence of its revolt—viz., that it does not propose to act in the name of the Congress—that it cannot honourably use that name as freely as perhaps electioneering considerations would suggest. The *Tribune's* remarks in this connection are interesting:

"Secondly, and this in our opinion is a more serious thing, we lack proper or adequate recognition in the resolutions adopted by the party at Bombay of the fact that the party is a party within the Congress and not independent of it. This was to some extent inevitable because the majority, though it has decided not to carry on active propaganda against General elections, has by no means lifted or even suspended the boycott, and the Swaraj Party had to be on its guard against creating a misleading impression to the contrary."

The *Tribune* is anxious from every point of view that the new party should ever remember that it is a part of the Congress and thinks that otherwise it would "commit a blunder which will prove as injurious to it in the long run as to the Congress and the country".

Deshbandhu Das's Apology

Deshbandhu has expressed regret for the use of the words 'bungled and mismanaged'. But the question is not one of language but of substance. The two questions are: Was Mahatmaji wrong in refusing the terms? Was Mahatmaji wrong thereafter in stopping the campaign of Civil Dis-

obedience? Mr. Das still maintains that in both Mahatmaj's was wrong. That is to say, first, that Mahatmaj should have stopped the *hartal* without securing a proper personnel in the Conference. Secondly, that Mahatmaj should have gone on with his active campaign in spite of violence in the United Provinces. The substantial questions are these and not whether Mr. Das used disrespectful words. If Mr. Das is right in his condemnation of Mahatmaj's generalship, his language was certainly parliamentary and no apology is needed. But his claim that Mahatmaj had mismanaged affairs is an unfounded claim. Gandhiji's judgment was certainly right in rejecting the terms. It is meaningless to contend also that Mahatmaj should have gone on with his active campaign in spite of outbreak of violence.

Some people imagine that Mahatmaj first laid down no conditions and then changed his mind. This impression is due to ignorance of Mahatmaj's mind. Mahatmaj's great reasonableness is combined with great firmness and this confuses many superficial observers. Mahatmaj was prepared to attend any conference without any conditions. He was ever ready for any negotiations and would lay down no preliminary conditions so long as he was not asked to give up anything prior to the negotiations. But if he was asked to suspend the *Hartal*, he wanted certain conditions to be fulfilled on the other side. If therefore the Viceroy and Mahatmaj simply wanted a Round Table Conference without asking Gandhiji to suspend any of his lawful activities, he was quite prepared and asked for no conditions. But if he was asked to anticipate the rules of the Conference by foregoing or suspending his activities, he insisted that the *Fatwa* Prisoners should be released as well as the *Hartal* prisoners, and that there should be an expression of sincerity by a properly constituted personnel for the Conference. It is this which some people misunderstand as change of front on the part of Mahatmaj. He himself had made it clear enough in "Young India" of the twenty-ninth December 1921:

"I impose no conditions, but if conditions are imposed on me prior to the holding of a conference, I must be allowed to examine those conditions and if I find that they are suicidal, I must be excused if I do not accept them."

C. R.

Scandalous

In our issue of April 24th we drew the attention of the public to the shocking judgement delivered in the *Alakhya* case in which the editor of that journal was sentenced to 4 years' rigorous imprisonment for publishing a translation of a memorandum submitted by the Executive Board of the Indian Independence Party to the Peace Conference at Lausanne, that had appeared in the *Servant of Calcutta*. It now appears that even the bureaucracy has at last felt scandalised at the disgraceful nature of the proceedings, and has commuted the sentence to one year's rigorous imprisonment. This might have been a matter of some satisfaction if the conviction had even a plausible basis for justification. But commutation of sentence as a result of revision, simply serves to deepen the injury when the conviction itself is absolutely unwarranted and wrong, as

we showed at that time that it was. To sentence a man under sections 153 and 124 A of the I.P.C. to 4 years' rigorous imprisonment for publishing in vernacular a piece of news that has appeared in more than one leading daily English paper without as much as provoking a comment from Government, cannot be described otherwise than a gross abortion of justice, and the revision has only given legal recognition to this misshapen offspring of violated law.

In Earnest

We learn that two of our editorial press telegrams sent from Salem, about the Nagpur flag fight have been held up by the censor as objectionable. We hope to publish the censored articles in our next issue. In the meantime we have every reason to feel grateful for such a happy augury, as it only shows that the Government has at last fully realized the grim significance of the struggle and is getting ready to requisition all its resources to save its existence. We should not be surprised if this step is followed by still more arbitrary measures and telegraphic embargo is followed up by deprivation of the luxury of postal service. We would most heartily welcome such a development. This Government never yields till it has put to the utmost test the mettle of its opponents. Fortunately the solution of every conceivable contingency has already been provided for by the Akalis and we have nothing new to learn. The sooner therefore the Government goes through its full gamut of repression the better it will be for our success.

National Medical Vidyalaya, Calcutta

The principal of the Jatiya Ayurbijnan Vidyalay (National Medical Institute,) 110, Manicktola Main Road, Kankurgachi, Calcutta, sends us the following notice:—

COLLEGE STAFF:—Anatomy—Dr. P. C. Dutta, M. B., Ch. B., F. R. C. Sc., (Edin), Zoology—Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri, D. Sc., (Edin), F. L. S., F. R. S. E., Botany—Dr. S. K. Basu, M. B., Physiology—Dr. B. O. Ghosh M. A., M. B., B. C., (Cantab), and Dr. M. N. Sanyal M. B., Ch. B., (Edin), Materia Medica—Dr. A. K. Raychandhuri, M. D., (Cal.), Pathology—Drs. S. K. Basu, M. B., Ch. B., (Edin), and S. N. Seal, M. B., Ch. B., (Edin) Dentistry—Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta, D. D. S., Ophthalmology—Dr. S. K. Ganguly, M. B., Medicine—Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta, M. D., F. R. C. S., (Edin) Surgery—Drs. K. S. Ray, M. A. B. S., M. B., Ch. D., (Edin), and N. Chandra, D. R. C. P., L. R. O. S. (Edin), Midwifery and Gynaecology—Drs. Miss S. Ghosh, M. B., (Cal.) F. R. O. S., (Eng.), L. M., (Dublin) and Sundari Mohandas, M. B., Physics—Sj. A. M. Shaha, B. A., R. E., F. R. S. I., (Lond.), Chemistry—Sj. H. N. Sen-Gupta, M. Sc.

AYURVEDIC DEPARTMENT:—Kaviraj S. C. Pal, M. B., Vaidyashastri.

HOSPITAL STAFF:—(Visiting): Surgical Ward—Drs. K. S. Ray, and N. Chandra; Medical Ward—Drs. S. C. Sen Gupta and A. K. Raychandhuri.

OBSTETRICAL and GYNAECOLOGICAL—Drs. Miss S. Ghosh and Sundari Mohandas.

Arrangements for Dissection and other Practicals are complete. The college hostel accommodates 55 students. Houses near the college are available.

As the college re-opens and the lectures commence on the 2nd July, applications for admission must be made as soon as possible. Admission and summer fees to be paid within a week of selection. Admission fee Rs. 10/-; Tuition fee for the summer session Rs. 50/- and that for the winter session Rs. 50/-.

Young India

28-5-23

The Challenge of Ammunition.

The cloud on the Nagpur horizon which a few days ago was no bigger than a man's hand has assumed a graver proportion, and is spreading over the whole country. Those that ridiculed the agitation are now alarmed by the turn events are taking. The "Times of India" poohpoohed both the popular and the Government attitude regarding what it then pretended to think was a trifling affair. But the All India Committee decision took it by surprise. It had to send its special correspondent to Nagpur, and it has now begun to give the benefit of its advice to the European community and to Government.

"The new arrival at Nagpur", says its correspondent, "has few grounds for supposing that anything very remarkable is happening at that place". And yet the paper reads in its correspondent's reports, a battle "between the forces of stability and a gang of shady agitators who have enlisted the services of illiterates, aborigines and the floating population of students and others who live by sedition, the object being to provoke a quarrel with Government, or else excite 'atrocities' which can be used for inflammatory purposes all over India". It is convinced that the ulterior object of the agitators is to annoy Europeans, that had it not been for the flag, something else would have been found for that purpose, and that the deeper object than that of outraging racial sentiment is to "show that any *Gand* or *junglewallah* can defy the local authorities, and that the authorities are powerless to use force in their defence." The paper has a conveniently bad memory. It forgets that the deeper object is not at all a new thing, it has come into being ever since Gandhiji revolutionised the methods of political warfare, ever since he succeeded in inspiring 'any *Gand* or *junglewallah*' with confidence in his own strength. It was that confidence that made the Kaira peasant stand erect before Mr. Pratt, the commissioner, and challenge him to do his worst. Mr. Pratt solemnly took the lesson and has never again tried the experiment. We can understand the paper being alarmed at this growing tendency, we can also share its fears that a few years hence even ignorant, unsophisticated peasants will defy an unjust and tyrannous authority, and compel it to yield. But they are the sins of the times. The signal came early in Kaira. It came early enough in Champaran. It has now come to C. P., and if it is in the nature of a new revelation to the "Times," its ignorance can only be pitied. The peasants are indeed being taught to laugh at authority—not at all authority, but at the authority which defied the people's wishes—and to think that rebellion is a natural and inevitable occupation. How does the "Times" propose to arrest the process? Its advice to Europeans is not to sit still, but to regard the flag agitation as an outrage

identical with "playing music outside a mosque with the intention of annoying the Mahomedans at their prayers". In spite of all the talk of annoyance of the Europeans, no European in Nagpur, excepting the City Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, has yet come forward with the preposterous plea of the "Times". But if they continue not to do so, and refuse to be incited to violence, it will not be for any negligence of duty on the part of the "Times".

To Government the advice is even more frank and free. They must, if they want to exist, show the agitators that a great war against Government cannot be fought with impunity, at any rate, without fear of ammunition being used. If that is not exciting atrocities, what else is it? But we may assure the paper that no surer way can be conceived to hasten the state of things which it is today alarmed to imagine.

The challenge of atrocities and ammunition is not a challenge flung by a stray journal in India. It represents the mentality of the whole bureaucratic corporation, which has at its back the support of the Secretary of State. It is contained in the present attitude of Government. The round up of the 18th morning, the prosecution of all of them under the 'badmashi' section, and the order prohibiting processions and meetings beyond a certain limit are all an evident preamble to what is yet to follow. That challenge must be accepted, if we are to exist. The All India Congress Committee is meeting on the 8th July at Nagpur. The Working Committee and Khilafat Committee will also hold a joint sitting. Dr. Ansari has issued an appeal for an All India Flag celebration on the Gandhi day. It is good so far as it goes. But the All India Committee will have to devise a better and more effective answer to the challenge of ammunition. It should not shrink from it, even if it be joint and simultaneous action on the part of all the members of the Committee.

Mahadev Desai

Two Noble Sacrifices

Some of our best countrymen have sacrificed themselves in the Nagpur struggle. But I do not think any sacrifice could be nobler or purer than that of Jammalalji and Vinoba Bhawe of Satyagraharam. Most readers know Jammalalji as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress at Nagpur, as treasurer of the Congress, and as one who has given a few lacs for the N. C. O. fight. Very few, however, know Jammalalji's true greatness. Vinoba has not been in the limelight at all. But he is as much worth knowing as Jammalalji. I propose to acquaint the readers with both as I know them.

I

Jammalalji

"Blessed will be the moment when I will be worthy of being known as Mahatmaji's son. It is due to his matchless mercy that I have learnt at least to see my weaknesses and my failings." These words from an article by Jammalalji in the Gandhi Birthday Anniversary number of Navajivan sum up the simple tenderness of his character. He was born with a

Young India

Financial and Economic Supplement

Ahmedabad, Thursday 28th June 1923

8

Some Unjust Taxes

[Based on the sixty years of Indian Finance]

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What is a Tax? It is necessary, before estimating the merits and demerits of any specific taxes, to understand the general principles affecting the tax revenues and the different modes of apportioning them, as well as the consequences of each. For, as observed by one of the greatest masters of the science:

"For the modern state the tax and the national finances are indissolubly bound together. * * * * So long as private property continues to be the fundamental institution in modern society and the basis of industry and of the public economy, the tax must also continue to be the foundation and the corner stone of the public finance." (*Gustav Colin*)

We may accept the doctrine of Proudhon that all private property originates in theft; we may grant that the interests of simplicity in financial organisation and of justice in the apportionment of public burdens, demand an abolition of private ownership in the instruments as well as the organisation of production, so that in a properly constituted society the public revenues would not be a forced contribution from private wealth, but rather the source and fountain for all private income. In a humanely organised society, there must be a conscription of labour and a war to the knife against the idle rich classes. In fact, if the logical conclusions of the two preceding supplements in this series were honestly faced, the alternative would be inevitable even in India that the only salvation for the bungled finances of India lies in an extension and development of the direct state enterprise in industrial domain, of which the Railways and the Post Office are specimens. But the Government of India are under a curse. Their best efforts and noblest intentions will be misunderstood and opposed so long as they are alien in personnel and anti-Indian in sympathies. The wages of sin are death; and, for the original sin of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy the entire Indian nation must suffer in a radical wrong foundation of the social structure,—a fundamentally false conception of the social purpose.

The consideration, then, of the nature and adjustment of taxes becomes inevitable, not because they are or should be, in our opinion—the most important forms of public revenues; but because they have

become, by a series of historical accidents, the most considerable if not the only forms of public revenues in India. "A tax" says Prof. Bastable "is a compulsory contribution of the wealth of a person or body of persons in the service of the public powers." If the last qualification, essential as it is, is sufficiently stressed, the Government of India would not be entitled to collect more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the revenues they now obtain by taxation. We cannot say if it is the consciousness of this chink in their armour of unrighteousness which has made them anxious to split hairs upon what is and what is not a tax, in the ingredients of the Indian revenue system. "Conscience" says the poet, "makes cowards of us all," and perhaps here is an unwitting example of the same. The clear perception of the burden by the tax-payer, which alone can bring out clearly the element of compulsion as required by the above definition, is possible only in what are popularly known as the Direct Taxes. But because the weight of the burden is not so clear in taxes upon commodities, or in charges as services, they are none the less real taxes. True, wherever there is a possibility of obtaining a *quid pro quo*, the payment made may sum more in the nature of a price paid for a utility purchased than a compulsory contribution irrespective of the benefit received; but it must be remembered in such cases that not in every instance is the charge made in a monopolised public service at all commensurate with the real service rendered. The tax-payer, besides, has not, in such cases, either the power to correlate the amount paid to the service rendered, or the option to forego the service and save his money. For the utilities and service monopolised by the State are of primary importance and the specious alternative of foregoing consumption, though possible in theory, is unthinkable in practice, whether we think of the English Post Office or the Continental tobacco *regie* or railway monopoly. In normal times an intelligent, far-sighted, sympathetic and national government tries to adjust charges made to the service rendered; but its unused reserve of absolute power to raise the charges at will, totally irrespective of the services rendered, effectively distinguishes these charges from a strictly commercial price

—making. The Indian railway rates and postal charges have already been discussed sufficiently to make any intelligent reader remember an appropriate illustration for the argument here advanced. We thus come to a more comprehensive definition of a tax:—

"A proper definition of taxes would, therefore, include all payments made to the State by individuals and corporations residing within the jurisdiction of that State, directly or indirectly, under obvious or imperceptible compulsion."

The Tax Revenues in India consist of :—

Head	Accounts 1921-22	Revised Estimates 1922-23	Budget Estimates 1923-24
Customs	Rs. 34,49,98,381	Rs. 40,30,03,000	Rs. 45,69,41,000
Taxes on Income	18,74,13,024	18,69,31,000	19,01,64,000
Salt	6,34,37,848	7,17,81,000	11,75,00,000
Opium	3,97,21,798	5,98,65,000	3,93,12,000
Land Revenue	33,18,286	43,81,100	43,91,000
Excise	53,80,399	51,67,000	52,58,000
Stamps	24,61,084	24,82,600	25,81,000
Forests	19,68,611	26,16,000	34,57,000
Registration	1,70,705	1,51,000	1,62,000
Tributes	87,77,807	82,40,000	86,45,000
Total	61,77,52,770	72,53,23,000	82,27,11,000

In the official budget statements these are described as Principal Heads of Revenue, but with an exception of Opium and Forests Revenue, which are in the nature of monopoly profits and tributes from Native States which are receipts entirely *Sui Juris*, all these heads of revenue are taxes pure and simple, according to the definition given above, the monopoly gains from forests or opium traffic would also have to be classed as taxes, but for the fact that the bulk of the opium revenue is derived from foreign consumers of the drug, while in the administration of the Forest Domain the element of compulsory contribution is not evident enough to make the receipts indistinguishable from tax income. On the other hand, receipts from their monopolies of the State like Railways, revenues, are yet not included chiefly because the receipts shown in the official budget statement are misleading. There are at present no net receipts from these departments, which are really working at a loss. If the full weight of the burden of these departments upon the community has to be considered, we shall have to take the *gross receipts* and not the net revenue, as shown in the official statement. But perhaps this procedure would be as unfair as the official alternative, and we have therefore thought it advisable to drop these receipts altogether. Nearly the same remarks would apply to the case of departmental receipts, which are mostly in the nature of taxes, but which are more than set off by the corresponding outlay on the individual departments. Finally, among the principal heads of revenue, as given above, historically the most important source of public income in India—land Revenue—seems to make a very poor show, as also the socially most dangerous item of Excise Revenue. The explanation is to be found in the fact that Land Revenue, Excise, Stamps, Forests and Registration Receipts have been made over to the Provincial Governments under the "Reforms" of 1920. The proper view of the Indian tax-system under the present Government cannot ignore these

items; and for the purposes of these supplements, a full account of the Land Revenue and the problem in connection therewith will be attempted in another lot of supplements bearing upon the agrarian situation in India. For the general review here attempted it would be enough to say that the whole of the net income of the State in India is received from taxes.

Of the taxes levied in India, there is not one that justifies in all essentials the requirements of distributive justice in apportionment, or the demands of national economy in incidence and consequences. The father and founder of the economic science, as understood in England, has laid down as the first among his canons of taxation:—

"The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities."

But what constitutes ability? The obvious answer of wealth, as indicated by income or property, will not do, because as soon as the wealth is analysed, it creates a bewildering variety of issues that necessarily leads to a breakdown of this crudest of all crude interpretation. For, the real ability of an income,—or a given property or scale of living,—to bear a particular burden of taxation, will be quite different in proportion as we consider the earlier or stronger demands upon the same income. In appearance the demand of the State seems to be supreme; and, for obvious reasons, laws have been framed to give the State demands an incontestable priority. But so long as the institution of private property and individualistic family endures, the private wealth of individuals—whether measured by their income or property—will have largely to be devoted to meet claims for the maintenance and bringing up of the young or the aged and infirm, whom the State should maintain collectively, but of which duty most States in the world have not yet received even a glimpse. In reality, therefore, the State demands in the form of taxes would have to be so adjusted as to interfere the least with the outlay that private wealth must make to maintain the community in a given degree of efficiency, or to promote an accepted idea of national development.

Take for example the taxes on income. By common consent of economists, these taxes are regarded as more truly in accordance with the principle of taxation according to ability, as indicated by the least objectionable measure. At the risk of wearisome repetition, we must observe that no tax can be altogether free from objection so long as it is a compulsory deduction from private wealth. To abolish the thieving propensity of the entire tax-system we must first abolish the origin of all social iniquity—private property. But granted the ground plan of a social system founded on private property and motivated by individual gain, the evolution is unavoidable if absolute anarchy is to be prevented and some kind of community of ideals maintained. The old War-cry of "No taxation without representation" heralded not merely the dawn of modern democracy (which is bound to defeat its own purpose by an ill matched wedding with Militarist Imperialism) but also of the reviving consciousness of a common life and purpose over and above the individual life and doings. The

best proof of this contention may be found in the systems which prefer or dislike particular taxes. Direct taxes, like the Land Revenue and Income Tax make the tax-payer painfully and reluctantly aware of the burden he has to bear, and consequently force him to take a more active interest in the affairs of the State. Despots don't like direct taxes; and are yet, to their own undoing, obliged to resort to them. There could have been no Hampden without the Ship-money, and so no Cromwell and no constitution in England. Conversely, because the Indirect Taxes, like the Excise and Customs Duties, are disguised and their real burden made imperceptible and temperamentally unresponsive, are inclined to prefer them. The Indian Income Tax originated, as an experimental measure, with the very first Finance Minister, but after a generation of vicissitudes, it has come to be a permanent feature of the national tax system. The tax, as it stands today, makes no discrimination between incomes that are earned and those that are unearned, and thereby incurs the most serious objection to which the most direct of taxes can be exposed. With an exemption, by way of minimum necessary for subsistence for incomes under Rs. 2000 per annum, and with an abatement in favour of officially recognised forms of saving like Insurance Premia, the tax starts with a low rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. upon incomes between Rs. 2000 and Rs. 5000 per annum, and marches by easy gradations till it reached 18 pies in the rupee or $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on incomes above Rs. 40000 per annum. There is also a Super Tax which commences at Rs. 50,000 of annual income with one anna, and goes on to 6 annas in the rupee on an individual income of $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs or more per annum. The graduation is by no means quite so steep as in the case of the initial income tax rates; but the principle is sound, and, with slight alterations, can be made to combine justice in tax adjustments with productivity to the State in the yield. The combined Income and Super Taxes admit of many improvements in the details of assessment and even in the technique of abatements or refunds. But altogether, tested by the fundamentals already indicated, these taxes are essentially unobjectionable.

But the real objections to the Indian Income Tax system lie deeper. Considering the Indian Fiscal system as a whole, and compared to the more advanced democratic nations of the West, Direct Taxes seem to play a very insignificant part in the Indian Tax system. Including the Land Revenue, the total yield of Direct Taxes in India would be under 55 crores out of a total revenue—central and provincial combined—of some 220 crores. The Land Revenue, however, is, at least according to the official interpretation of it, in the debatable margin. But including it, we find the Direct Tax yield to be less than 25 p. c. in India as against the 50% in the British Budget. Deducting the Land Revenue would make the disparity much greater. The wealth of India being very small, the income from Direct Taxes may never be very great in this country, but even so the existing disproportion unmistakably points to obvious iniquity in tax adjustments.

Another great defect of our system of Direct Taxation is the exemption of all Agricultural In-

comes from Income Taxation. The small cultivator of the Ryotwari regions has indeed an income too small to be able to pay a tax thereon; he would be exempted in any system of equitable adjustments of the tax burdens. Besides he takes more than a fair share of the burdens of the Government by the payment of the Land Revenue, in itself a Direct Tax almost like an Income Tax. While in the case of the other incomes below Rs. 1999 a year are now exempted, or Rs. 1,000 a year until quite recently were exempted the bulk of the Land Revenue is paid by men living much under that minimum of taxation. If an attempt were made to make tax burdens more evenly distributed, it is more than likely that a great portion of that revenue will have to be permanently abandoned. Of the total Land area in India 47% is held by small peasant proprietors and 53 by Zemindars. Of the latter rather more than a third or 40% is permanently settled while the remaining 60% is temporary. Assuming for the sake of simplicity that the revenue is contributed in equal proportions by the permanent and the temporarily taxpayers, according to table on P. 171 of the Decennial Statement of the Progress and condition of India issued on 22nd July 1913, the revenues would have to be exempted from taxation as noted below, in the different provinces. The entire revenue in the Ryotwari districts need not be exempted. But assuming that it is wholly remitted, the Land Revenue would be reduced by Rs. 15 crores or nearly 50%. If the charge in the Zamindari area is doubled the loss would be made up.

Province	Zemindari Area	Ryotwari Area	Total Revenue	Revenue exempted
Madras	29.17	61.57	7.00	4.65
Bombay	3.75	10.87	5.11	4.95
Bengal	49.56	Nil	2.79	Nil
United Provinces	68.33	..	6.16	..
Punjab	69.91	..	1.01	..
Burma	Nil	108.79	1.75	1.75
Bihar and Orissa	55.21	Nil	1.51	Nil
Central Provinces	19.63	1.93	1.98	1.01
Asum	54.89	25.30	1.75	1.16

But while there is possibility of considerable decline in revenue if the exemption limit is raised, the Incomes of the great Bengal land-lords or the Oudh talukdars, will more than make up the deficit, if taxed at a rate in proportion to the size of their incomes. The Permanent Settlement, it has been argued, has resulted in an exemption from taxation, which is all the more scandalous as the individuals exempted are the most able to bear the burdens. But so great is the strength of this powerful vested interest that when, owing to war needs, the rate of the Income Tax was sharply raised in 1917-18, and an attempt made to tax at least the income derived from the savings of the Agricultural Incomes, the representatives of the land-lord classes in the Imperial Legislative Council voted solid even against this slight infringement of their extraordinary privileges. It is an irony of fate that the veteran Bengali leader—the great Surendro Babu—was made the mouth-piece to maintain these indefensible privileges. In Bengal alone the Land Revenue now collected is estimated to represent only about 25% of the rental of the Bengal land-lords. If the basis adopted in the Saharanpur

rules were extended to Bengal, the revenue from land in that province would account for 6 crores more and together with Bihar and Orissa, it might be much in excess of 9 crores; the taxation of Income would then be placed on another footing altogether. At the present time, however, assuming the Land Revenue from the Ryotwary as well as the Zamindari areas to continue on the existing basis in spite of its manifest injustice, the only means to equalise the burdens of taxation is to levy an income tax from the large landed proprietors at the same rate as is levied on other incomes on the whole of their income, no matter from what source they are derived. Probably such a measure would add another 5 crores at the very lowest computation. If the whole of the excess or unearned increment is to be taxed, the addition would be much greater. According to the Decennial Statement of the progress and condition of India, the total area of 608 million acres was divided into 285.63 million Ryotwary, and 322.5 million Zamindari acres, of which 121.86 were permanently settled and 200.63 temporarily settled. If we divide the total revenue from land in equal proportions the permanently settled Zamindaries would pay 20% or 7 crores, the temporarily settled Zamindaries would pay 33% or 12 crores, and the rest 17 crores would be paid by the Ryotwary areas. If we extend the fifty per cent net assets rule to the permanent Zamindaries, and if we accept that the present tax represents only half that ratio, the yield from these lands alone would be greater than 7 crores. And similarly the 12 crores paid by the other Zamindari lands were taxed at the average rate of 10%, the yield would be 1.20 crores.

Besides these two main defects in the Income Tax system of India, there are others of minor importance which, however, if properly looked to, might add no small sum to the exchequer. For instance at the present time the tax is supposed to be levied on the total income, no matter how derived. Apart, however, from the profits of the companies, the dividends of which deduct the tax before payment to the proprietors, there is no means to apply the device of taxing at the source. Thus in the case of Public Servants only the official salary and acting allowances are subject to tax deduction before the salary is paid. But the other gains of public servants, e. g. travelling allowances, expert or examination fees, and similar additions to the income, are not taxed in the same way as the main salary and allowances. As these incidentals make up no small proportion of the income of public servants, it is not improbable that a more rigorous administration of the tax may add considerably to the total of the tax. Finally, in the case of merchants and professional men, the assessment of the tax is necessarily dependent on the declaration made by the individual tax-payer—a declaration, which, there is reason to believe, is by no means excessive. There is, moreover, no distinction in the Indian Income Tax system between incomes which are earned by the personal exertion of the earner

and those which are the results of factors in manipulating which the earner has no hand. Necessarily the former is uncertain, precarious, unsafe and ought, therefore, to be differentially treated in the rate charged or exemption granted. Similarly too, allowance ought to be made according as to whether the income is for the exclusive gratification of the owner or has other charges upon it such as the support of a growing family. A rebate or exemption must be granted on this account as well. These charges, if made, might conceivably reduce the yield by 2 crores or so. But if all the other improvements suggested above are simultaneously incorporated, the total net yields from the direct taxes on income will, at a modest calculation, exceed Rs. 30 crores per annum; and thus solve some of the most thorny questions of the Indian financial system.

Another class of the most scandalous exemptions from the burden of the Income Tax—one, moreover, which provokes the question if the Government of India today is really conducted for the benefit of the Indian people,—is that in regard to the foreign capitalist exploiting India. Practically the whole of the sterling debt of the Government of India, aggregating now between £ 250 and £ 300 million, is exempted from the Income Tax of India, though the rupee securities, in spite of all their depreciation, have to pay the maximum rate of taxation! Law, equity, and economy alike condemn this practice, which lacks even the justification of a corresponding exemption from the British Income Tax on Indian creditors of the British Government! The case is not merely one of a double taxation within the Empire. It is bound to create the most unpleasant and invidious comparisons. On merely the financial grounds, this unjust exemption if cancelled, would save to the Indian Exchequer close upon 2 crores of rupees per annum, which is now made a free gift of to the British creditors of the Government of India. No wonder Lord Reading has had to urge the absence of any alternative to the certification of the Salt Tax for equating the Budget! We do not know if the foreign capitalist, engaged in private industry and commerce, is fully taxed under the Indian Income Tax Acts. The large number of Foreign Banks, Insurance Companies, Shipping Ventures, which are doing a great business in India, but which are not registered in India, have a total capital of some £ 600 millions, which at the most modest rate of 5 p.c. profit, must be draining this country to the tune of £ 30 million annually. Even if we overlook the disservice of this insidious drain, and claim only a fair share of taxes from such ventures, the Indian Exchequer ought to benefit, at the present rates of tax, between 4 and 5 crores per annum. The Income Tax alone, therefore, if properly adjusted, and freed from these most scandalous exemptions, would yield an increment of between 10 and 15 crores per annum, which may very well be used to rectify the hardships of the other taxes.

K.

golden spoon in his mouth, but he has chosen never to use even a silver one. His sweetness of temper and his wealth attracted towards him all sorts of people, Government servants, flatterers and their like, but he gave them timely notice that he was not going to humour them long. He seems to have grasped even whilst in his teens that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to reach the kingdom of heaven. So he began making provisions for getting less and less rich every day. Saints and sadhus came to him; he sat at their feet and sought their advice. He built hermitages for them—where he could run down for a respite from the eternal worries of business. He sought the sage association of men like Malaviyaji, Dr. Tagore, Dr. Bose and Lokamanya. Having not had much of a literary education he could hardly take active part in the movements that each one of these stood for. But he gave his active support to them, trusting that those true servants of India could not be doing anything but service to the motherland. And the years rolled on until he encountered Gandhiji. "My association with all of them", he says referring to the earlier friendships, "has been very beneficial. But Mahatmajji changed my whole mental outlook." He saw that after years of ceaseless striving after the association of great and good, he had fortunately come across one from whom he could draw sustenance, and who could help him to work out his salvation. The day of conversion was the 1st of January 1918. The newspapers had announced the award of a Rai Bahadurship to Jammalalji as a new year honour. He came blushing to Gandhiji, asking for *ashirvada*. I read in my diary—"Said Gandhiji: what *ashirvada* can I give you? Use the new honour well. It is easy to live down an insult but difficult to live down an 'honour'. Honours, titles etc. are dangerous things. They have been more abused than used. I would wish you to make a proper use of them. I hope it may never come in the way of your patriotism and your own spiritual advancement." The day to put this advice into practice soon came. He spurned the honour and rejected Government favours for the service of the country, and every hardship and suffering it brings in its train. In Nagpur he came even closer to Mahatmajji. One day during the Congress week, Mahatmajji told me: "I am astonished at Jammalal's humility. He came to me asking me to treat him like Devdas, to regard him as a fifth son, to command him and to correct him." The humility had its effect. Jammalalji became Jammalal Gandhi. Ever since then, Jammalalji has hitched his waggon to the star, asked at every step in life: "What would Bapu wish me to do in these circumstances?" and has acted according to the answer given by the Dweller in the Innermost.

That is what has made Jammalalji the power that he is. Go to Wardha to see what an influence he wields. I do not hesitate to say that men and things in Wardha bear a clearer impress of Jammalalji's influence than does Ahmedabad of Gandhiji's.

Religion, it has been said, cannot be defined, it can be acted; God can not be define, but one can lead a Godly life. Jammalalji may not be able to

define religion or God, but he lives religiously, he leads a Godly life. I do not think he ever dreamt that he would have to concern himself with politics, but his religion, the one question that he eternally asks himself, 'What would Bapu wish me to do under these circumstances?' helps him to find a clear way even in stormy politics. And after he has seen it clearly he pursues it undeterred by all odds. That is why most of his opponents feel that the gentle *baniya* is the hardest nut to crack in the non-cooperation party. That religious sense is at the root of his acute insight in affairs. Who could have dreamt that Jammalalji would lead one of the most successful campaigns in the War? That religious sense is the secret of his success, but it will one day be the secret of his salvation. 'How can I have a share in the Tata Company, when I believe in the righteousness of the Mulshi struggle?' 'How can I continue my business in Calcutta, when it involves me in litigation?' Such are the questions he always asks himself, and acts as soon as he gets a reply. His sacrifice has been more talked of than known. If you went to his place one fine morning you would see how much he gives. Out of the cloud of letters that he receives daily he picks up a few, whispers into the ears of his clerk, 'That is a good worker, send him fifty rupees a month'; 'that one is doing fine Khadi work, send him a couple of hundred Rupees', and so on. But he regards this as of no moment. He really believes that he must one day give up all and follow his master. Every sacrifice, big and great, is done with that conviction. That is what distinguishes his sacrifice from many a sacrifice of superfluities by the millionaires and multimillionaires in the world. He was one of the few who were privileged to have a letter from Gandhiji from Sabarmati jail. In the course of it he wrote:

"Wife, children, friends, all belongings should be subservient to Truth. Each one of them should be sacrificed in the search for Truth. Only then can one be a Satyagrahi. I have thrown myself in this movement, with a view to making the observance of this religion comparatively easy. And it is with the same view that I do not hesitate to plunge men like you also in it. Its outward form is Hind Swaraj. Its essence is the Swaraj of every individual following that religion. That Swaraj is delayed, because there is not yet to be found a real Satyagrahi of that type. But that need not worry us." It is towards being that real Satyagrahi that he is working away. Government does not yet know what men it has to fight. But it is such Satyagrahis that will give it real fight and compel it to bend.

Mahadev Desai

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The Beckoning Call

(By George Joseph)

The summoning of the All India Committee to Nagpur within five weeks of the Bombay meeting is an unusual step. It is understood that the step has become necessary because of a requisition to that effect. According to the Congress rules, the General Secretary is bound to summon a meeting when not less than fifteen members of the Committee desire it. The frequency of meetings of the Committee may well be a source of inconvenience in normal times and the indignant protest of a Swarajist in the United Provinces against the Nagpur meeting is intelligible for a variety of reasons. But the Committee is to assemble early next month and the members have to make up their mind about current issues.

Those who sent the requisition for the meeting are primarily concerned about the Councils. As is well-known, the "compromise" resolution, which set about making peace between two contending parties brought into being a third. I am not sure what the purpose of the conveners of the meeting is. They desire peace but the fate of the peace-makers in Bombay is of no happy augury; one can only pray that the decision in Nagpur, whatever it may be, will not be the prelude of a Fourth Party (shade of Randolph Churchill). The position itself is clear. There are three parties now contending for mastery, standing for the magic words—Councils, Suspension, and Boycott. It is a dangerous occupation, fruitless and thankless, to offer counsels of peace. I touch wood, however, and venture to offer a suggestion. The controversy in the country is owing to the Bombay resolution directing the suspension of the propaganda of boycott. On this question, the country is divided; the Provincial Committees put to the task of choosing between two loyalties—one to the Congress and the other to the Committee—have gone their way, some this, some that. There is no geographical law about the phenomenon—but the dissidents from the Bombay resolution are numerous enough to give us pause. My formula of reconciliation is this:—Let the Provincial Committees be given freedom to follow or not to follow the Bombay mandate about abstention from propaganda. The objection to my proposal will be that it is tantamount to countenancing rebellion. Such a view would be wrong. It is not countenancing rebellion; it is a mere recognition of facts. There is no doubt that the Provincial Committees hold strong views and if, for instance, the Tamil Nadu Committee's decision is sustained by the Provincial Conference, the All India Committee will have no effective alternative. The talk about disaffiliation is mere bluff. The Provincial Committees have to choose between their conferences and the All India Committee. If the Conference agrees with the Gaya Congress, the Provincial Committee will have no real choice in the matter. But I would go further. The spirit of rebellion was encouraged by those who surrendered to the rebels. They should not now raise holy hands of horror at a consequence of which they were given deliberate warning. In a word, give Provincial autonomy in respect of propaganda.

But I would suggest a far manlier and wiser course. The Swarajists are committing suicide in nearly all the Provinces. In the matter of the charge of bungling and mismanagement levelled against Mahatmaji, Mr. Das has overshot the mark. In the Central Provinces, the fight over the Flag has brought the country in touch with reality, with just the programme of action, the absence of which is the plea of Mr. Das for entering and wrecking (if he can) the Councils. If the Committee, when it meets in Nagpur, resolutely makes up its mind to deal with the issue raised by the flag, we shall once again be in sight of salvation. The Working Committee will have its recommendations to make. But the members of the bigger body should come prepared to take final and far reaching decision and to depart only after leaving the Working Committee in charge of specific directions. Dr. Ansari has done well in calling for a Flag day. We do not know what is to happen after that. A number of questions suggest themselves. What should the people do, if the hoisting of the Flag or processions with the Flag are prohibited in Civil Lines or cantonments or Indian States? Are such orders to be disobeyed at once, or is disobedience to be permitted only after reference to the Congress? If so, is it the Working Committee or the Provincial Committee? Is it necessary to appoint a Committee whose specific business will be to carry on this campaign? If so, should it be one for the whole of India or several for the different Provinces? In the interests of economy and efficiency, is a single man to be preferred to a Committee? In reference to Nagpur itself, what is to be done by the Congress? Are volunteers sufficient? Should not there be a succession of responsible men who will take charge of the particular fight, and continue it till they are arrested in the discharge of their duty? These are practical problems, and their list cannot be exhausted in advance by the most fertile and imaginative mind. But my meaning is that the All India Committee must come together ready to be as specific in its instructions and as far-seeing in its programme as is humanly possible.

I would suggest in all humility that the Congress should commit itself to the redemption of the honour of the Flag as the one single task of action this year. The Government's mood is determined enough to offer us prospect of a battle that will test and try us to the utmost. We did not seek the fight. When the struggle was forced on us by the authorities in Nagpur, the country was in the very nadir of her weakness—we were stumbling in the morass, great figures falling all about us and there was nothing within sight which promised hope or was a point in which the national energy could be focussed. God has shown us a way, and if the leaders would not fail, there is yet a chance that the national will may find irresistible expression and prove once more to the sceptical world, the frivolous crowd, the throwers of insult and the jeerers that the path of suffering and bravery is the only path that will lead to political freedom and national purification.

The Compromise Resolution

[Babu Ramananda Chatterji has, in the following note in Modern Review, mercilessly exposed the casuistries underlying the All India Congress Committee's decision killing the Gaya resolutions. He has ably and correctly disposed off the argument of analogy regarding the boycott of courts and schools and about the united front and the enhancement of the influence of Congress. With merciless clearness he has shown the sophistry of the claim that the Gaya resolution and boycott of Councils remain untouched. In view of the coming meeting of the A. I. C. C. we feel no hesitation in reproducing the criticism here even in this late hour.]

C. R.]

At the recent meeting of the All India Congress Committee held in Bombay,

"Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon of the United Provinces moved that in view of the fact that there was a strong body of opinion in the Congress in favour of contesting the elections, and that the existing divisions amongst Congressmen had already led to lessening of the influence of the Congress, the Committee deemed it absolutely necessary that Congressmen should close their ranks and present a united front and that no propaganda should be carried on amongst the voters in furtherance of the Gaya Congress resolution relating to the boycott of the Councils."

After an animated debate, this resolution was carried by 71 votes to 96.

We are not constitutional lawyers, able to pronounce an authoritative opinion; but using our commonsense, as every one is bound to do, it seems to us that for a Committee of a large body to practically override the decision of that body is topsyturvydom or akin to it. Moreover, as the All India Congress Committee consists of 350 members, the compromise resolution has been carried, not by an absolute majority but only by one-fifth of the total number of members. This must detract from the weight and moral authority of the decision. The majority party of the Congress may not therefore feel bound by it.

It seems to us an odd sort of compromise by which the minority seek to compel the majority to be bound by a "self (?) denying" ordinance imposed from without.

Our view has always been, that if anybody wants to enter the Councils, let him; but why should he also seek to shut the mouths of others who have been saying and want to go on saying that Council-entry is useless? Boycotting the Councils, boycotting the law courts, and boycotting Government recognised schools and colleges have been all along the basic "Don'ts" of the non-cooperation movement. The Gaya Congress did not start any of these war cries, it only confirmed the first item of [the boycott policy against an attempt to give it up. It is strange that a committee of the Congress has felt morally competent not only to practically change a basic position but also to call upon others not to carry on propaganda according to the fundamental programme of Non-cooperation.

When large numbers of non-cooperating students went back to Government recognised institutions, they did not ask that the doors of the national institutions be closed or that all writing and speaking against the Government recognised institutions be given up. They were satisfied with being simply allowed to have their way.

When some non-cooperating lawyers resumed practice, they did not ask that the boycott of the law courts be given up altogether or that all Congressmen cease to speak or write against practising in them. They were satisfied with their own freedom to resume

practice. No doubt, a time may come when it may be felt necessary to get the boycott of law courts formally rescinded by the All India Congress Committee.

But in the matter of Council-entry, those who want to enter the Councils are not satisfied with their own freedom of action; they must needs in addition deprive others of their freedom of expression. This is a new principle of democracy ye!pt Swarajya.

It is said that a new situation has arisen, that the influence of the Congress has lessened owing to division in its ranks, that a united front must be presented, that much mischief is done in the Councils in the matters of repression, oppression, taxation, wasteful expenditure &c., which requires to be prevented.

We suppose a united front could have been presented by the pro-Council men, the Congress minority, giving up their hobby—could it not? But they insisted that the anti-Council men, the Congress majority, must give up theirs, and by strategy or accident or we don't know what, they have gained their object. We do not believe that tampering with the fundamentals of non-cooperation will increase the influence of the Congress.

The pro-Council men do not appear to agree as to what they will do when they have entered the Councils. Mr. C. R. Das originally declared for universal obstruction, then he declared for Lokunnya Tilak's "responsive co-operation"; but we must not proceed. For we confess we may be caught tripping, as we do not usually read the messages, manifestoes, pronouncements, proclamations and so forth of the Leaders, Vice-Leaders, Pro-Leaders, Pro-Vice-Leaders,—there are so many of them speaking and writing so often and so voluminously.

What we have all along contended is that universal obstruction would be a senseless and conscienceless method, and it would be futile too; for it is most certain that the pro-Council men will not be able to capture so many seats as to constitute an absolute majority of members in the Councils—elected, nominated, official, all told. Therefore, there is only "responsive cooperation" to fall back upon. But that is the principle which has all along been followed by the honest and independent members of the legislatures. The pro-Council non-cooperators can only add to the number of these honest men, they can do nothing new. Moreover, the non-official legislators have already defeated the Government many times. So it cannot be said that by joining forces with the existing independent Moderates, the Council-men will perform the hitherto unimagined feat of defeating the Government. It may be that the number of such defeats will be a little increased. But *cut uno*? The essence of popular government is to make the people's will prevail. How often and in what important, fundamental and essential matters have the people's representatives been able to make the people's will prevail by defeating the Government? Why are the certifications, the vetoes, and the other dodges lost sight of? Why is the disappointment with dyarchy of even those who were or are Ministers, not to speak of outspoken M. L. A's and M. L. C's, not paid due attention to?

Still, let everyone who desires, enter the Councils and try to do what little good can be done. But why seek to gag others who are convinced of the futility of Council-entry?

The merest tyro in politics has known all along that the Councils as at present constituted have not been able to prevent repression, oppression, over-taxation, &c.; it is not a new discovery made by the pro-Council non-cooperators justifying a change of programme at the present stage. But let us suppose that formerly this matter of common knowledge did not receive proper attention; now it should. In that case, Council-entry being a fundamental issue ought to have been considered by and argued before a whole house in Congress assembled. Let us forego even that argument. But let us point out that, as we have already done indirectly, even when the pro-Council non-cooperators enter the legislatures, they too will find that they cannot make their or the people's will prevail.

The whole controversy about Council-entry has been a waste of time and energy, for which the minority party are mainly responsible. They should have simply tried to enter the Councils (as students have joined their schools and colleges and the lawyers have resumed practice) without plunging the country into a fruitless wrangle, and the majority ought to have allowed them to do so, without any fuss. So little has been done to work out the constructive programme that attention ought not to be allowed to be diverted to non-essentials.

In the course of an explanation issued by the new Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee, and published in the dailies of the 30th May, it is stated:

".....To avoid any misapprehension in the minds of the people about the meaning and implications of the compromise resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee, we think it necessary to make the following statement. The resolution in question does not violate the principle embodied in the resolution of the Gaya Congress relating to the boycott of the Councils. The mandate of the Congress maintaining boycott remains untouched. All that the resolution does is merely to ask Congressmen not to carry on a propaganda in furtherance of this boycott. Our reasons for this step are briefly indicated in the preamble to the resolution. We consider that the advantage that would be gained by an active propaganda among the voters for making them abstain from going to the polls, would be more than counterbalanced by conflicts and bitterness that would inevitably ensue between us and those other Congressmen who believed in contesting the elections; in our opinion the time that would be spent in this propaganda could be more usefully employed by us in pushing the rest of the programme more vigorously. Further, the absence of friction among Congressmen themselves would have a good effect on the country and would conduce to a better and speedier fulfilment of our programme in other respects.

The cheek of this explanation is sure to irritate the majority party of the Congress. You fill the Gaya resolution and then declare with a sanctimonious air that you have left it untouched. For sophistry and self-contradiction and what we in Bengal colloquially call *sakani*, we commend this explanation.

A portion of the Gaya resolution reads as follows:—

"This Congress resolves to advise that all voters shall abstain from standing as candidates for any of the Councils and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of this advice."

This is "the mandate of the Congress." It advises voters not to stand as candidates and not to vote for candidates. The compromise resolution says that Con-

gressmen may both be candidates and vote for them and that advice to the contrary must not be given. How then does "the mandate of the Congress remain untouched?"

The new Working Committee professes great solicitude for avoiding and preventing conflicts and bitterness and for spending time more usefully "in pushing the rest of the programme more vigorously." But would not all these objects have been gained and gained without the waste of time already lost in conflicts and without the bitterness already created, if, as we have already said in our note on the compromise resolution, the pro-Council men had simply contested the elections without bringing the matter before the Congress, and afterwards before the Committee, and if also the anti-Council men, too, had not made any fuss over it?

Already Dished

"No one can start a movement in opposition to the Union Jack without violating the fundamental article of the Congress creed" says the *Servant of India*. It therefore suggests, that if the Congress makes a clear declaration to the effect that the Swaraj Flag is not intended to convey any idea of opposition to the Union Jack, it would thereby completely dish the Government without itself surrendering its position in any way. Because, argues the journal, since national emancipation of India has been recognised to be the goal of British statesmanship even by the King Emperor himself, the Government would be put in the wrong if it persecutes the National Flag after the Congress has declared that it is not inimical to the Imperial Connection. Our opinion is that the Government has thoroughly put itself in the wrong already. The Congress creed lays down clearly and emphatically that India can remain as a member of the British Empire only on the condition that it can do so on honourable terms, as an equal partner of a Free Commonwealth of Nations, but must seek its destiny outside the Empire if these conditions are not fulfilled. And that is the only position possible for a self-respecting people. Did not Mr. Shastri himself declare the other day in London that if justice was not granted to the Indians in Kenya, India would be compelled to revise her attitude with regard to her position within the British Empire? That is exactly the attitude that the Swaraj Flag sums up. It stands for justice, for redress of past wrongs, for equality of treatment—the accepted goal of all parties in India. Whether it constitutes a challenge to the Union Jack or not, thus entirely depends on the attitude of the Government towards Indian aspirations. There cannot possibly be any conflict between the two flags if the Government means well, but certainly there will be a conflict, and a deadly conflict too, if it does not mean well by India. Its treatment of the National Flag will thus serve as the acid test of the honesty of its intentions. By persecuting the National Flag it will be only betraying its *bona fides*. The question is whether the Moderates can afford to remain passive witnesses of the persecution of the National Flag and all that it signifies, or whether the time has not actually come for them even to revise their attitude with regard to this matter.

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Young India

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Notes

The Flag Day

Wednesday, July 18th, is fixed for the display throughout India of the National Flag. Throughout the country in every centre, big and small, processions should be organised to march with the National Flag early in the morning of the 18th. The Flag should be displayed everywhere throughout the day. Khaddar is the proper fabric for making the Flag, but if Khaddar is too expensive for extensive and temporary display, paper may be used.

Every one should understand the significance of the Flag. The Charkha symbolises peace, good-will and industry. It expresses the nation's opposition to war, *himsa* and exploitation. It tells the world that India is determined to help herself. The red represents the Hindus, shielding and supporting every minority. The green represents the Mussalmans. The white stands for all other smaller communities; and to symbolise that the weak shall not be oppressed, it is given the highest place in the tri-colour.

The Flag contains no religious emblem because it is common to all whose home is India; but every community may have its own special flag, and the Charkha on the tricolour may be woven into the corner of such flags to symbolise the support to the national movement. The Star and Crescent displayed on green, with a miniature national flag on the top right-hand corner, would be a beautiful symbol of Islam blended with Indian nationalism. The double *kirpan* of the black Sikh flag with a miniature tricolour and Charkha, would similarly be a splendid combination.

Our flag is preeminently a messenger of peace, not conflict. It has no quarrel with anybody on earth, not even with the Union Jack; even as what we seek to attain is Swarajya, not necessarily Separation. The national flag represents an awakened nation, not the form of Government. It stands for real and full freedom, whether within or without the Empire; within, if the Empire can hold us; without, if the Empire cannot hold a free Indian people.

Vagrants

We are all vagrants in our own land and men without ostensible means of subsistence in the rich valleys of our own rivers. To Mrs. Gandhi and the people of Wardha who honoured and cheered the vagabonds from Tamilnad with loving kindness and hospitality, I offer grateful thanks on behalf of the province.

False Plea

The *Times of India* denies the claim that the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha is a defensive struggle. The journal alleges that the initiative was not taken by the Government. It says that the Government did not object to the Flag being flown in the bazar or being used for "inspiring purposes." It maintains that objection was taken only when the Non-cooperators tried to force a way into "the European quarters". It puts forward the analogy of taking music in front of mosques to annoy Mussalmans during their prayers.

Apart from the inaccuracy of claiming any area in Nagpur as the European quarter, the *Times* has evidently forgotten the genesis of the whole trouble. The District Magistrate of Jubbulpore prohibited the Municipal Committee of the City from hoisting the Flag on the Town Hall in honour of its guests, and ordered the police to take possession of the Committee's premises to prevent them from displaying the Flag on their roof. Was this a case of "forcing a way into the European quarters for annoying Europeans with flags and cries?" What was the justification for forcibly preventing a Municipal Committee from decorating their own hall on a certain day with the flag of their choice in honour of guests arriving on that day? Was it not a case of Government objecting to the Flag being flown for inspiring purposes?

The Nagpur offensive was only a continuation of the Jubbulpore affair, and the struggle is most certainly defensive and absolutely unprovocative.

"Sarkar Ek"

There is an unexplained mystery still about "Sarkar Ek". Unless the authorities make the matter clear and show that the practice and formula have no sinister intent and are a part of normal and necessary jail discipline, the political prisoners who are being subjected to it are certain to revolt. The duty of non-violent non-cooperators is to submit to all the penalties of civil resistance and therefore to accept jail discipline. They should be unwilling to seek exceptions on the ground of religion, morality or self-respect. The Government should however help them in this. But the latest information is not encouraging. Nagpur Satyagrahis sentenced to simple imprisonment, we are told, were awarded hard labour for refusing to stand at the word of command, "Sarkar Ek". What is really the meaning of "Sarkar Ek"? Does Government want the political prisoners to accept a formula of loyalty framed in provocative language? This would be carrying the struggle deliberately into the prison

house also, which we on our part do not desire. A bulletin issued by the Nagpur Committee states that sometimes a European jailor kicked the prisoners for their refusal to stand at "Sarkar Ek". The same bulletin describes the insanitary and uncivilised conditions of the prisons which show that prison accommodation has reached the limit. Making people sleep in the hollow space between the raised platforms, which alone are intended for sleeping on, is a confession of defeat. It means either that Government does not propose to abstain from barbarities, or that it is unable to find prison accommodation.

The Obstruction Programme

According to Deshbandhu:

"I want to enter the Council, secure a majority and put forward the national demand. If it is not accepted I want to oppose the Government in every measure, good, bad or indifferent. Everything has got to be opposed and I want to see that they are not able to govern us through the Councils. I want to make government through the Councils impossible."

According to his Madras Secretary:

"I have not changed my opinions on the Malabar Tenancy Bill. I repeat, lest your note may create any misunderstanding, that I am wholeheartedly in favour of the principles underlying Mr. Krishnan Nair's Malabar Tenancy Bill. I did not say anything at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to justify any suspicion of change of views on my part. I have said that what I shall do in the Council is sketched out in the programme of our Party. We have not yet formulated our demands. But I shall be very much surprised indeed, if one of our demands is not the meeting out of justice to the under-dog, namely, the tenant."

One of the Swarajya Party's "demands" may be justice to all under-dogs; but what about the Malabar Tenancy Bill? Will it be opposed or supported? A general demand for liberty with all its corollaries may be presented, but does non-cooperation from inside include opposition to good bills which give relief to under-dogs or not? If Mr. Krishnan Nair's bill will not be opposed, what about other Government and private bills of a like beneficent or passably beneficent nature? It is impertinent to be too curious; but when the claim is made that the Councils programme of the Swarajya Party is only another and more effective form of boycott, one ought to be pardoned for doubts.

The Rangoon Mail

The Executive Board of an Association called India Independence Party sent a memorandum to the Lausanne Conference. This memorandum was published by the *Servant*. This was republished by the *Alcoholid*. This was republished by *Young India* in criticising the *Alcoholid* conviction. This was republished by the *Rangoon Mail* and the Editor of the last journal Sjt. Sadanand, one of the staunchest of believers in non-violence, is now arrested and prosecuted. It is true republication is in law an offence as much as the primary publication. But commonsense cannot altogether be eradicated by law. However Sjt. Sadanand's simple and sincere faith in Mahatmaji is richly rewarded and I am sure no one is now happier than this soul.

Frantic Attempts

Newspaper readers can notice without being told that the Anglo-Indian press is making frantic efforts to promote the Empire Exhibition and the newly floated loans. The special efforts are a significant inverse measure of their success.

Congress Presidentship

Maulana Mahomed Ali has been nominated by most provinces for the Congress Presidentship. He can unite, strengthen and lead. It is hoped that the nation will finally elect him.

C. R.

Only Two Parties

It is now clear that the bureaucracy has finally made up its mind to measure strength with the people of India on the flag question. The recent *communiqué* issued by the C. P. Government indicates that it still counts upon the chance of the challenge not being taken up by all parties in India. Besides usual prevatication of facts which has become almost an essential feature of all Government *communiqués* on such matters it is further embellished with some unbecoming and ungentelemanly references to the educational qualifications of the leaders of the movement. This looks rather surprising from the spokesmen of a government whose foundations were laid by the younger officers and bad boys of English families who were the despair of their schoolmasters. The sinister motive of their attempts is quite obvious and likely to deceive nobody. We give below an appeal issued by Dr. Ansari, the President of the new Working Committee:—

"Nagpur and the Central Provinces are putting up a noble fight in vindicating the honour of our national flag. The affair is no longer a local one. It has assumed an all-India importance and volunteers from a large number of provinces have poured into Nagpur to take part in the struggle. Under the guise of prohibiting processions the Government is aiming an attack on our national self-respect by insulting our flag. Every province must therefore do its share by enlisting volunteers and assisting in the struggle of the flag at Nagpur and elsewhere. I trust that every Congress Committee and all those who have respect for the national flag will display it on all possible occasions. The next Gandhi day, the 18th of July, is a fitting day for an All-India flag demonstration when the flag should be taken out in procession in all parts of the country. In this manner we will appropriately celebrate the incarceration of our beloved leader who gave to India this symbol of a nation's honour and self-respect."

We hope the All-India Congress Committee that meets at Nagpur will make it clear to the world that whatever might be the inner differences about methods of work between various parties, there are only two parties in the country when the contest is between the bureaucracy and the people, and that they are ready to rise as one man against any power that dares molest or insult their national emblem.

The Secretary, Nagpur Satyagraha Samiti, has issued a circular letter to all the Provincial Committees, calling for six volunteers from each province, duly certified, for the next Gandhi day. He requests Provincial Secretaries to intimate him by post the names etc. of the volunteers and the date, time and train of their arrival at Nagpur. They should reach Nagpur by 16th July.

Forced Labour in Kenya

A few years ago, the natives in Kenya were brought out of their reserves by a forced labour ordinance to work for private owners of estates, who were all Europeans. The Government officials were used under this ordinance. Every pressure was put upon the native chiefs to get the tribesmen to go out and work on the estates.

This forced labour for private individuals, among the European settlers, was abolished a short time ago, chiefly through the noble effort made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Zanzibar, the Rev. J. H. Oldham and others, who exposed the whole system.

Forced labour for public officials still continues; and this is an objectionable feature of the Kenya European administration.

Apart from this, the European settlers have used all their powers on the Legislature in order to press through a series of measures, which bring back, what is virtually, forced labour in another form. The chief way, in which this is accomplished, is by high direct taxation; this has to be paid in money, and the tax amounts to nearly a third of the African native's wages for the year. It is the equivalent to four months' pay, after deducting the rations. Even the rate of the African labourer's wage appears to have been stabilised by legislation to the benefit of the settler. The Government has discouraged in the past, by its whole policy, the native production, and has helped the European settlers to bring the native out of their 'reserves' for the purposes of labour on the large estates. The rate of wages for ordinary labourers now varies from one half-penny to one penny per hour. The private employers, or concessionaires, have thus, through the Legislative Council and other methods, established a practical control of the policy of the country in all labour affairs. They have confined all native effort to the production of raw materials by Europeans and have kept down the rate of pay as low as possible in order to enhance the European profits.

But this is not all. The heavy taxation imposed did not prevent the native African from leaving their employers and going home to cultivate their own lands. A means had to be found to bind them more securely to the estates.

So it was made a criminal offence to desert; and African labourers were heavily punished, who left the estates without notice.

But even this did not at first succeed. The country is so vast, and the African natives could escape so easily, that many of them did so. They gave false names and hid themselves for a time, and then gradually got back to their own lands. This went on for some years.

Now came the cruellest thing of all. An Act was passed in the Legislature, called a Registration Act. This Act enforces the registration of every African male person. It necessitates a Central Bureau containing the thumb impression, name, village, distinctive marks etc., of each male native. Every African male has to wear, on his own person, a small case, which contains what is called, his 'pass'. This has the thumb print, etc., in duplicate. It also contains a list of his employers, and makes a register of what are called his 'desertions'. I have seen such a pass, with its column for 'desertions'.

Under this iniquitous system, every magistrate and Government official can be called in to bring under arrest the natives, who may have left their work on the estate. There were over two thousand convictions under this Act during the first year of its operation. The administration of this Act costs the Government of Kenya £20,000 a year, in addition to the very heavy extra burden put upon the police, magistrates, and subordinate officials of the Colony, who are occupied for a part of their time in catching and convicting these 'deserters'. The irony of the situation lies in the fact, that the bulk of the money for administering this repressive measure, comes from the natives themselves, through enforced taxation. A further irony lies in the expenses of the European planter who prosecutes the native 'deserter', being paid in part from the same enforced taxation of the native himself.

Native African labourers, who infringe this cruel law, can be punished by flogging, by long term imprisonment or by fines amounting to several months' wages. It has been computed that each deserter costs the Government £40. Out of this £40, at least £10 is taken from the native, through direct taxation, by a hut and poll tax.

It may be asked, whether the natives have been able to resist, in any measure, the imposition of this new serfdom. Again and again, there have been native risings, but these have hitherto been crushed immediately by the almost irresistible might of modern death-dealing machines. What possible chance have natives whose only weapons are spears, against machine guns? Each rising is certain to be followed by slaughter, and the chains of oppression are bound more heavily than ever.

What are we to say to these things? Are we to allow them to go on for ever, and only to clamour for our own rights as Indians? Surely not! Surely Mahatma Gandhi, from his prison, is telling us that just as we are to take up the cause of the oppressed in our country, even so we must be the champions of the oppressed in every part of the world to which we have gone forth as immigrants. We cannot look on unmoved. He would certainly urge,—if I know his mind and spirit rightly,—that these sufferings of the natives in Africa, which are a thousand-fold worse than our own grievances there, should be our very first concern; that we should think more about them than about ourselves; that in winning freedom for them, we should leave in God's hands our own freedom, being certain that God is faithful and just and good.

There is a saying of Christ, which is a paradox,—“He that loseth his life shall save it, but he that saveth his life shall lose it.”

Again and again, in practical things, we find out how true and wise this is! If we concentrate ourselves on our own grievances in Kenya, then we shall become selfish and self-seeking. We shall lose our spiritual being. Even though we may get some of our own grievances removed, we shall lose something that is most precious of all,—our own souls. But if, on the other hand, we are ready to put the sufferings of others before our own, and if we truly seek to remove them, by strangely beautiful ways, in the Divine Providence our own sufferings themselves will grow less acute and we shall win our own salvation.

London.

C. F. Andrews

The Pretence of Law

It was many years ago and I was examining a witness before a sleepy but irate Magistrate. The gentleman is now gathered to his fathers. His fez-cap lay on the table for he liked to have the breeze of the *punkah* play on his clean shaven head. Suddenly there was a stir in the Court-house. I saw the Magistrate sit up straight and put on his cap. I looked towards the door, and a man walked in with hat in hand. The Deputy Magistrate thought it was some European visitor and all white men, officials or others, must be respected. Who knew what officer he may not turn out to be or what friend of what officer? It transpired the next moment that the visitor was a European vagrant wandering in search of employment and begging "His Honour" for railway fare to the next place where he hoped to find work. There I was,—a vakil of the High Court of Judicature engaged in conducting a solemn trial and the Magistrate did not think that a bare scalp or an easy posture was bad manners towards me or witness or Police. We were all friends and put aside formality in view of the hot wether. But a pauper traveller, bearing a skin somewhat near to white, threw the Magistrate into a sudden flutter of good manners. I tell this story, for when I learnt that Magistrates in British India were empowered to help such indigent wanderers in search of employment. The Magistrates pay public money to such men to buy railway tickets. Though men without ostensible means of subsistence, they are not bound over for good behaviour, but given railway fare and helped to go along begging.

But now in the Central Provinces, members of the All-India Congress Committee, High Court Vakils, University graduates of distinction, and others whose friendship would be an honour to the highest officials, at Nagpur are arrested as vagabonds and sent to prison as such.

This abuse of law gets over inconvenient juristic difference between offence, attempt and mere preparation. Mere preparation, according to jurists, is not punished; for until a man acts he has freedom to change his mind. But civil resisters cannot be permitted by the Nagpur Magistrates the luxury of such distinctions. The C.P. Magistrate has converted Section 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code into a kind of Volunteer Enrolment Prevention Act and uses it to punish every one who displays any intention to prepare to disobey the Flag Order, and comes near his jurisdiction.

These proceedings under provisions intended for binding over vagabonds and habitual criminals may serve another useful political purpose to Government. They reduce the number of persons returnable as imprisoned for disobedience of the Flag Order if ever such statistics have to be prepared. The victims of those proceedings would be classed as habitual offenders and other bad characters.

Let us not think that there is any use in such discussion as this. We know that the Government is engaged in a grim fight with us and we expect no quarter. But let there be no pretence and let nobody be deceived that Courts are engaged in the realities of judicial procedure.

The deliberate abuse of law and judicial forms is thus steadily going on. How can magisterial conscience survive the daily asseveration as regards the likelihood of a breach of the peace where every honest man knows there is not the least chance of such a thing and the formula is uttered only to misapply Sec. 144? If officers lose respect for their government under such conditions, is it to be wondered at? Even a slave's respect can be maintained only by following the moral law. From misapplications of provisions to prevent breaches of public tranquility, the Government have now gone another step in advance. Any man or woman can now be arrested if he travels outside his place of business, as a person having no ostensible means of subsistence and whose account of himself is not satisfactory to the Magistrate. He or she can be required to give security and sentenced on default to a year's incarceration in a criminal jail with habitual offenders and *badmashes*. An elastic conscience can utter any formula that may be prescribed by law and where the mere declaration of a Magistrate who is prosecutor, judge, juror and representative of the Executive Government all combined is enough, we have the most simple code serving any purpose that the most irresponsible Government may want. How foolish that once upon a time they wanted special repressive legislation and worried so much about it!

C. R.

The All India Congress Committee

The All-India Congress Committee will meet in the "fresh air" of Nagpur. We should remember that the boycott of Councils is not a question only for the "leaders". It is not the same thing as a quarrel among "leaders" to be made up somehow and an agreement presented to the people. We are wrong in assuming that we have only to give and take among ourselves, the "men on the platform", and the people must accept the composition. The programme of the Swarajya Party has been before the public for some time. Is it or is it not likely to prove a trap for the nation? I do not mean to suggest for one moment that it is so intended by its framers, but I do wish to state clearly my conviction that it will prove to be a golden bridge to cooperation-cum-constitutional opposition; and the process will have wrought corresponding changes in the spirit of the people. If we are convinced of this, it is breach of faith to yield. The question therefore is, shall we go on with the good fight or surrender? If we desire to go on with the fight, the duty is clear. The All India Congress Committee should put all its strength and boldly ask Mr. Das and his friends to give up their programme. This is the only way to unity consistent with the dignity and the purpose of the Congress. If half the pressure that has been hitherto put on the majority be put on Deshbandhu and his friends, they must yield. It is want of faith on our part that makes us assume that they will not yield. Let us be firm. Let us forget the past. The situation is now clear. Let the A. I. C. C. beg Deshbandhu to drop the elections; and on the other hand let us authorise the Working Committee to approach the liberals and others to join in the boycott at once as a protest against the Certification and the Kenya situation.

C. R.

Young India

5-7-23

The Flag Calls You

The struggle was commenced by the Municipal Commissioners of Jubbulpore, on 10th march. I told the people of Jubbulpore, who had angrily gathered in their thousands on 'Tilakbhumi' on the 11th and 12th of March, the full implication of the challenge that was given by the Government of the Central Provinces. The people expressed themselves ready for Satyagraha, and Sunderlalji put his full strength into the struggle and began enrolling volunteers. Eight days afterwards, on the great anniversary day of Mahatmaj's imprisonment, brave Sunderlalji was arrested and cast into prison. The Government thought that they could strangle our efforts by that stroke. On the contrary, this was a signal for war, and the spirit of battle spread wide. A month later while we were cogitating in what manner we should proceed, whether we should take the risks of overcoming the physical obstructions of the Town Hall, or whether we may try to get a cleaner battle-field where the principles of Satyagraha may be put in action without any disturbing factors. God guided events for us and the Government of the Central Provinces gave the challenge to us again on sacred Jallianwala Day at Nagpur. Jannalal Bajaj took up the challenge at once and pushed the fight right into the enemy's camp with steady vigour, and the first battle was won on Gandhi day in June when Jannalal Bajaj, beloved of the nation, was arrested. The Government lost their strongest point and we held our position effectively. They lost their patience and changed their tactics from siege to storm. This was a signal to all India, and India has taken up the battle.

The time has come, if not it will soon come, when every soldier must act for himself. In Satyagraha, unlike battles with guns and troops, the manoeuvres become simpler and simpler as the struggle progresses. Generalship is everything in the beginning. But as the battle proceeds, our victory consists in the very capture of our generals. That is the signal for every Satyagrahi to be ready by himself to march behind his Flag and get arrested. Does the enemy lose his temper and arrest in hundreds, non-combatants as well as combatants, thinking to crush the whole thing at one stroke? So much the better. Give yourselves up readily. The very fulfilment of the enemy's objective is our ammunition and he is unconsciously recruiting and making munitions for us. Does the enemy prevent you from gathering, cogitating or marching, and arrest you on the way and at the railway station? That is just what you want. It does not harm you at all if he relieves you of much of the trouble and take you so easily. While he thinks he is spreading his army wider and wider, the truth is that Satyagraha is spreading wider and wider. We are conquering and adding while he foolishly thinks he is showing his strength.

Let no party considerations come in here. Providence has directed events to establish the strength of an awakened people.

Our flag is worth fighting for and dying for. It stands for awakened India giving the message of peace and goodwill and industry to a distracted world. "Do not slay one another, do not exploit one another, live in peace", it cries out to a world, dyed red with exploitation and fratricide. Has ever nobler a flag been unfurled, or battle waged, more pleasing to God?

C. R.

Don't Kill Him

The Government is taking a grave responsibility in turning a deaf ear to public opinion regarding Lalaji. The reports about his health show that he is suffering from a serious malady which must have been contracted in prison. The Government is bound in honour to furnish to an anxious people full and exact particulars of the state of health of one whose labour and self-sacrifice in the cause of the country have enshrined him in the hearts of his countrymen. In civilised administrations prisons ought to be free from the poison of disease than towns. When the Government takes charge of the bodies of its political opponents, it is utter failure of the duties of a civilised administration to permit any of its distinguished prisoners to contract a serious wasting disease like Phthisis. The answerability of the Government is clear.

Apart from this, the least that the Government should now do is to enable the Lalaji to have medical help of his own and his people's choice. The Government is taking a very serious responsibility in denying to the prisoner the chances of such treatment. The humblest Non-cooperator, not to speak of the leaders, asks for no quarter. The injustice and tyranny of the Lalaji's arrest and imprisonment stand as a terrible indictment before the whole world of the system of Government which Providence has imposed on us for our sins and under which we are bound to suffer until we purge ourselves of our impurities and our weaknesses, when automatically the curse will dissolve. We leave it to the Government whether it wishes to make partial amends for its injustice. But we have a right to claim that Lalaji should not be killed in prison. We ought to warn the Government of the consequences of their callousness. Having failed in one of the prime duties of an honourable and civilised Government, viz., of preventing deadly disease being communicated to its prisoner, let it not aggravate the offence by denying him the chance of being saved from the consequences of their own wrong.

C. R.

More Vagrants

Some time ago, a Government statement was published putting the number of political prisoners at such a low figure that all the people in India who knew the truth were greatly amused. There seems to be a wag advising the C. P. Government to act in the Flag matter in the same manner in anticipation. Some busy body may ask the Government one day how many persons are imprisoned for disobedience of the Flag Order of the Nagpur Magistrate. So

even from now the Magistrates try to keep the figure down by arresting persons, not under sec. 188 for disobedience, but under sec. 55 and sec. 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code. If statistics have to be prepared, the officers could exclude all these arrests. They would be treated as men arrested under the beneficent provisions of law which seeks to protect society against men without ostensible means of subsistence roaming about to commit crime, habitual robbers and thieves, lurking and concealing themselves and such other dangerous characters.

The latest news I have—and luckily the message was not stopped from transmission—is that fourteen men from Tamil Nadu were arrested at Nagpur under the provisions of Secs. 55 and 109. This batch went last week and included at least three All India Congress Committee members. Two of them are graduates in Honours of high distinction of the University of Madras and also Vakils of the High Court of Madras, who had of course suspended practice. Another is a Syrian Christian graduate of the University of Madras who gave up his Law studies when the call for national service came. The batch includes the Provincial Congress Secretary of Tamil Nadu and the officer in charge of the Southern or Pandya Congress division. One of them had served for some time as History Professor in the Alipah National College. Sec. 55 (b) authorises any Police-Station-House-Officer to arrest any person within the limits of his station who has no ostensible means of subsistence or who can not give a satisfactory account of himself. Sec. 109 (b) gives power under the same circumstances to a Magistrate to demand of such person security for good behaviour. Any person arrested or charged under these sections may say to the Magistrate: "I have come to offer civil, that is peaceful and voluntary disobedience of the Nagpur Magistrate's order regarding the National Flag, and I am willing to undergo the penalties to be inflicted thereof". It would be at once a truthful and completely "satisfactory account of himself", and if the Magistrate had at least a legal "conscience", he would have to cancel the proceedings and discharge the prisoner. Such a statement may not please the Court or be satisfactory in the political sense, but it is a "satisfactory account of himself" on the part of a prisoner charged with being a vagrant or lurking offender under the sections referred to.

Men who disobey the Flag Order are punishable under the Penal Code with imprisonment extending to one month simple, on the basis that the disobedience causes obstruction, annoyance or injury to persons lawfully employed. If the disobedience could be interpreted and held to cause danger to human life, health or safety or create a riot, the punishment could be extended to six months' rigorous. But the cases wherein the Police step in and arrest the men before any disobedience is actually offered, or any overt act is committed that may be called an attempt, are brought in by the guardians of the law under Sec. 109 of the Procedure Code whereby the men can be and are given one year's imprisonment; Thus the completed offence is visited with six months' imprisonment; but where the offence is incomplete or rather there is only a mere intention and a premature and illegal

arrest and no offence at all is committed, the punishment is doubled. Yet no man is punishable under any civilised system of jurisprudence for merely having made up his mind, before he does any overt act amounting to an offence or an attempt. Till the other day persons required to furnish security under Sec. 109 could be awarded on default *rigorous* imprisonment. All went under the common term 'security for good behaviour'. But after the Code was amended this year, the imprisonment in default of security demanded under Sec. 109 can only be simple. I fear the Magistrate has not remembered this. But there is no doubt the prison authorities would correct the patent error, even if the Magistrate be over-zealous, as in such cases the judgment of the Magistrate would not protect the jailor who would be liable for exceeding the laws.

Why does authority try to hide its shame in the torn and tattered clothes of law? Attempting to act under provisions of law which never were erected for such curious purposes the Government must land itself in a diversity of absurd positions. It is better to throw off all forms of indictment like the wolf in Aesop and proceed to supper. C. R.

The Old Argument

The *Times of India* has got agitated over the Nagpur Flag struggle. It appeals to responsible leaders of Indian opinion to help to end a movement which is likely to engender ideas of revolt against authority and make future Government difficult. There is no gainsaying the fact that irresponsible rule can be ended if persisted in, only by revolution either armed or peaceful. If constitutional agitation fails after repeated efforts to end the system of arbitrary authority, the people have to choose the lesser of two evils.

The right of rebellion is a recognised right of oppressed nationalities. The leaders of such nationalities in their efforts at emancipation have to undertake the risk of inculcating in their people the spirit and the practice of revolt against authority. No one can say to them: "Don't rebel, for we shall have great difficulty in governing in future". Similarly, if we reject armed rebellion and adopt the peaceful, but all the same revolutionary, method of Civil Disobedience, we, no doubt, undertake the risks of inculcating the spirit and teaching the art of civil resistance to all authority. In either case the disease is so great that the dangers of the remedy have to be undertaken.

We trust however in human nature and believe that men is a social animal and will always prefer peace and order to unrest and revolution except where authority becomes too arbitrary to bear. We believe also that a wholesome fear of civil resistance is a corrective to all kinds of tyranny where by the numerical minority or weakness of the victims, there would otherwise be no check whatever. The cry of authority in danger is only another form of the fear of giving education to the peasantry or making them realise their strength. The *Times* cries out in anger: "The peasants are being taught to laugh at authority, the children to despise the idea of Government service, and to think that rebellion is a natural and inevitable occupation." A people cannot be free unless the peasantry learns to laugh at irresponsible authority ruling through the cooperation of the subject people.

Youth should and must learn to despise service under a Government which delays the attainment of freedom which is the immediate right of the nation. And a nation can remain free only if its youth is ever ready for rebellion against tyranny. Otherwise some form of tyranny will always shape itself and rule. Lopsided virtues are enough for subject peoples, but free nations have to develop and coordinate all virtues and capacities—the spirit of revolt as well as the spirit of obedience. Finally the practice of civil resistance is safer than its cruder sister—the practice of armed revolt. The former method has its own automatic checks which are absent in the latter. It is only if the injustice or the tyranny is great and unbearable that the civil resister can put up a sustained fight. Suffering cannot be undertaken and kept up if the grievance is unreal or trifling. This is the moral and social superiority of the weapon of civil resistance to that of armed revolt which brings success not only or always to the just cause but ever to the stronger and more skilful.

No publicist has deprecated war and military preparations on the ground that the peasantry and common folk will imbibe the idea of overcoming difficulties with brute-force and learn to create civil strife. Why then should we be more apprehensive about the safer and safer exercise in the art of resistance by self-suffering?

C. R.

Deshbandhu's Activities

The *Hindu* has disapproved of my opposition to the A. I. C. C. resolution and wants me for unity's sake to suppress my opposition to the Swarajya party. The opinion of the *Hindu*, therefore, about the activities of the leader of the Swarajya Party must be valuable. It writes in a leading article on the 25th June after the conclusion of Deshbandhu Das's tour in Tamil Nadu:—

"We believe the prevailing feeling now at the end of his tour is that unity is at much greater discount than ever before. New rents have arisen out of the attempt to patch the old and we are as far as ever from securing that united front which is the prime essential."

The strongest argument in favour of the so called compromise at Bombay was, that it would at once act like a kind of magic oil for the troubled waters of Hindu-Muslim relationship. How the suppression of opposition to the elections can have any such soothing effect on Hindu-Muslim differences, was not clear to me. A vague feeling that an undivided Congress, would have been stronger than a Congress in which opinion is divided, led to the fallacious argument that any compromise would help to increase the strength of the Congress in all its efforts. The fallacy is obvious, but men believe that they can deceive logic, truth and arithmetic. In practical application however, the compromise added to the hopes of the Swarajya Party and induced greater electioneering efforts on their part. The *Hindu's* remarks on this subject are noteworthy:

"We cannot but regard it as not the least of the misfortunes of this unhappy land that at the critical hour, when she is distracted by so many and serious internal troubles, when the Hindu-Muslim trouble is rearing its ugly head in the Punjab and elsewhere

and when the supreme need of the hour is for all to pull together, the great qualities and titanic energy of Mr. Das should be so fatally misdirected in the pursuit of a will o' the wisp. We cannot help thinking that Mr. Das has grievously miscalculated both the scope for action in the field of Council entry and the absence of it outside that field."

The Swarajya Party leaders of Maharashtra C. P. and Barar are reported to have met at Nagpur to consider the situation and to have decided "to concentrate all their energies on and reserve their full resources for contesting Council elections and advise its members to stand firm to the party programme despite opposition".

One of the District Committees in South India stated in its address to Deshbandhu:

"We also take the liberty here of expressing our special apprehensions that attempts on the part of Congressmen to push your programme forward in our province will increase our difficulties in regard to communal jealousies, whereas a genuine attempt at carrying out the programme of the Congress will gradually solve these difficulties besides placing us on the sure road to freedom".

The address was rejected, but the fact is there. What is the verdict of the experienced *Hindu* on this subject?

"In one respect we must regard Mr. Das's advent to this province as positively unfortunate, apart of course from his general contribution to the cause of unity. We need hardly say we refer to his attempt to play the god out of the machine in the Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy. One who aspires to be a mediator does not generally preface his attempt by ruffling the feelings of one party, and Mr. Das did this very thing effectively in his unfortunate and badly-briefed speech in Madras. Apart from that the problem is not one to be decided in the casual manner affected by Mr. Das and the only result of his interference that we can see is a tendency to introduce the communal cancer into Congress politics."

It is not however Mr. Das's fault, but the inevitable consequence of Congress leaders entering the list for the Council seats. The Swaraj Party has the orthodox Non-cooperators, the Non-Brahmins and the Moderates to bring round or to overcome. The boycotting Non-cooperators were put down by the resolution of the Bombay meeting, the Non-Brahmins had next to be dealt with, and the above is the result.

One of the members of the new Working Committee of the Congress, in conjunction with a member of the Local Legislative Council, who was till recently a Council Secretary holding office under the 'justice' Party, convened a Round Table Conference under the Presidency of Deshbandhu Das, which passed a resolution in effect that the Swaraj Party should leave the field clear to the Justice Party in the Local Legislative Council, and in return the Justice Party should agree to take the Swaraj Party into confidence in the Assembly elections. All these negotiations however were scornfully rejected by the Justice Party. The prestige of the Congress cannot be enhanced by all these proceedings which have evoked ridicule and increased suspicion.

C. R.

The Next Campaign ?

(By George Joseph)

As long as the struggle over the Flag is on in Nagpur, it would be impossible to think of any other practical measure for the Congress to handle. Efficiency calls for concentrated effort and I would not suggest for a minute that a single volunteer should be withdrawn from there. But it does not mean that there are not other problems calling for careful thought and nearly immediate action. The fight in Nagpur is great—finely and patiently conducted, and I am beginning to feel that the Government is beginning to feel worried. It is not for nothing that Sir Frank Sly has climbed and descended the side of the Simla Hills twice in the course of a month. It seems as if Government will have sagacity enough to own the defeat which is now clearly inevitable. As far as we are concerned, it is our business to analyse other possibilities; to do the kind of thing that General Staffs are supposed to do—work out problems in strategy, canvass academically probable campaigns.

It is to the Punjab that a part of our attention ought to go, but it is not all the Punjab—Malabar also gets complicated with it. This is how it is. 1919 was the year of tribulation and glory for the land of the Five Rivers. Tears and shame there were in abundance, but amidst them the nation strongly resolved that the rendering of justice to her should be bound up with the assertion of national honour. But the original insult to the Punjab was possible, because it was done secretly and hidden in a corner. Jallianwala Bagh was hidden from a Secretary of State for months: the crawling order, the insults to women, the flogging of men, the outrageous sentences, random shootings were possible, only because there was no publicity.

The genuine occasion for physical repression was small, and it could not have assumed colossal dimensions it did, if there was publicity. Sir Michael O'Dwyer knew it; the army knew it and therefore they kept Mr. Norton out of the Punjab, they kept Mr. Andrews out. The rest of India was helpless. The Congress was not then armed with the strength which became its daily portion after Mahatmaji endowed it with power. The battle of publicity should have been fought out then but it was not. Then came the Malabar outbreak (it is idle to call it rebellion—it was not one). The things that were done by Government in the name of the "rebellion" of which we are getting a few glimpses now, two years later, were a disgrace both to the Government and to the public life of this country. The Government knew its own mind, did propaganda on a blood curdling scale; the Gurkhas shot as many Moplahs as the District authorities had no use for; the tragedy took place; Police officers made fortunes and charge-sheeted the innocent and guilty alike with equal impartiality; the looters committed depredations against the weak and murdered the policemen who had not the wisdom to run away. The whole sorry chapter of tragedies and oppressions was permitted to take place in secrecy. The Congress was strong then but it did nothing. At the present moment, the Govern-

ment has in hand two campaigns about each of which the public knows next to nothing, but ought to know a good deal. The Government has discovered a "rebellion" in the hills of the Audhradesha, the one known as the Rampa Tituri. The allegation is that a young Audhra started a movement of open rebellion against the Government many months ago, and is still Shivaji-like keeping it up. He has not been caught, but occasionally, Government *communiqués* mention "rebels" and some day we may be sure of being told that he was shot as a "rebel". What is more, punitive police is posted in the area to the harassment of the people round about and some individuals have been convicted of 'waging war against the king,' because they harboured the "rebel" leader. But "there is no publicity and the policemen are the kings of the place.

Now comes the story from the Doaba. The Government case is that there is a "Revolutionary" movement amongst the Sikhs and that a certain number of "loyal" Sikhs have been murdered. They have sent soldiers to the districts of Jullunder and Hoshiarpur. Accounts are coming in of oppression and the Guradwara Prabandhak Committee appointed a committee to enquire into the allegations of police and military tyranny. But the Commissioner has prohibited the enquiry and the public knows nothing about it. From time to time, there is Government propaganda about it; but nobody in the world believes any kind of official propaganda. In the meanwhile, the police and soldiers can do anything they please, and the unfortunate peasantry has no remedy, no redress. Caught between the Government and the Revolutionaries, (assuming the truth of the Government's allegation) the people have to eat the dust.

These cases raise the issue of publicity irresistibly, and it is high time that something was done by the Congress to settle the problem.

For, of this let there be no mistake,—without publicity, our cause will be lost. It is a twofold duty that is cast on us. There should be publicity to safeguard against tyranny whether from the Government or from the temporary lords of popular violence. Secondly, we owe a duty to the men of impatience, the men of murder,—they have to be approached and weaned from madness. For doing either of these things, the Congress should establish its right to send its men anywhere it wants. We are men of persuasion, not of violence and no one can reasonably keep us out. There is this Doaba affair. It is too mysterious, too sinister. Let us take it as the test case. The Congress should appoint responsible men to enquire into the matter. If the Government persists in throwing obstruction in the way, Satyagraha should be offered. It will mean imprisonment for a large number of men, but the right of Publicity is as valuable a right as any other civil right and should be asserted at all cost.

The articles appearing in the *Economical and Financial Supplements* will be shortly published in booklet form by the Author.

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Notes

Will It Abdicate?

The All-India Congress Committee has adopted by 80 votes against 67 a resolution for holding a special session of the Congress to consider the question of the boycott of Councils. The resolution runs thus:—

"In view of the fact that there is a strong desire in some provinces for holding a special session of the Congress to consider the question of the boycott of Councils and also having regard to the political situation presented in the country by the present division in the Congress ranks, the Committee resolves that a special session of the Congress be convened at Bombay about the middle of August next."

It will be clear from the text of the resolution that the basis of deliberations in the Special Congress is intended to be not the so-called Bombay Compromise with its expression of subjective attitude towards the Councils, but the desirability or otherwise of accomplishing an effective boycott of the councils in its objective and real sense. The decision to hold a special session is based on the assumption that the Bombay Compromise has failed to provide an adequate or satisfactory solution of the problem and the Special Congress has been called upon to put an end to the confusion that has resulted from the facing-both-ways formula forced upon the All-India Committee by an unfortunate conspiracy of circumstances for which no particular party can be held responsible. The Centre Party having come to the conclusion that the advantages resulting from an effective boycott of Councils would not be commensurate with the harm that would follow from propaganda for accomplishing the same, prohibited all effort in that direction by a fait from the body that had been charged by the Nagpur Congress with the execution of boycott policy. The suspension resolution was thus not conceived as the best method of fulfilling the Nagpur resolution, but as the only solution that the All-India Committee was free to adopt of sterilising the pernicious effects that were apprehended from an attempt to fulfil that resolution. The clearest solution would of course have been to reverse the Congress resolution, but the feeling that such a step would mean a clear breach of the Congress mandate circumscribed the scope of recommendations of the All India Committee. The Special Congress will be circumscribed by such limitation no more. It can take full stock of the developments that have taken place and decide for itself, whether they justify a rescission of the boycott of Councils or not. The All India committee has done the rightest thing in not referring the Bombay Compromise to its consideration. An

emergent session of the Congress that is called upon to pronounce its opinion on the Councils can only issue clear and emphatic mandate, either effectively capturing or boycotting these bodies. It dare not beg the issue by simply expressing its mental preference for either course.

It goes without saying that the entire Congress proceedings will be reduced to a mere farce if its decision is at any time liable to be set aside or reversed by the All-India Committee. It cannot too jealously safeguard its power against the usurpation by its executive body. It is immaterial what resolutions it adopts if it cannot ensure their being faithfully carried out. Indecision won't do. It must function or abdicate.

Our Sheet Anchor

The question of Hindu-Moslem unity has become a veritable King Charles' head that does not fail to make its appearance whenever any proposition having the slightest bearing on the Swaraj Party or the attitude of the Congress towards the Councils question is introduced for discussion. The following note sent by a friend, in our opinion, offers the most convincing diagnosis of the trouble and its remedy in striking contrast with numerous quack remedies and pseudo solutions that have been suggested from time to time in course of such discussions.

"The efforts of men like Mahatma Gandhi and the great Ali Brothers have brought about Hindu-Muslim unity. That is why we are able to hope for Swaraj in the near future.

"But we must recognise that this unity is to be formed amongst the best of the Mussalmans and the best of the Hindus. The problem of the worst amongst the Hindus and the worst amongst the Mussalmans has yet to be solved. Now that Hindu-Muslim unity is an accomplished fact, I can safely say that I have often found that of the worst element in both the communities the Hindu is a coward and the Muslim is a bully.

"I must confess that it is the coward that creates the bully. But recognising the facts as they are, it is the religious duty of the best men of each community to educate their co-religionists to get out of the situation. You will please recall the presidential address of Laxmi Mahavijaji of the Gaya Hindu Sabha. It pains my heart to let you know what is a matter of personal knowledge to me, that most Hindu women are afraid of Muslims. Their fears in many cases may be ill-founded but the fear is there and we must recognise the fact if we are to cement a lasting Hindu-Muslim unity.

"Is it too much to expect that good and true Mussalmans would move in the matter and strain every nerve to create a strong public opinion so that Hindus and Muslims will feel perfectly safe with each other? Only when Hindus and Mussalmans feel that their best interests and women are safe in the hands of each other, can a united Indian nation arise in this unhappy land."

The Iron has entered his soul

Mr. Shastri has been very ill. I hope he will be restored to normal health and strength soon. India will be deeply grateful to the English friends who will nurse and look after him.

The following paragraphs were written by Mr. C. F. Andrews in the *Bombay Chronicle*:-

"I wish to express publicly my regret if at any time I have appeared lukewarm about Mr. Shastri's efforts. I felt strongly against his acceptance of official positions and his going on official tours for the Government of India, though I believed intensely in his honesty of purpose in doing so, and I would have gladly gone to Australia with him. But all that is another matter, and I do not think that he is likely to accept official positions again.—after his knowledge of Kenya, and all that "Kenya" represents. Mahatma Gandhi, I know, always felt that Mr. Shastri would soon come to understand the weakness of the prop on which he was leaning and he believed that the future would prove what he felt to be true.

"I am certain that the time is coming, and has almost come, when the whole of India will recognise this. For in taking up the cause of Kenya and in meeting these people, like Lord Delamere and others, face to face, the iron of India's subjection has entered into his soul, as it never did before. He has been face to face with reality, while thus meeting the hard determined white racial supremacy of these European settlers in London; and as I have first said, the iron of India's subjection has entered into his soul as it never did before. I cannot say more than this at the present moment."

A Fair Analysis

The following analysis of the Das programme is taken from one of its opponent journals but seems to sum it up accurately:

1. The Party is, first, formally to demand, not full self-government but a mere "beginning" of self-government, which, according to Mr. Das, may take as many as 20 years to blossom into complete Swaraj. If the Government is tactful enough to accept the "Principle" of the demand, the whole movement of N. C. O. is to be liquidated.

In the event of the rejection of the demand by Government, which itself will take two or three years to come about, the party will not necessarily embark on obstruction of all measures of Government, but (when in a majority) may ascertain the wishes of the electorates, which means that if the latter are averse or are thought to be averse, to obstruction, the party will give up the only form of non-co-operation contemplated.

3. When in a minority, they do not pledge themselves to resign, but may retain their seats and will be free to give or withhold their support as they please.

A Prophecy.

The *Manchester Guardian* writing about the Das Party's programme says:-

"It is a comparatively childish device, and will no more produce the dawn of the new day desired by India than chattering can produce the sunrise. To enter the Councils, and then do nothing but obstruct, is so futile a policy that it must needs break down in action. If the Government were to propose Protection, would Mr. C. R. Das's party obstruct that proposal, on which India's heart seems to be set? Of course not. It is, moreover, significant of the new party's intentions and of Mr. Das's astuteness, that they have chosen as President (of the Bombay branch of the party) Mr. K. Natarajan, a severe critic of the Reforms but one who has roundly denounced the

policy of mere wrecking. The new President believes in mending, not in ending, the present system. It does not require great gifts of prophecy to foretell that Mr. Das's new party will shortly be co-operating with Government on the lines laid down for any sane Opposition."

Rowdyism

Recent scenes in the House of Commons lead the *Times of India* to the following reflections:-

"It is not a peculiarity of any party, for a member so to lose his temper and control over himself that he indulges in unparliamentary language and even inflicts blows upon some other member whose views or whose particular attitude are noxious and irritating to him. The history of the House of Commons gives many examples of "scenes", some of which were unedifying in the extreme, others of which were, in their upshot, inclined to be amusing. But there is a difference between those and those which are now reported. The former were all committed in the heat of the moment, were repented of immediately and what amendment was possible, were made. The latter may likewise to a certain extent be spontaneous, but they are also part of a deliberate attempt to discredit all parliamentary tradition."

The journal thinks that some method of making extremists observe the decencies of public life will have to be discovered; otherwise "they will bring the British Parliament into grave and wide-spread discredit".

Time was when any disturbance at a meeting in India or even angry words was a peg to hang an inference of total unfitness for parliamentary self-government. But by a supreme law that every defect appearing among the British people is an essential defect, even as every fashion or virtue found among them is an essential requisite for freedom, it looks as if riots and disturbances and disorderly meetings will not much matter hereafter and may even show full-blooded fitness for self-rule.

C. R.

Ahimsa in Indian History

[When Mr. George Joseph visited Ahmedabad recently, Principal Kripalani invited him to speak to the students of the Vidyapith. In doing so Mr. Joseph developed the outline of what Mr. Kripalani afterwards described as a "novel interpretation of Indian history". Without in any way committing ourselves to Mr. Joseph's thesis, we present to our readers a summary of his speech, because it is suggestive and far-reaching. Ed. V. I.]

All history is interpretation. A right view of Indian history in the light of modern terms is still lacking. The European representation of the thousands of years of our life as a series of invasions and tyrannies is manifestly inadequate, because it does not explain the fact of Indian culture and the undoubted continuum of her history. For, one thing is clear—just as there is a unity of our culture, there is a continuity also. Raids from the North-West Aryan, Greek, Muslim were disruptions and the thing to be explained is how in spite of them the civilisation of the land south of the Himalayas, its outlook, its sense of life, its view of God remains just the same as it was in the days of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. There are only two existing civilisations which can claim to be ancient, the Chinese and our own. European Civilisation is a thing of yesterday—a bare five hundred years old affair, and English civilisation (if there is such a distinctive thing) not older than the Industrial Revolution. Before them were the Greek, the Greco-Roman, and

the Medeval on European soil, all in quiet succession. It is not merely the succession of political revolutions which are nothing, but social and cultural revolutions which are nearly everything. The key to the contrast between Europe and India is that while the former built herself on Force, the foundation of our life was Non-violence, Love, *Ahimsa*. But it is not the same thing as to say that Europe did not know love or that India did not employ force. No human problem was so simple; but fundamentally the proposition was right.

For, consider the sheer geography of India. It was something like a three-cornered bag cast into the blue sea, the entrance into which was till the raid from Europe clearly in the North-west. Her climate was warm in summer and cold in winter, and there were the plains, the fertile valley and the great river system which reared her life. To the north of the passes in the mountains, certainly north of the Hindu Kush, were the tribes who by the hardness and rigour of climate and lack of food were wedded to the law of force, and cruelly what seemed an unescapable necessity. We need not go to a time beyond the Aryans—the information is scanty. Pushed by hunger, they came into this country, as cruel and rapacious as any that succeeded them. They ate beef, drank alcoholic liquors, they believed in violence, they were violent: in one word, they were Barbarians—nearly as barbarous as the inhabitants of Europe to-day. Then came the mysterious transformation. In the course of a few hundreds of years by her genius India civilised the invaders; their mere existence in India converted them. The distance that separates beef-eating from the worship of the cow is tremendous; the difference is not merely one of degree, it is one of kind—it marks the whole passage from violence to non-violence, from force in the service of life to love in the fulfilment of life. Take a later race, the Scythians. We know their record outside India, in Europe, ancient and modern—rapacious, treacherous violent and wedded to force as the final solvent. They came to India and were caught by the miracle of her life. Out of one of their Royal houses came Gautama, who as Buddha was the Lord of compassion, the preacher of *ahimsa* and ineffable purity. That was India's manner of breaking her conquerors—not a mere matching of violence with violence, but of the victory of love over force, the stealing away of the heart, the shaking down of the very foundation, of all barbarism. The same phenomenon was repeated in the case of all the northern races that poured in—the Greeks, the Huns, the Sactrians. But the case of the Mussalmans was specially noteworthy. The Mussalmans that came to India were of various races and they all believed in force; but I would confine myself to one case—the Turks and Tartars known to India as the Moghuls. The world has had to face devastations and terrors without number; but one of the greatest of them was called Chengiz Khan. Marching up and down the face of Asia and Europe he reduced land to desert and left destruction in his wake. Was it of him or of his grandson, Timur the lame, that the story was narrated of the building up of a pyramid of 50,000 human heads and of its contemplation in grim pride? He believed in force, as did all of his kind. But mark the Providence of God. Babar, a descendant of them found his way to India and she had her sweet revenge. Shah Jehan, the most perfect aristocrat

that was ever born, the husband of Mumtaj Mahal, the dreamer of the Taj, the builder of the Pearl Mosque, who in the face of disaster elected to be a teacher of religion, three-fourth Hindu and a quarter Indian, was but four generations removed from Babar, six from Timur and eight from Chengiz. He was caught by the magic web of India's vision and experience. Three hundred years have elapsed since Shah Jehan's day and the silent waves of *ahimsa* have enveloped Islam in India. It is usual for Hindus to complain that Muslims are barbarous; but it took India three thousand years to civilize the Aryans and Muslims have been with us only a thousand years. They are more civilized than their co-religionists outside—civilization, let it be defined once more as the repudiation of force and belief in love. Was it not a Persian couplet that recognized the metamorphosis when it said that Islam had come into Hindustan like a fire and had turned itself into ashes? More than all the final proof of India's power to repeat her ancient victories lay in the readiness of the Mussalmans of India to listen to Mahatma Gandhi's message of non-violence. They had their mental reservation; but the remarkable thing was not the reservations but that they were ready to give him ear at all.

Even to-day India's objection to the Englishman was not because he was violent. She was confident of overcoming his violence by her persistent non-violence. But the trouble was that the Englishman would not give India a chance of civilising him. The Empire meant the coming out of India generation after generation of young Englishmen and English women who after spending their working years here went back worse men and women than they were coming out. Believers in force they could not teach anything useful to India, and the very shortness of their time and the circumstances of their life made it impossible for India to teach them anything. Their share in a government by force made them believe in force and they went back tyrants. The Empire is not to be tolerated because it adds to the positive evil of the world. But the case would be different if Englishmen settled down in India, married, reared families and left the bones of their dead in the soil. In that event they would be welcome and India would be sure in the course of a few generations of civilising them and weaning them from the barbarous belief in force. If the Atlantic ocean swallowed up England, it would be the finest thing that could happen to Englishmen in this country; they would have no other land to look to and they would become Indians. But as long as that was impossible, the best thing that could happen to England and India was to part. India's historic continuity was broken; her function of receiving the barbarians from the cold North-West, Indianising them, civilising them, destroying their faith in violence and of preparing the world for the next epoch, would be unfulfilled.

The Afghan, the Persian need have no terrors for them. India would be able to keep them out, if she wanted to. But she has need of them; if they came in there was nothing to be alarmed about. The Afghan would settle down here; the Persian also; and India would do the same with them which she did with all the races of the past. They would become part of her people and add to her wealth and labour. She would, in return, give them the inestimable gift of civilization, the faith in non-violence, and conquer them by her persistent will.

Young India

12-7-23

The Octopus

On the 9th of June 1920 at Sabarnati, when Mahatmaji's historic article on the result of the Hunter Report (headed 'Political Freemasonry') was still in manuscript, we had a discussion over the first sentence in that article. Mahatmaji was visibly shocked when I told him that I was a Freemason.

"Are you still a member?" he asked; and when I said I was, he exclaimed: "Then the sooner you become an ex-member, the better."

I did not agree, and told him that some of his ideas about the subject were erroneous. He accepted my assurance, and said that he would delete the introductory sentence of that article. But I said it might remain, as it expressed his own ideas, and he was not expected to know anything more than a non-mason might know.

Today, after three years, I have the satisfaction of feeling that Mahatmaji's desire has been fulfilled. The "District Grand Master" as the head of Free Masonry in Madras is pompously called, has issued his order declaring that I am unfit for admission to Masonic assemblies or for the enjoyment of Masonic privileges, my offence being my politics. The ground stated is that I disobeyed an order under Sec. 144 and was convicted therefor. The District Grand Master is a high officer of Government.

I know that many a non-cooperator has similarly been visited with Masonic displeasure. I see no reason to keep these things from public knowledge. We ought to warn the people that English masonry is also among the governing caste's many instruments for political domination.

The organised ramifications through which the Government sucks power and influence and dominates over our lives are too terrible for words. If only we examine the conditions under which we carry on our social, intellectual and economic activities, and even our recreations, we can see in what manifold ways the suckered arms of the Government draws away from us all power of action according to our own will. This process is going on everyday so that our enslavement is growing in geometrical progression. Unless, therefore we are honestly and firmly convinced of the good faith of the pledges and promises of ultimate Swaraj which the Government has been making to us; and unless further we are convinced that the selfish interests of the British people will not prevent them from fulfilling the declarations which enlightened world-opinion or their own better nature induces them occasionally to make;—and who can be so bold now as to make these assumptions after all our experience?—we cannot safely rest for one moment without struggling against the octopus that is so fatally sucking our vital forces. Every day that we allow to pass reduces our power of resistance. Every struggle gives us increased power. The failure of the movement to give up Government schools and

Government courts is a proof of this fatal loss of vitality by long continued entanglement. Our boys and our lawyers will find extrication more and more difficult as every year of further entanglement passes by. The great struggle of 1920 and 1921 served to stop the growing pace of the loss of resisting power. They are grossly mistaken who think that the campaign has not materially added to our resisting power and thereby brought our emancipation nearer.

We must not hang on one arm of the octopus to free ourselves from another. We would only increase its hold in one direction as we imagine we have got out of it in another. Such would be attempts at "furthering the constructive programme" by cooperation, "making the best use of the weapons in our hands" and the like. Our own self-organisation must make the parasite find no food in us. It is only then we can hope to free ourselves. C. R.

The "Observer's" Questions

Three questions have been raised by a writer in the *Observer*. He says, Indian aspirants to freedom should face and attempt honestly to answer these three questions.

Question No. 1 is:—

"Assuming that India will in future be governed by a Parliamentary Executive and a constitutional Governor-General, what will be the relation of that Executive to the Army? Assuming again that British troops must form part of that army (an assumption which I consider to be a self-evident truth), on what terms will the Home Government allow the British private to serve a government to which he owes no real allegiance; or on the other hand, if the British element were very largely reduced or withdrawn altogether, would an army mainly composed of the fighting races of the North give its implicit allegiance to a political Cabinet dominated, as it will be, by the lawyers and merchants of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras?"

Answer:—The army in Free India will be subject completely to the Supreme Central Government of the country, and therefore will be under the orders of the Parliamentary Executive. It is *not* a self-evident truth that British troops must form part of the Indian army. The British private can be wholly substituted by the Indian-born soldier. There is no special fighting efficiency in the British-born soldier which cannot be found or developed in the Indian soldier. The question, therefore, on what terms the "Home Government" will allow the British private to serve an Indian Parliamentary Executive does not arise. The Army of Free India will not be composed mainly of any "fighting races". It would be composed of sturdy and drilled men from all parts of India. The army of Free India is expected to give implicit allegiance to the political cabinet of self-governing India, even as the army of England composed of the "fighting races" of Britain gives its absolute obedience to the British Cabinet composed of British lawyers and British merchants. The Indian-born soldiers of the present Indian army give their immediate obedience to the British officers knowing that the latter are not of any high or aristocratic extraction, and they give their implicit allegiance

Young India

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Some Unjust Taxes-II

[Based on the sixty years of Indian Finance]

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(Concluded from Page 40)

Critique of the Indian Excise Systems

After the review of the prevailing system of taxation we may proceed to consider the question : whether or not the drink habit and intemperance have made any dangerous progress; and, if so, what steps should be adopted to prevent the evil. In this connection the statistics of consumption by provinces in the last decade, given below, would be instructive. In every case there is a considerable increase in the issue of spirituous liquors. In the country as a whole the consumption shows a decided increase, though not in the same proportion as the increase in revenue.

Province	Country Distillery 1905-8	Spirits Issue 1912-13
	Gals.	Gals.
Madras	1,221,819	1,775,873
Bombay	2,392,423	2,418,954
Bind	1,83,175	211,691
Bengal	452,242	851,534
Behar and Orissa	308,350	1,157,615
Burma	419,550	57,391
United Provinces	1,48,888	1,689,932
Punjab	470,601	4,3,649
N. W. F. Provinces	17,352	24,298
Assam	30,620	24,368
Central Provinces	449,835	765,032
Berar	525,993	436,371
Ajmere	39,149	51,780
Coorg	26,057	26,493
Baluchistan . . . . .	...	25,599
Total	7,716,310	10,239,398
Foreign spirits	1,621,491	1,325,054
Grand Total	9,337,801	11,564,452

As already observed the official explanation of this increase is contained in the possibility of better records of consumption under the new system of Still-Head duty, which is rapidly supplanting the old Out-Still system, as well as in the improved economic conditions of the people. Accepting this explanation the Temperance Reformer would still contend that the Government of India is as far as ever from the ideal of putting down by taxation the harmful habits of the Western civilization engendered by a false sense and misconception of limitation. The enormous interest of the Government itself, which now finds a very important and growing source of its income dependent upon the drink traffic, cannot but expose

it to some suspicion as to the genuineness of its endeavours to curtail the drink habit and to prevent its spread. This dependence will be all the greater in the new system of financial autonomy in the Provinces, under which Excise becomes universally a Provincial head. It is true the Government of India has not yet accepted officially the ideal of the Temperance Reformer to be absolutely ending the habit of drink by legislative or fiscal coercion. But to those who regard that as the ultimate end of the activity of the State in this respect, it cannot but be a matter of regret that the Government should continue to derive, and be dependent increasingly upon this revenue; since under those circumstances every proposal for reform would be unconsciously viewed from the standpoints of its effects upon the exchequer. The financial interest may not be deliberately sought to be made predominant; and we may also concede that every individual officer, if questioned pointedly, would probably give preference to the social and moral over the purely fiscal considerations. But the dangers of adopting measures which would reduce and ultimately destroy a source of revenue now yielding over 10% of the total revenue and capable of doubling itself every ten years, are so serious that every executive officer is bound to hesitate before approving of such measures, however unconscious, however unintentional this regard for financial considerations may be.

Given the influence of revenue in shaping the Excise policy of the country we must admit that within the limits thus set, the efforts of the Government have no doubt been directed to a reduction of the temptations and thereby also the use of the intoxicating drinks. The reduction in the number of the shops is only indirectly serviceable in the cause of Temperance Reform, but none the less it is an effective means of combating the evil. Similarly the reduction of hours during which liquor is available exerts a tendency to reform or at any rate to minimise temptation to the industrial worker who must thus get his supply if at all within certain hours, selected, still it must be said not without reference to his convenience. But being limited they prevent undesirable excess. Legislation, moreover, of the type that was recently passed in Bengal and other provinces prohibiting the sale of drinks

to young children has the same healthy tendency and to a degree, succeeds in the aim.

The policy of raising the rate of the tax so as to make the drink habit a more costly habit is also pursued with the same object and hence we find as the following table shows, a steady increase in the rate of the tax.

Province.	1901	1911.
	Rs.	Rs.
Bengal ...	5.7	7.6
Behar ...	...	3.2
Assam ...	...	5.0
United Provinces ...	3.5	4.7
N. W. Provinces ...	6.6	8.7
Punjab ...	6.3	8.4
Central Provinces ...	3.7	6.0
Burma ...	...	6.4
Madras ...	6.1	8.0
Bombay ...	3.7	5.1
Sind ...	5.0	6.1

There is, however, one serious objection why the policy of merely raising the rate of the tax would not by itself be enough to restrict and eradicate the vice. The rates as now charged are not only not prohibitive, but they have a tendency to become increasingly less effective in proportion as the economic position of the people improves. Unless the rates are annually revised and raised the object is not likely to be accomplished, while revenues would grow at such a rate that the Government would become more and more unwilling at any time altogether to abolish the drink traffic. It is of course difficult to say how far the rates should be raised in any given year; and whether when raised, there would not be possibilities of evasion of the duty by illicit production which would be more harmful from every point of view, whether fiscal or social. This in fact is the greatest difficulty in the way of reform. And we see no way to remove it, short of an assumption by the State of a complete monopoly of the distillation and sale of liquor. The profits which now go to the private middlemen will thus be saved. Government will have better records to base their periodical increase in prices. For some time there would be no danger to public revenues from this source; but Government with a monopoly can so regulate the supply as by sheer force of economic factors, ultimately to be able to destroy the drink habit.

The establishment of a monopoly in the drink traffic will fail to attain the end in view, unless the alternative forms of intoxicants are similarly controlled, if not monopolised. Recent reports of the Excise Commissioners note the increase in the use of cocaine and other more deleterious drugs; and it is possible to argue that the object of Temperance Reform will not be realised unless every substitute for alcohol is similarly controlled. In the case of *bhang*, *ganja*, *toddy* etc. the control is at present exercised only through the system of licensing the shops where these could be

sold. Complete and effective monopoly of these forms of intoxicants is not to be thought of for some time to come, though the experiment of the opium monopoly may suggest the possibility and invite a trial. The position, however, of the Native States, and the possibility of evasion of control or infringement of monopoly from beyond these internal frontiers must be fully considered before any policy of complete control can be seriously proposed. But making due allowance for all these factors the statement must be repeated that the only way to cure the drink evil is to completely monopolise the intoxicants of every kind and thereby so raise the price rapidly, progressively, consistently as to make it beyond the power of all but the richest classes to ruin themselves. We recognise, indeed, that there is a world of difference between the ideal of the Temperance Reformer and that of the Government in India. The former aims at absolute abolition of the habit. The latter would not interfere with long-standing habits. Custom and prejudice would, therefore, continue their activities only to regulating and guaranteeing a good supply of the stimulant, gradually raising the tax so as to make the habit more and more a luxury. It is impossible to enter at this stage and in this article into the ethical aspect of the question: whether the Government of India does well to associate itself with such a source of the ruin of the people by making themselves dependent on the revenue derived from this source. While too sudden a break with habits of half-civilised people may undoubtedly cause political anxiety, which no settled Government can be expected to invite if it can be avoided, a full control of the sources and process of production, manufacture, and distribution, is inevitable if the ultimate end is ever to be realised. During the process of the suppression of the habit the State must derive a revenue which may, however, lose all the taint of its origin if the increasing dependence on that revenue is avoided, if the possibility of reproach of trading in the miseries of the people is at all destroyed whether by a monopoly or by license and sale duty. We think it should be really better if that revenue is derived in a form which makes the control of the source all the more feasible.

III

Customs Duties

There can be no question that at the present time the most important form of Customs Revenue is Import Duty. For political and administrative reasons this form is beginning to be more than ever important.

Considerations in Fixing Import Tariffs

With the possible exception of the United Kingdom and the Turkish Empire, there is none of the principle countries of the world which at the present time regulates its Customs Tariff on Imports or exports, on an exclusively financial basis.

The case for high Import Duties, imposed with a view to grant some protection to the local industries, does not deny the obvious inference from abstract reasoning. The distribution of industries in the world as we know it is not based on that ideal assumed by the Free Trade economist, which, if true, would lead

to the great world advantage from the growth of foreign trade as resulting naturally from the differences in comparative cost. There could be no occasion for any demand for an artificial stimulus to a country's industry if the principle of nationality were made extinct; if the regional distribution of population so completely harmonised with their ethnic qualities, as to make labour of each regional unit employed at the the greatest efficiency in the industries climatically or geographically most suited to such a unit. Given however, the force of nationality and the virtue of patriotism; given the imperfections or inequalities in industrial development of different units; it is not surprising to find many deep thinkers deliberately ignoring or contravening the inferential disadvantages of a system of artificial stimulus to national industries by means of import duties. It is possible to argue in many a country that an industry, in all ways suited to the natural advantages of that country, may yet be prevented from developing in that country for want of the necessary knowledge and experience among the people. Such a defect would never be remedied under a system of free competition from other countries who have managed, purely by historical accidents, to develop the same industry to a much higher stage of perfection. In such a case Protective Import Duties, by making competition with the protected industry, hardly afford an opportunity to foster such industry. Such a process of national industrial development no doubt occasions a temporary loss in the shape of increased prices, as also in the inevitable alterations in the employment of industrial capital and labour. But granting the fact of that loss it may yet be claimed that the compensation from an all round development of the country's industry would more than set off the loss.

This case for a scientific protection has now become classic. The inherent limitations of such a case it would be futile to ignore. (1) It is in the best sense only a temporary expedient, since the underlying assumption of such a case is that the industry protected is capable of developing, if only in its initial stage it is guarded against unfair competition. The necessary corollary of this assumption requires that when the protected industry has reached a stage when it no longer needs artificial stimuli, the aid once given to it must be taken away. The sacrifice involved in every system of protection would have been thrown away if after the experimental stage the protected industry still continues to demand protection. One of the most difficult problems which the protectionist has to face in practical life is to make a wise selection of the industries sought to be protected. The limitation of our information as to the suitability or possibility of a given industry, the existence of other than purely economic factors warping the judgement of the protectionist and influencing his policy, make it very hard to select wisely and to protect properly the suitable industries. Moreover, the essentially temporary character of scientific or justifiable protection demands a removal of the duties when their object has been served. But in practice almost all the chief Protectionist countries have found this an impossible condition owing to the growth of vested interests. (2) Scientific protection must also involve some loss or sacrifice. The nation desiring protection

must make up its mind to bear this loss and treat it as an unavoidable or necessary expense for educating its people to the desired pitch of manufacturing skill. Such a view of the sacrifice involved would pass unchallenged if both the loss and the gain were truly national and evenly distributed. But in practice it not unfrequently happens that the loss is born by one section—the consumers only—and the gain goes almost wholly to the much smaller section of the producers. The specious argument that protection creates more profitable employment may be adequate to entrap the ordinary workmen, who see the immediate rise in wages and have not foresight enough to consider the counterbalancing effects of a rise in the cost of living which results from the same cause. At first sight, it would appear as though successful protection, by establishing new industries, helps to create additional employment, but such a belief is impossible if it means that the total volume of employment in the country is increased. What successful protection can really accomplish is a change in the nature of employment from poor to more paying channels; it cannot add to the total volume of employment. The working classes as a rule do not realise this and they are, therefore, instructively protectionist. The same also applies to the other argument of the protectionists in answering the charge of costliness or wastefulness of their programme. It is possible to make the foreigner bear the cost of protectionist duties. It is conceivable, no doubt, that a buyer or importing country in a situation of exceptional strength—having practically a buyer's monopoly of demand—may be able to ward off that burden of the import duties. But in that case, to the extent that the burden of import duties falls upon a foreigner, the duties would fail in their original object—would fail to be protective; for the only way in which the burden can be borne by the foreigner is a fall in price. And if a fall in price does not arrest the imports, the tax on imports cannot be said to be protective. (3) The greatest danger to the industry of a country from a systematic adoption of scientific protection, however, is the likelihood of a permanent weakening of industrial position in the protected country. Tariff aid, instead of being a temporary and costly expedient, becomes in many cases the normal condition of the industry of that land, thereby undermining and enervating the whole position of industry. The enervating force is all the more apparent in a small country, where domestic competition is not sufficiently strong to prove the necessary stimulus which automatically compels an industry to keep abreast of the times.

If these necessary limitations of scientific protection are reorganised and appreciated there is no reason why a country, ambitious of industrial development, should not resort to it. Recent experience of great industrial countries have shown that import duties are by no means the only means of protecting one's country's industries. If the cost involved in the protectionist experiment is accepted as an unavoidable price of national development, the protection required may perhaps be more appropriately given in the shape of the Export Bounties or direct Subsidies to selected industries than in the shape of import duties.

The two last mentioned methods have a distinct advantage over the more common expedient of import duties. They make palpably evident the essentially costly nature of the protectionist experiment, by making the subsidies and bounties a direct charge on the national revenue, instead of an apparent gain which the import duties suggest. The consciousness of the burden will provide its own remedy. Besides, as the bounties are given only to selected industries, admittedly of national importance, they would prevent the creation of any vested interests which Import Duties bring about. To the extent that bounties are needed by an industry they would mean a gift to the foreigner, for without the bounty there would be no exports *ex hypothesi*. If the belief in the future of the bounty-fed industry is well-founded, the bounties ought to be progressively reduced; and thus remove an unfair advantage given to one section of the people. Even in the case of Import Duties, the problem of granting protection with the least risk of waste of national resources often requires a most minute adjustment of the scale of duties to the cost of production, to the various classes of the same articles, to the most delicate distinction between the rival claims or specific of *ad valorem* duties.

But the problem of defining the objects of a country's Customs Tariff is not over. We have yet to examine the more radical question of Customs Policy, to reconcile the claims of nationality, with those of world commerce; to show, if possible, that the gain of the producer need not necessarily spell the loss of the consumer. The rapid conversion of a number of the leading countries in the closing decades of the last century to a policy of protection, in spite of the limitations of such a policy, was as much the result of political as of economic considerations. A general adoption of protection indiscriminately must, apart altogether from an unhealthy attitude engendering of universal suspicion and unprofitable retaliation, result in a waste of the world's resources, owing to a misdirection of capital and labour due to the desire of a forced industrial development. The rise in prices, which must also follow in the wake of such a course cannot but exhibit the resulting hostility between the interests of producers and consumers. If it is sought to avoid this last consequence by attempting to regulate the industry protected and fix the price, the State would soon find an effectual limit to its exertions. Without any ability to offer an alternative supply, such an effort must fail. The only

remedy to bring about the fullest development of each country's resources without injuring the interests of consumers or causing a wanton retaliation, is, in our opinion, for the State to take upon itself the task of production, or at least its regulation. If the units of the League of Nations become competitive producers, the classic principle of the comparative costs would automatically assert itself—as in the case the confidence of equality would help to banish all suspicion of ulterior designs. International commerce would then follow the natural line of a territorial division of labour, the exchange between the trading nations being effected on the collectivist basis, and governed by treaties taking the place of innumerable individual contracts. The element of any undue or unearned profit in international exchange would disappear almost in the same way that the element of such profit has been eliminated in the exchange between the Cooperative Wholesale Societies trading with one another though situated in different lands. The control collectively of national production would also render the task of regulating the price according to the cost of production more easy, thus avoiding the present divergence of interest between consumers and producers. Recent events in many countries seem to show that such consummation is by no means unlikely. In any case unless some such arrangement is arrived at, mistaken protection in national interests would be unavoidable from ambitious nations, bringing in its train all the undesirable consequences of distrust, retaliation, and waste to which we have already referred.

The story of the Indian Customs Duties is one long tale of woe to the old or new industries of India. The interests of India have been immolated at the altar of theoretical Free Trade with all the zeal of recent conversion. India, according to the admission of the most noted Anglo-Indian statesmen, could produce almost anything under the sun—anything needed to minister to the comforts and luxuries of mankind. But they have used this admission to keep India permanently in industrial leading strings, they have used it to make this country simply and solely a helpless producer of raw materials to feed and fatten the workshops and manufactories of Britain. But the tale of the fiscal policy has been told too often; the story of the Cotton Excise Duties unprecedented in the whole world has been recounted too frequently to need repetition.

K.

to the present Government, which they know is dominated by the plebeian merchants of England. If the psychology of the Indian soldiers now in the army could be read by their officers, they should easily see that these soldiers would gladly substitute allegiance to a Gandhi or a Shaikh Ali for their present discipline.

The question itself like its brother the following one, looks very much like propaganda rather than a genuine doubt.

Question No. 2:—

"The Indian Princes are already asking themselves where they stand. Can they maintain their traditional position within their own states while British India is engaged in destroying the last remnant of autocratic government?"

Answer:—The Indian Princes are even now parting with their "autocratic" powers in favour of their people. Their subordination to the British Indian Government and its officers is so bitterly felt, that there would be no difficulty whatever in these Princes being happy in an India governing herself. The wishes of the people governed by these Princes are moreover in complete conformity with the political goal of the people of British India, and the inclination of the Princes themselves would not be an impediment to freedom.

Question No. 3:—

"The Government of India as the supreme authority must always be the final arbiter between the conflicting castes and communities in the country. As long as it was mainly or largely composed of Englishmen having no axe to grind, its authority as arbiter was not seriously challenged. Would this continue to be true if the skins of the Government of India were all brown and would the Central Government composed of men who were themselves directly or indirectly involved in the communal conflict, be able to keep the peace?"

Answer:—Courts pretending to judicial independence have now been acting as arbiters over conflicts. Courts would continue to exist even in Free India. As for arbitration by the Executive Government in matters not going before courts, the positive responsibility of carrying on peaceful and just government will no doubt be an effective substitute for the negative impartiality claimed for the present foreign government. It should also be not difficult to provide a constitutional safeguard for impartial arbitration in certain matters without infringing the sovereignty of the Indian people and their parliament. Further it is correct to say that the Englishmen now composing the Government in India have no "axe" to grind and are therefore unexceptionable arbiters? Are they not interested in keeping up the differences? This is a big "axe" in itself. The question about a central Indian Government being unable to act justly or rule efficiently is merely a reiteration of the old old argument of India being unfit for self-Government, and for English rule being an absolute necessity for India, which may safely be now put down as an exploded doctrine.

C. R.

What is Your Programme?

The *Tribune* may not be officially responsible for the Swarajya party. But it is far and away its most watchful and ablest advocate. Without disrespect to the leaders of that party, I may say that this journal is its most skilful interpreter and pilot also. In one of its recent issues it deprecates the party sailing on the majority wind. It wants it to set its sails for the more probable event of being in a minority. Yet this is the weakest point in the Swarajya party's programme—it has no rigging for this contingency except a promise to act according to circumstances and as decided by the party from time to time. Says the *Tribune*:—

"There remains only the question of method and it is just here that the Swaraj party is and has always appeared to us to be labouring under a misapprehension. It seems to imagine, in the first place, that it will everywhere seat any one in most of the Councils be in a majority, as the result of the coming elections; and secondly that in every case in which it is in a majority, the best thing for it, failing immediate compliance on the part of the Government with the national demand, would be to resort to complete, thorough-going obstruction. This has been the one burden of Mr. C. R. Das's song all these months, and most of his lieutenants and colleagues have repeated the same cry. And yet it is as plain as plain can be that both beliefs are erroneous. There is not the smallest chance of Congressmen being in a majority in all or even most of the Councils as the result of the coming elections. First, because the country has not been properly educated for this purpose, and secondly, because the Congress itself is divided. And even if they were in a majority it would be the worst mistake on their part to proceed at once to the formulation of a policy of pure and thoroughgoing obstruction as the only alternative to an immediate and complete surrender on the part of the Government."

The whole claim of the programme as initiated by Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Civil Disobedience Committee Report,—and what makes it in the opinion of most Congressmen, who give support or tolerance to it, a permissible variant of non-cooperation—is, that it proposes to boycott the Reforms from within. If the idea of an effective majority and a policy of wholesale obstruction are admitted to be impracticable, then the programme ceases to be a programme of non-cooperation or boycott from within in any sense.

If the Swarajya Party is to hold seats even when in a clear minority, they cannot possibly "non-cooperate from within". Ineffective obstruction or non-participation by a few members sitting in the Councils can by no means be an improvement on the Congress policy of boycott of the elections and holding aloof altogether.

What then do they propose to do in the event of the by no means remote or improbable contingency of being in a minority? It is no doubt open to a party to change its policy or attitude under changed circumstances, but it should initially declare to the country in clear and unambiguous terms what it has now decided to do. The truth is that in a minority there is no room for Congressmen in the Councils, unless they give up non-cooperation and adopt a policy of association-cum-opposition. There may be incompatible temperaments among the Liberal and the Swarajya party leaders; but the policy of the latter in a minority cannot be different from the declared policy of the former. The distinctions that dialectic skill can formulate are not enough to make a difference in kind. It may be urged that this difficulty is of

our own making; that the Swarajya party would have an effective majority if the whole Congress gave its support; and that it does not lie in the mouth of the Congress majority party to raise difficulties which its own support would solve out automatically. This argument would be tantamount to asking the other party to give up its own convictions. What is the policy of the Swarajya party? It decided not to wait to convert the Congress when alone it could hope to put into motion its special variant of non-cooperation. It takes up Council-entry as a programme even when it knows or ought to know that it has not converted the country to its own view. We are therefore entitled to know what its policy is, and if the reasoning herein stated is right, whether the policy of non-cooperation from within is definitely given up.

It is not merely for controversy's sake that these questions are raised. The majority is asked to give its indirect support to the Swarajya party's programme by withdrawing its own programme of boycott of elections. And the present All-India Congress Working Committee has pledged itself to such an indirect support. We are entitled then to know definitely to what we are asked thus to give indirect support; in favour of what we have to give up the boycott resolved upon by the Congress. Are we merely to wait till the Swarajya party's Provincial and All-India executives select their candidates and judge the policy from the persons nominated? or are we to wait till the elections are over and the party and its provincial branches meet to settle their minority policies, uniform or otherwise as it may be? Surely the Congress and the country should know what it has accepted in place of the resolution of the Congress by the decision of its executive.

G. R.

Mr. Andrews' Letter

[Mr. Mahadeo Desai has received the following letter from Mr. G. F. Andrews]

My Dearest Mahadev,

I am writing this letter which you may publish, though much of it is personal, but I would wish all to share it. It was such an intense joy to me to get your letter in London with its message from Mahatmaji telling me not at this time to go to Africa. It was just the wise direction which I needed. I had been privately warned that it was exceedingly likely that my passport would not be given me, because my visit at this time might lead to a disturbance, and therefore I needed some independent voice to guide me. Mahatmaji's message, telling me not to go, came at the very moment of decision. After that, everything pointed to my coming back to India. I am desperately tired in body and mind, and the last days of the voyage, through the terrible heat of the Red Sea, and then the monsoon, were by no means restful. I think that I over-did things both in London and also in writing articles etc. on the voyage back; and of course since landing in Bombay, the strain has been excessive. I am trying to satisfy all the newspapers;

but it is very difficult. When Mr. Gokhale was alive, he gave me the one constant warning that it was imperative to carry intelligent English opinion along with Indian opinion. I have consistently tried to do this through the 'Times of India' which all through Sir Stanley Read's time has been the best news-instructed newspaper on 'Indian Affairs in Africa', though I have not often accepted their point of view. I was urged in England by Mr. Polak and others, not to neglect this primary duty. But I hope that in addition to this, I shall be able to circulate the news very widely in all the Indian newspapers, including 'Young India' and 'Navajivan'. This letter is my special contribution to 'Young India' and I want it to be translated for 'Navajivan'.

I still do not think that we shall succeed, in any final way, in this Kenya question. It will always be before us. That is my fear at the present moment with regard to our Indian position. But at last if we can get the Native African question on to a better basis than that of a 'Settler Domination' it will be a great blessing. I am sure that, if in Kenya we try our utmost, first of all for the Africans in order to ensure that they are not exploited, then we shall receive the blessing, which always comes from unselfishness. I have already written strongly, week by week, to 'Young India' in that strain. We have to see what is the *right* thing for them. That is our first concern, not ourselves or our own selfish interests. It is such a delight to be able to speak thus quite simply in 'Young India' to our readers, because the discipline of Mahatmaji's great movement has been in the direction of sacrifice and unselfish service of others.

But all the while, the truth is,—it is strange how it has been overlooked,—the *real* Indian question in Africa is not a Kenya question at all! It is the *South* African question. There, the battle which Mahatmaji has fought so persistently, for twentyfive or thirty years, seems at last going against us on a full tide of European anti-Indian public opinion. The South African Indians sent me a very noble cable from the midst of their own sufferings. It was, in effect, 'Don't consider us. We shall look after ourselves. We understand that the great Kenya Question which you are fighting is our question also. Therefore leave us to fight our battle, while you go on fighting out the Kenya issue'.

It was indeed a noble and inspiring message. But the truth is, that if we can get the Kenya Question settled on 'Crown Colony' lines, which are *undoubtedly* the best solution for the Native Africans, then we shall not have our forces divided, but we shall be able to throw our energies into helping our brothers in South Africa. Mr. Aswat, Sorabji, Christopher, Manilal, Nalini and many others, seem to have risen to the occasion in Natal splendidly, from a very brief account I have just received. I see further that Dr. Abdur Rehman, who wields the greatest influence in the Cape and has the direction of the whole 'coloured' vote, is now commanding all his forces. If I had only two or three bodies, how

dearly would I love to send one of them out to Durban and Johannesburg today in order to be in the midst of that great struggle out there. Do not for a moment over-estimate our own forces. Our Indian community is a very tiny body, as far as educated leaders are concerned, and they must be men of heroic mould just now. I was so very sorry not to see Pandit Bhawani Dayal, who lost his wife last year,—one of the purest souls in South Africa and a glorious worker, who had been to prison along with Da in the old days. Panditji just missed me, before I started for London. He edits well a Hindi paper. I am wondering whether any of the members of the Ashram at Sabarmati have still preserved their 'right of entry' into South Africa, and whether any of them might be able to go out at this critical time.

Give my dear love to all at the Ashram, and my loving reverence to Da, who is my mother and the mother of us all. I spoke about Sabarmati and Bolpur often and often in London. I cannot tell you what a joy it has been to get back. One of my Indian friends in London, along with Manibhai Desai of the Kenya Delegation, tried to persuade me to stay saying that my presence was still required in London. They then said to me, when I urged that it was needed more in India, "We all see what is the matter with you; you have been homesick to get back to India from the very moment you came to England." I am afraid there was a good deal of truth in this, although at the same time, I am quite certain that I had to return to India from every point of view. But I am dreadfully homesick all the same.

The greatest joy of my visit was to see my sisters and brothers once more after an absence of ten years. I think you know, that one of my sisters had passed to her rest in death just at Christmas-time last year, and the gap was felt by us all very deeply indeed. My sisters wrote to me, not to come to see them so long as duty kept me in London. They said they quite understood that duty to India must come first. But in the last week of my short stay, I was able to spend an unforgettable time with them, and with one of my brothers. My other brothers were in London with their officers in the Strand, quite close to Mr. Polak's office. So I saw them very often.

I have been telling you all this personal news. Somehow I have come to feel that 'Young India' readers are a part of a family circle, to which I have been admitted by their love, and therefore I do not feel reluctant to ask you to publish a letter like this. One more very beautiful thing, before I close. At Oxford, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's daughter and some other Indian lady students were present at the Majlis meeting, at which I spoke a great deal about Mahatmaji. At the very end of the meeting, these Indian sisters of mine gave me a message of love to take to my own sisters. I was on my way at last to see them, after much patient waiting on their part. This message of love from their Indian sisters made up for a great deal of the pain of waiting my arrival which they had suffered with such self-sacrifice. They wished me to send their love to all their sisters at Sabarmati Ashram and at Shantiniketan.

With my deep love to all,

Bombay, July 3

Charlie

With Mr. Shastri in London

(By C. F. Andrews.)

I wish to make amends at once on coming back to India for any hard thoughts I have had in the past about Mr. Shastri. I did not like his official posts and acting as official spokesman of the Government of India. It was certain to lead him to say and do things that he would afterwards regret, but I ought not to have thought hard thoughts about him, even for a passing moment; and I would wish to do my *prayashchitta*, on my return from abroad. It is as certain as possible to me that Mahatmaji himself would have told me to express my regret in public, and I have Mahatmaji's face before me as I write.

Mr. Shastri failed badly as he was bound to fail in his official relations, but he has a heart of pure gold, as I have found out by experience. His greatest failure passed almost unrecognised in India, and it was necessary to call his attention to it, because what he had done came right up against him in London, this year. This failure was at the Opium Session of the League of Nations Assembly sometime ago, where he had been primed by the Government of India to speak on a subject he knew nothing about. It was he, more than any one else, who had obtained with regard to the use of opium that miserable word 'legitimate' to be substituted for the words 'medicinal and scientific' in the League of Nations' formula for Opium restriction. I told him some of the horrible things that were going on in the North of India today, owing to this opium curse. He had no idea of them in the South of India, where they are much more rare. I told him how in nearly all the mills and factories, where Indian mothers worked, it was the usual practice to poison the little babies with the opium drug in order to keep them asleep while the poor mothers went out and worked in the factories. Two of the best social workers in Bombay had told me that 95% of the mothers were obliged, in this distress and poverty, to drug their own little children; and the workers who went to visit them saw these 'opium babies' with their wizened faces, looking prematurely old. The practice of the daily opium pill led to bowel complaints at the very beginning of life, which could never be got rid of afterwards.

Then I told him of an Indian cook who had come out with us up the Ganges to cook our food,—how on the first day after we had left Calcutta, everything went wrong. Our food was not cooked, and he himself was suffering tortures of agony and was rolling on the ground in restlessness. When I enquired what was his illness, I was told by the servants that he had left his opium behind in Calcutta by mistake; he could not purchase any in the out of the way place to which we had come. Here was a legitimate use of the Government of India opium.

Then I told him how the Government had refused to shut up one opium shop in a poor slum in Calcutta when petitioned to do so, because (this was the stated reason of the Excise officer) 2,300 people frequented it daily. Mr. Shastri was horrified and said to me, "I am very sorry. I never knew facts like these. We have nothing like this in Madras". I went on to tell him of the opium dens in Singapore where the Government of one of the richest ports in the world had allowed

its merchants to be lightly taxed, while it had made nearly half its revenue out of the opium traffic; how the Government itself had licensed opium dens, where India Government monopoly opium was sold and smoked and the Indian Government had supplied it. He said to me again, "Mr. Andrews, this is horrible; I knew nothing of this. They told me that the Government of India export of opium was beyond reproach because the Government did not sell it to private persons, but only to Governments who carried on legitimate consumption".

"Legitimate!" said I getting excited. "Yes; legitimate, in Singapore! But if the poor Chinese sailor, who has gone openly into the shop in Singapore and has smoked his opium freely there under the protection of the British flag—if the same Chinaman goes into the shop in Liverpool, and tries to do the same thing, there he soon finds out, whether it is 'legitimate' or not. He is at once put into jail by the police, and gets eighteen months' hard labour from the magistrate. Don't you, Sastri, realise" I went on, "that the Government of India has been playing the hypocrite—taking all the credit for stopping its traffic with China; yet all the while continuing to sell it to all the ports where Chinese congregate just outside China itself,—ports which are chiefly in British occupation?" I then went to tell him a most appalling series of figures which I had got from the Colonial Office Records about Mauritius. Our own Indian ex-indentured labourers had been 'doped' with opium, sold by the Government of India, just at the very time that they were trying to rise out of the immoral conditions of the past. I showed him, how the Government of Mauritius had grown fat upon this traffic during the war, until it had been brought into the glare of publicity after the war was over. Then the Government of India had stopped it. He said to me again, "But, Andrews, they never told me these things at Simla. Why! I went to Geneva thinking that the conduct of the Government of India was irreproachable and I took up that position all the while at the Assembly meetings".

"Yes" I said to him, "and do you know what the representative of the Government of India, Sir J. Campbell, has just been saying in an interview to the world newspaper reporters at Geneva? Just remember, his interview will be reported all over the civilised world!"

He said to me, hastily and eagerly, "No! What?"

"Shastri", I said to him, letting my feelings let out at last, "Mr. Campbell has just said that no Indian leader, even among the opponents of Government, no, not even Mahatmajī himself has found anything to reproach the Government of India about, with regard to its opium traffic. And he has been lecturing the whole world on the spotless virtues of the Indian Government which he represents. He is going to tell the House of Commons the same story, and he will bring your name in as the ardent supporter of the Indian Government opium policy".

I then explained to Mr. Shastri, that I should have to speak strongly about this in public; for it must not, for one moment, be allowed to go uncontradicted. The opportunity came at Caxton Hall and what I said in contradiction was cabled abroad. Thus Mahatmajī's name was cleared.

I have told all this quite frankly and freely and simply, and at the same time I hope with tenderness and love, because I know how deeply he felt it and how he will do everything to retrieve it. No one in

England, on this deputation, has carried greater weight than he. No one has been so persecuted and abused by the 'Die Hard' press! No one has had such scurrilous things said about him! No one has stood out more bravely and firmly!

Kenya has had at least one really wonderful effect. It has made every single one of us, on the many different deputations, to understand that there is only one thing at the present moment that counts at all in the face of this wanton attack, and that is the honour of India.

A Query

Shri Shivanand Sumi of Bankapur writes:—

"I want to approach you with some questions to clear my doubts that have arisen in my working about N. C. O. principles of Mahatma.

Some people are interpreting them in a quite different way; and are acting quite against the principles of *Sanatana Dharma*.

My questions in this respect are as follows:—

(1) Whether N. C. O. principles are based on the religion or not?

(2) Is it anywhere mentioned in the principles of N. C. O. to interline with the untouchables and Mohamedans against the principles of our *Sanatana Dharma* on the ground of bringing union amongst us to ameliorate the condition of India which is in a deplorable state now?

(3) Are there any other means to develop the spiritual powers which Mahatma Gandhi has preached us, besides that of adhering to our respective religious methods—*Varnashrama Dharma*? I am fully convinced that spiritual power is developed by acting according to our own religion.

(4) All our leaders are now conniving at their religion. This state of things has, I think, come, in the way of the organisation of our villages in which I am actually working. If their actions were according to the dictates of our religion, they would have got more influence in the village and the villagers would have taken part in the movement more enthusiastically.

All these questions I am required to put before you as I actually got difficulties in the working of my village organization.

I hope you will satisfy me about them and I beg to be excused for the trouble I give you."

The answer to the questions raised in the letter is contained in the following old note of Mahatmajī:—

"I can generally answer the question by saying that removal of untouchability means disappearance of a fifth caste. It therefore does mean at least that mere touch of a man shall not be regarded as a pollution. The so called untouchable shall enjoy the same freedom that the touchables do. Generally speaking therefore water handed by the erstwhile untouchable will not be regarded as polluted. Removal of untouchability does not include partaking of rice or other food cooked by the untouchable or any other. That is a matter of reform in the institution of caste and not covered by the programme about untouchability. Restrictions about marriage and interlining may be undesirable and may require modifications. But I do not regard them as a blot upon Hinduism, as I do untouchability. The latter puts a class of human beings beyond the pale of social service and therefore is an inhuman institution."

C. R.

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Notes

Mahatmaj

Mrs. Gandhi with some members of the Ashram interviewed Mahatmaj the other day. It appears that he had again an attack of colic. He began taking figs which did not quite agree with him, and he is now living on milk and bananas. He has lost about a pound or two, which he imagines is the result of much reading and thinking. But he is quite happy and feels free as a bird—in spite of the impertinent sarcasms of Sir Malcolm Hailey, the asked amongst other things about Jinnah and Vinoba, and Mrs. Gandhi told him how they had gone to jail. He was exceedingly delighted with the news and wondered how Mrs. Gandhi herself was free. "They do not arrest me. What can I do?" said Mrs. Gandhi.

Mr. Shastri

We have read with deep concern Mr. Polak's letter about Mr. Shastri's health, published in the *Survey of India*. Apparently his condition is worse than what Mr. Andrews' report led us to believe. We are glad the necessary steps suggested by Mr. Polak have been taken. We join in the prayer that Mr. Shastri may quickly be restored to health, and hope Mr. Vaze will arrange to get and publish weekly reports of Mr. Shastri's progress from his Nursing Home.

The Flag Day

Another Red Letter day in the National Calendar. The All-India Committee decreed the celebration of a Flag Day. The strength and the suffering came from Nagpur and from all the land that stretched out willing hands to her support; but the voice was that of the Congress.

The nation answered far and wide. The Government, its patience, skill and resourcefulness taxed in the Central Provinces, was wise enough to wait and watch. It did not want more on its hands than there was need for. The instructions of the Working Committee of the Congress, providing against possible interference by the Government, indicated a mood which it had to take careful note of. The Working Committee said that official prohibition of demonstration on the Flag Day was to be disregarded. The firm gesture was duly and amply rewarded. There were no prohibitory orders anywhere in India. In Ratnagiri there was a restrictive order already in existence; and we doubt whether it was within the range of the Working Committee's contemplation. However it might be, even that order was disobeyed. One volunteer went forward and was arrested. The response of the country to the call was fine and inspiring and there are three further observations to be made.

First:—The Flag Day was only the beginning of things. It was a first lesson in education. It must be followed by strenuous and continued labour. Flags, big and small, of Khaddar, plaque and paper, on house and office and place of amusement, should be made an ubiquitous feature of our life. It should be everywhere and the sheer universality of it should reconcile officials and Europeans to the flying of our Tricolour. It is the strangeness of it that makes it a thing of terror. Familiarity breeds friendship.

Secondly:—The response of the people to the call of the Congress shows, that despite all croaking and despair, the country is still loyal to the Congress.

Thirdly:—The efficiency of the Congress as an organisation is as sound and close-knit as ever.

The All-India Congress Committee

The constitution of the Congress is being put through severe test and the pessimists are left wondering whether it will survive. Bombay saw the beginning of the present series. Mr. Das's ruling in May last granted the Committee "legislative" powers co-ordinate with the Congress itself—which we thought was revolutionary doctrine. It was succeeded by the insurgence of the Provincial Committees which held that obedience to the Congress was a greater obedience than that due to the All-India Committee. The Working Committee, inconvenienced and a little scandalised at the conflict between the Provincial Committees and the Committee which was their own and particular constituency sought to establish its authority by a vote of censure which was rejected. The rejection led to the fall of Dr. Ansari from power. But no one can pretend that the constitutional problem of the right relations between the All-India and the Provincial

Committees is solved. Now has come up a further difficulty. There is a clause in the constitution which puts it within the power of fifteen members of the All-India Committee to convene a meeting of it at any time. The provision was obviously intended to secure joint deliberation in times of undisputed national emergency, where for any reason, the Secretaries fail to act. But all good things, God-created or man-made, have in them the possibilities of abuse. Constitutional safeguards against the tyranny of an executive may become instruments of obstruction. But that too should be a lesson in patient self-governance, an exercise in Swaraj. The Bombay decision of the All-India Committee was violently disapproved of by a section of those who were beaten and they promptly convened a meeting of the Committee by means of a requisition. They succeeded at Nagpur. The Bombay decision was whittled down and a special Congress was called for. Now the malcontents of Nagpur have had their revenge. They have sent in a requisition and have forced the new President and the Secretaries to convene another meeting of the Committee to "reconsider" the Nagpur decision. The meeting is to take place in Vizagapatam on August 3rd. Vizagapatam is away in the Andhradesha. It is unknown to the rest of India but the choice of the place is intended to mark Mr. Venkatappayya's sense of irony, at the odd proceedings. For the benefit of the uninstructed politician, the Secretary mentions that the place is on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. We may add that it is on the east coast of India. It has not yet managed to get into the stream of Indian history. It may have a day in the future, because the Madras Government thinks so. Vizagapatam is famous for its prospective harbour.

Had the President a Choice?

We can understand that the members of the All-India Committee will be at the end of their patience, being dragged about from the ends of Hindustan, to Bombay, to Nagpur and to Vizagapatam, all in the course of two months. But it cannot be helped. India is a large country and the constitution of the Congress is full of pitfalls. We would counsel a further need of patience. We have to face these trials of will and resolution, because the only alternative to the democratic and peaceful manner of deciding questions is the soldier's method of persuasion by terror. It is a first class and far-reaching issue that is seeking its way to settlement—the boycott of the Councils. We should not fail in patience and sweetness of temper. The forms may differ but the substance is one and single—whether the country will be faithful to the vision of 1921. The battle has to be watched with equanimity and its course regulated at every turn and we cannot run away from it except at our peril. But it is right at the same time to say that the President has a discretion in the convening of such meetings, and that he has decided wrongly. The very case under discussion is illustrative. Those who are in favour of the meeting want the Nagpur resolution to be "reconsidered". It is clear according to rules of constitutional procedure that a body like the All-India Congress Committee cannot proceed to "reconsider" a matter already disposed

of before a reasonable time has elapsed after such disposal. In certain constitutions the actual period is fixed, usually six months. It seems to us that any proposition in Vizagapatam to "reconsider" the decision arrived at in Nagpur, will be out of order. If the point is raised by a member, Mr. Venkatappayya will be forced to sustain it and all that would be left to him to do will be to disperse the meeting. The position will be extremely inconvenient to people coming from all parts of the country. We hold that under such circumstances Mr. Venkatappayya will be clearly within his right in saying that he would not be a party to bring together the All-India Committee to no purpose. He could say to the requisitionist: "The resolution you want moved is, in my judgment, out of order and in my capacity as the chairman of the All-India Committee, I decline to summon members to a meeting where by the very nature of the case no business can be transacted." We hope it may yet be possible for the chairman to cancel the meeting. We notice at the time of writing that the Punjab and Central Provinces Committees have already protested against the Vizagapatam meeting on various grounds. Before the week is out, we dare say the protests will be reinforced from elsewhere.

Viceroy on Tour

The *Times* is exercised about the next Viceroy of India. The Viceroy himself is exercised about the programme of his tour next winter. Who is to be the more likely of the two programme-makers, the gods alone can decide. The newspaper, great as it is, may be left to itself for the time being. It is the habit of the *Times* to indulge in prophecies, and prophecies are notoriously difficult for fulfilment. What is more, we are not greatly concerned as to who is Viceroy of India: Lord Reading or Lord Allenby. But the tour-programme of a Viceroy-in-being is a serious matter—vastly more so than a dozen speculations about the Viceroy-to-be—for many reasons; but two will do—one whose regulation will be beyond our power, the other certainly within its sphere. A Viceregal tour, as conducted at present, is an enormously expensive one and our indignation is fired at everything which makes for extravagance. The Viceroy's going about for purposes of public efficiency is one thing, and if it is all that he had in view, his peregrinations need not cost anything unreasonable. But manifestly, that is not the purpose of Viceregal goings-out and comings-in: efficiency counts for nothing; fantastic, vulgar spectacle and political propaganda count for everything. It is this feature that explains the ruinous expenditure of public funds and it is this purpose which it is within our power to defeat. The spectacle is intended to "impress"; if people refuse to be "impressed", the Government will drop the fruitless attempts. The coming and going of the Prince of Wales have, we hope, cured Englishmen of the notion of the utility of Royalty in India. We should be extremely pleased if the Viceroy and Governors could be taught a similar lesson. They are also human beings, caught in bad tradition, subject to an ancient superstition. They should be convinced that a starving and sullen people have no use for pageantry, that their need is deeper than is in the power of tinsel to fulfil, that their's is the divine thirst for freedom. A Viceregal triumph should

be as impossible as a Royal. Madras is the land of the Viceroy's dreams and we would strongly advise the Southern Presidency to organise a popular boycott of His Excellency Lord Reading. In what Madras might do, Travancore and Cochin may well follow.

Propaganda

The Central Provinces Government has done the Nagpur Satyagrahis the honour of directing its Publicity Officer to give daily accounts of their doings to the public. The event is not without significance. It took the nationalist press a few weeks to find out that the Flag movement was worth the luxury of "special correspondents". A little later, the persistence of the Satyagrahis succeeded in evoking the attention of the Anglo-Indian press. *The Times of India* was angry with the Satyagrahis, but it could not any longer afford to ignore it. It was the official version or so near it that the two could not be distinguished. The impression sought to be conveyed was that the movement was on the point of death. But the calling of the Flag Day and the assumption of responsibility in the matter by the All-India Committee have moved the Central Provinces Government to the step we have already mentioned. Whatever it might or might not mean, one thing is clear—the Satyagrahis are still possessed of the genuine breath of life. But we cannot say we are much impressed with the quality of the communiques so far published. It is mostly a compilation of statistics, and as far as one can make out, the point sought to be enforced is that though it is called the Nagpur Satyagrah, the Nagpurians themselves are not greatly interested in it; but it is the outsiders that come in and create the mischief. This is very interesting, but it misses the point—the fight is waged to sustain the honour not of the Nagpur Flag, but of the National Flag. Even if there is a point in the case, we would invite the Publicity Officer's attention to peril of a Retort Courteous. His plea is like that of the Germans in the third year of the war. Belgium was swept out of existence and there was hardly a Belgian soldier left to do battle on European soil. Said the Germans, "If only Belgium is left to herself, we can come to terms with her at once. What is more, she is anxious to be quit of it. But here are the desperate French and the avaricious English who would not allow them peace and quietness." The Germans said it, but they were wrong. We suggest to the Publicity Officer who, we are sorry to note, happens to be an Indian, that his plea is just as unsound as that of the Germans. The English and French were indisputably right. The rest of India is just in the same position of the Allies in 1917. Nagpur is our Belgium. The sacredness of Treaties was violated on the soil of Belgium; the sacredness of our Flag was violated in Nagpur. As Belgium won and was restored, not by her own unaided strength, so also will Nagpur win and be restored.

A Daily Supplement

The proprietors of *my India* have decided to issue a daily supplement in support of a clear-cut thorough-going policy of non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is now on its trial. It is being attacked by open enemies from without. It is being undermined by weak and tired friends from within. The great wealth of courage, will and resolution with which

the nation was endowed by Mahatma Gandhi is in peril of dispersal. The devastating propaganda is immense and a weekly newspaper like the *Young India* is not able to overtake the daily stream of doubt and derision. A daily supplement may however be helpful in coping with it and in strengthening the nation in its fidelity. The supplement will not be a purveyor of news, but a preacher of strong and uncompromising doctrine. Mr. George Joseph, who edited the *Independent* till his imprisonment in 1921-1923, now a member of the All-India Congress Committee and also (for how long, who knows?) of the Working Committee, will be in charge of the Daily Supplement.

Hero and Vagrant

Who is Dr. Chandulal among those now gone to prison at Nagpur in defence of the Flag?

He was seven years in England and became a dental expert. He came to Broach and started charitable dental rooms, treated rich and poor alike free of charge, gave away his ancestral property, worth half a lakh, to the Broach Education Society and took a vow of life-long poverty.

People in other provinces may not know much about the gallant captain of the Broach contingent now imprisoned in the Nagpur jail. Dr. Chandulal is a well-known figure in the whole of Gujarat. He is in personal touch with almost all the workers in India, without any distinction of party. He is loved by friends of all parties, and revered by the people of the district, to whose welfare he has devoted his life. It is a rare pleasure to see the children of Broach crowd round Dr. Chandulal and cling to him as soon as they see him. His ways are so clear and straight and his nature so loveable that both Indian and European officers are among his friends. After getting his diploma as a dental surgeon Dr. Chandulal stayed for a few years more to acquire further experience and travelled on the continent. After seven years' stay abroad he returned to India and practised in Bombay. Within a few months he established his reputation as a dental expert. Professional success however did not satisfy him. Even in Bombay he devoted his leisure hours to public work and was one of the trusted lieutenants of Lokamanya Tilak.

He left Bombay and settled in his native district of Broach. But Dr. Chandulal is also a poet. His *Svarajya Kavya* is a substantial addition to the literature of Gujarat. Those who had any occasion to work with him know him to be ever cool, self-possessed, energetic and brave. Innocent as a child, gentle and polite even to the humblest, it is no wonder that Dr. Chandulal of Broach should be the pet of the whole district.

His last speeches were touching. He exhorted the people, with all the sincerity and vigour at his command, to do their duty and to sacrifice everything for the country, and yet he said not a harsh word about the Government or its officials.

Such is the gallant and beloved hero of Broach, now gracing the Nagpur jail—but as a vagrant. Let us hope that his presence there along with that other great and noble spirit, Seth Jamanlal Bajaj, the pride of Marwar and of India, will purify the atmosphere of the prison and raise both convicts and officials to a higher level.

Harilal Maneklal Desai

Young India

26-7-23

Kenya

It is nearly impossible to get at the right perspective of the Kenya affair. At bottom it is a mere point in the vast secular conflict of Europe with the rest of the world, of the white races against the coloured. This point comes near to us, and we are therefore acutely conscious of it for the moment. That is all. The forces involved in it are beyond any single individual's or government's control. Phrases may change; the exact formula of camouflage is not the same today as it was yesterday, but the hard reality is the same, whether in the matter of the American citizenship for Indian or Japanese, or in Fiji, in South Africa or in the problem of the Philippines, or in the Khilafat. The truth is that Europe is exploiting the world by an inner necessity which nobody can stop or effectively regulate. The Kenya question is a moment in the gigantic flux. The genuine throwing open of equal opportunities to Europeans and Indians in the Highlands is an impossibility. It is beyond the power of Assembly and Deputation, beyond the power of Governments and Cabinets. Behind Lord Delamere and General Smuts is the whiteman's racial instinct for power and survival which sweeps irresistibly on, and there is no force on earth which can stand up against it. The Assembly demands equality—how can there be equality, when there is in fact none. The whole fact of Indian Government, against which the Moderate protests, is based on inequality. In all frankness, we confess we do not see how the surgent might of Europe can be checked. All talk which ignores this fundamental fact is idle breath.

But one thing is clear. The problems of Kenya and South Africa and all the rest cannot be solved as long as we are in a state of slavery. Retaliation against the Colonies has been suggested—retaliation against South African coal, retaliation against the goods from Kenya, boycott of the manufactures of the white races. But the pre-condition of them all is the strength of this nation to stand up on its feet and to throw forth God's rage of battle. The readiness to shock Europe into conviction of sin by the gigantic magnitude of our sacrifice; discipline, efficiency, courage and the faith that removes mountains—these are the primary needs. The meaning of Kenya is a challenge; the challenge to make ourselves free.

Apologies

One of the queerest bye-products of the non-cooperation movement is the Government's habit of releasing political prisoners who "apologise". The theory of punishment is that the free movement of certain members of society is restrained for the public good. The period and manner of restraint are not left to the criminal's choice; the very premiss in the case is that the offenders are incapable of safe judgment. According to the old Anglo-Indian, bureaucratic, Prussian

view, there was nothing to choose between political prisoners and offenders against the ordinary penal law. But the coming of non-cooperation and the choice of prison by hosts of honourable men, exploded the ancient identification and yielded the true doctrine of the case. The choice is now given to the political prisoners, to decide whether they would secure their physical freedom. They are at liberty to leave the jails on parole just as prisoners of war are. There is a difference in the form: prisoners in modern war are allowed to go away on "parole"; the British Government insists on an "apology". This recognition of the true nature of non-cooperation is something on which the Government and the people may be congratulated. Government's policy is however subjecting its officials to a peculiar moral peril. A genuine apology by a political prisoner is an un-mitigated blessing. It enables the Government to rid the prison of one who is no longer dangerous to its existence; it lifts from the shoulders of the faint-hearted a burden, which by reason of his cowardice or change of views he could no longer bear; the apology is in truth a blessing to non-cooperation itself, because it is a piece of necessary surgery in so far as it frees the movement of a weak and dangerous member. But the temptation of Government officials is to increase the number of apologies and, therefore, to set about the business of forcing them out of men who have no notion of apologising at all. It is then that the methods of force, fraud and torture are used for the purpose. Then "Apologies" become an overwhelming moral evil.

We are afraid that the officials of the Central Provinces are practising the evil on a large scale. There has come into our hands the following form of "apology" officially framed and circulated extensively amongst the Flag prisoners from Nagpur:—

Petition For Apology From Prisoner

No.

Name

Sd.

I respectfully beg forgiveness from the Local Government for disobeying Legal orders and express my regret for taking part in the disobedience. I solemnly promise to abstain from political activity of any sort for a period of one year from the date I am released from jail.

It is drafted, not by those who sign it but by responsible Government officials. Obviously, it is not a mere piece of clerical work. Those who have experience of the way in which apologies are induced or extorted can have no difficulty in understanding the genesis of the draft. Thanks to the educational policy of the Government, a number of volunteers are illiterate, (but the record is not so bad as that of the recruits of the army). It is represented to such weak and homesick Satyagrahis that freedom on parole is the easiest and most honourable course for them to take. Thus speaks the tempter:—"Nobody will even so much as ask you why you signed this form. Even respectable men can sign it. You are not anxious to be in jail. We are not anxious to keep you either. The movement of Sethji and Mahatma Bhagwandinji is fast collapsing. You are a fool to waste your

time here? Sign this form and you are free." As a result of long continued slavery it is not surprising that a certain number should fall by the way. But the assiduous manner in which the semi-official and official publicity agents have been exploiting the undoubtedly large number of apologies and the discovery of the approved draft make us frankly suspicious. We know of cases where prisoners have been released on "undertakings" given by their relatives. All this is subtle corruption, the reaction of which is damaging to the people and the Government alike.

All this casts on the workers the duty of necessary, continuous vigilance. It points to the necessity of intending Satyagrahis' resisting any latent weakness in themselves or in those dear and near to them, before joining the fray. We would specially counsel the Congress organisation to be zealously watchful in this regard. We do a double disservice by carelessness. Weak soldiers do not help forward the campaign; they hinder. We cannot afford to run risks now. There is something more. It is not only we that are damaged. The Government and its officials are damaged. The Government and its officials are damaged in a manner that, without helping us in the slightest, by the fact of their corruption makes for the net increase of evil in the world. The demoralisation of the Government by its own inner corruption or by its re-action to the truth and courage of our movement, is inevitable. It is the crisis of self-immunisation. But we shall be held blameworthy if the Government is tempted to error on account of our carelessness or indulgence.

A Government without Public Confidence

The censure on the Finance Department of the Government of India which, in fact if not in form, is a censure upon the Government of India bodily, will be received by different people differently. What the Government or their Agents, the Imperial Bank of India, would do after the censure still remains a mystery. The mover of the resolution, as indeed every one interested in the present Government and its pranks in India, knew perfectly well that even if the censure resolution was carried the Government would immediately be unaffected. Neither Mr. Mc. Watters nor his nominal chief, Sir Basil Blackett, who appears to have been landed in this mess almost against his own better judgment if we read correctly between the lines of his various pronouncements, need fear any diminution of their salaries, allowances or emoluments in consequence either of the censure or of the more material losses that might eventually result from their action later on. Mr. Mc. Watters indeed has been more specifically to blame in writing that wholly misleading reply, to use no harder or juster word, to the categorical demands of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in that regard; and Sir Basil has had to admit as much. And the action is now adopted and paraded as that of the Government of India collectively. The more or less blunted sense of personal honour in the Indian official world will not be outraged beyond repair, if the parties concerned go on as usual serenely indifferent to the scrap of paper

on which the Assembly's censure resolution may have been recorded. But the Government themselves? Even if under the existing constitution they need not resign, the commonest sense of public decency, the merest form of respect to the legislature should enjoin upon them the obligation to repair the wrong that might have been done by the condemned action, by an immediate reversal of policy in this instance.

But these are only the personal politics of the question on the official side, just as the insistence upon a particular auditor being appointed a liquidator of the defaulting bank, was on the popular side. The real, larger issues involved in the matter are different. The discussion of these issues is rendered impossible for the moment by some of them being under trial in a court of law. Even the participants in the Assembly Debate seemed to be conscious of this difficulty, and so had to adopt the course of straightforward condemnation of a specific action in a form which reads a trifle disingenuous. But the question of general policy in regard to the relations of the Government towards the bank in a country may be discussed by itself, without the slightest prejudice to the issues awaiting a regular trial. The intensity of public feeling in this connection is undoubtedly due to the bitter memories of the Government's alacrity in the Indian Banks' crash of ten years ago. For their present action unmistakably makes the Government of India a wholly partisan government in the most damaging sense of the term. Sir Basil called it a matter of history only, but Sir Basil is mistaken if he meant to imply by that sententious rejoinder that history has no re-action or that it ought to have no influence upon the present. No one who has the economic development of the country at heart would now-a-days deny the utility and necessity of Government, or their official banking agents intervening to assist banks in difficulties, which have been caused by no fault of the banks themselves and which, if left unchecked, might mean a national disaster. And no one in India at least could question this proposition, seeing that our banks are so recent creations and our currency and exchange system are still at the mercy of irresponsible authorities. But the real objection to the Government action in the particular instance is due to the fact of their having aided not a bank in difficulties, but *the* bank whose affairs were, to the knowledge of Sir Basil himself, embarrassed for more than a year past, owing to faults of management well within the control of the bank authorities themselves. It is a side issue, but still a noteworthy point, how the Finance Minister, who, on his own admission, knew of these embarrassments, should have allowed himself to be associated officially, even if he did not approve or authorise, this censurable and censured step involving 4½ crores of the public monies of the people of India. Though Sir Basil would call it another example of a mere matter of history, only those acquainted with the Reverse Councils sales and the consequent loss of crores and crores to India will, of course, not be surprised at the light-hearted spirit with which the Government seemed to have raised these monies to help save the deposits of their influential servants, and to avert, we are told, a great commercial crisis. We take leave to doubt of

the possibility of the latter merely in consequence of the failure of a private Anglo-Indian bank, in which really Indian commercial interests were not involved to any appreciable extent. And Sir Basil in his defence has offered a gratuitous affront to the common sense of his colleagues in the Assembly, when he talked about the harm that might have been done to the credit of the Government of India themselves, had they not given a blank cheque to the Imperial Bank at the expense of the Indian Revenues, for aiding an Anglo-Indian bank conducted on the most questionable lines. Did the credit of the Government of Britain suffer because Mr. Gregor's bank had failed, and many army officers were involved in the crash? Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer insult the common sense of the House of Commons by answering the latter that no better terms were obtainable in funding the Anglo-American debt because a private London Bank had collapsed? We wonder when our irresponsible bureaucrats will acquire the A. B. C. of the debating amenities.

Granting even the general principle that there may be cases when Government aid needs to be offered to a bank in distress caused by no fault of its own, we would still like such a principle to be standardised, and not left to the unfettered discretion of authorities, who have proved themselves to be wanting in public confidence because of the excessively partisan spirit of their actions. In the particular instance of the Alliance Bank failure, moreover, the point made by a critic of the Government about finding the required accommodation to the defaulting bank by the ordinary business expedients instead of risking public money, needs still to be replied to. For if, as Sir Basil asserted, the Public Funds thus pledged run no risk and if consequently the presumption is good that the available assets of the default bank are sound enough to ensure against any eventual losses, why did not the Bank succeed in persuading other banks to run to its rescue? The Imperial Bank, we are assured, has acted in a public spirited manner. If the principle is generalised as suggested above, that institution might easily be converted into a Bankrupt Banker's Benevolent Society, which, if it is operated according to the Alliance Bank precedent, would certainly inaugurate a Golden Age for the defaulting bankers. But even if it be public spiritedness, we seriously doubt if it could be regarded as public honesty.

(Continued from Page 242)

a member of the Khadi Vidyalyaya he used to take good interest in all the affairs of the Ashram as well as the boarding house, such as cleaning utensils, hoeing, scavenging etc. He was even ready to nurse a fellow student when ill. His dress consisted of nothing but a Dhoti on his loins. He was the president of the association formed by the students. Nothing can better demonstrate the success of Khadi work than that it has acquired a worker like Mr. Datta.

Acknowledgement

We have received in the name of the Khadi Bureau a sum of Rs. 1044-8-2 contributed by the people of Kobe and have credited it to the earmarked funds of the All-India Khadi Department as desired by the sender.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

Native Princes Beware !

The Recent Abdication of the Maharajah of Nabha has once more served to illustrate the peculiar position in which the Indian Feudatory States stand in relation to the Government. We do not here propose to enter into the details of the case. The outstanding facts are that a long standing dispute between the two States of Patiala and Nabha was made an occasion for a Government inquiry into the conduct of the Rajah of the latter State which resulted in his abdication. The Government version is that the abdication was purely a voluntary affair and that all that it did was simply not to stand in the way of the Rajah's decision. An unsophisticated mind may, however, be pardoned if it finds it difficult tacitly to accept this extraordinary explanation and regard the generally accepted view, that the resignation was practically forced, as more correct. The Raja of Nabha was known to enjoy a considerable measure of popularity in his own State and he was never reported by anybody to be in an abnormal state of mind. At the time of his 'abdication' he is reported to have gone into a hysterical state and to have uttered the monosyllabic words "Treason, treason," "Intrigue, intrigue" again and again like a mad man, when the news of his 'abdication' or deposition was broken to him. It is a pure fiction therefore to state that he was anxious to abdicate.

In whose interest was the abdication then? In the interest of the people? No, the extraordinary military precautions taken at the time of his departure from Nabha is a proof conclusive that his people did not want his abdication. In the interests of justice? "perhaps", one would like to think. But no. The Maharaja of Patiala, who is the aggrieved party in the case and who, if any, might reasonably be expected to insist on his pound of flesh, has publicly declared that he never intended the matter to be pushed so far. On the other hand it is an open secret that the deposed Prince has never been a *persona grata* with the Government of India. He has been known as a young man of a progressive outlook of mind, a social reformer, an admirer of Gokhale and Tilak, he made no secret of his sympathy with the popular cause, he encouraged khaddar, his marked leanings towards pacificism during the great war and especially his attitude towards the war-loan gave particular umbrage to the bureaucracy. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to resist the popular view that the Government has used the private dispute between these two States as a mere pretext for getting rid of a ruler between whom and itself there was not much love lost.

We are not here concerned with the consideration whether the Maharajah deserved to be deposed or not. Nor are we in a position to criticise the alleged findings by Justice Stuart against him. They may or may not have been correct. What we want to point out here is simply this, that the aggrieved party did not want such a drastic action to be taken and that, in its absence, deposition on ground of judicial corruption in the State, of whatever character, is in clear contradiction of the oft-repeated declarations of the Government about non-intervention in the private

affairs of the Feudatory States and constitutes a naked betrayal of the pledges given to that effect to the Indian Princes in the Queen's Proclamation.

The incident we hope will serve to make Indian Princes pause and reconsider the basis on which their power rests. So far they and the Government have mutually looked upon each other as bulwarks of defence against encroachments upon their autocracy. A sub-conscious sense that they both form part of a vast system of free-masonry, having for its common objective the exploitation of the people, has made the Indian Princes think that they had more in common with the Government than with the people. And in their vicarious zeal they have more often than not, in the past, made common cause with the bureaucracy as against the people and even out-stripped it in putting their foot down upon all popular movements. The attitude of the Gwalior State towards the white cap and that of the Baroda State towards the Temperance movement will illustrate our point and serve as a most pathetic instance of the kind of belief we have mentioned above. The Government on the other hand had fully learnt to value Indian States as ear-marked preserves for the British official and foreign exploiter—that mysterious close-knit corporation of vested interests, that dark, dominant and sinister influence with which everybody who has had anything to do with the administration of Indian States is but too well familiar—and it spares no effort to protect them against all such influences as might exploitation tend to stir up a feeling of consciousness in these back woods of reaction or to disturb or interrupt this silent process of exploitation. Is the danger from public criticism from outside? Well then, let there be a Princes' Protection Bill. The Indian Prince may not want it, knowing as he does that the nationalist press in British India has almost invariably championed his cause against the tyranny of the secret caucus of the foreign exploiter and the British official, that its criticisms are directed against the doings of that secret corporation rather than against the internal administration of the State. But he must be served even against himself, he must have special 'protective' legislation, willy-nilly. Is the danger from within? Is the Prince a man of advanced views? Does he keep a jealous eye over the natural resources of the State against exploitation by the foreigner? Does he keep British officials and exploiters at stick's end? Does he refuse to betray himself into a policy of segregation from his subjects and arms himself with their strength by sympathising with popular movements instead of relying upon despotic legislation provided by a foreign government, for the maintenance of his position? Well then, he must be put out of harm's way. This is the true significance of the forced abdication of the Maharajah of Nabha.

The Central fact is the exploitation. So long as a Prince lends himself to be used as a willing instrument for that purpose, he is welcome. The Government is prepared to arm him with despotic powers, even against his will, to smother all adverse criticism, but the moment he should cease to be serviceable in that manner, the moment he begins to evince signs of independence, he must be rooted out even as a poisonous weed that threatens to choke the entire garden of loyalty. And to the extent to which such a Prince has disassociated

himself from his subjects and rests his authority on the arbitrary exercise of power in his State, to the extent that he has enslaved his subjects and rendered them weak and helpless, to that extent precisely he will find himself at the mercy of the despotic will of the Government.

The choice before Indian Princes is thus clear. Let them cut themselves away from their subjects, let them rely for the maintenance of their position on their alliance with a foreign despotism and they will one day go the way the Maharaja of Nabha has gone as soon as their use is over. But their sovereignty will be inviolate if it is broad-based on the people's will and affection. The Government will think a million times before summarily setting aside a Prince who is the head of a constitution that is based on the united will of an organised, enlightened, self-governing, self-respecting people. The painful experience of the Maharaja of Nabha will not have gone in vain if it serves to bring home to the minds of his brother Princes the necessity of arming themselves with the strength of popular, democratic feeling instead of hanging on the breath of an alien bureaucracy for power.

Misled

To the Editor Young India
Sir,

In the "Young India" issue of 19th July at page 241 is the article "The Special Session". In it there is the sentence: "But they should agree that unless they should have a very effective majority, they cannot non-cooperate from inside." This sentence suggests that "You should agree, that if the Swaraj party can have a very effective majority, they can non-cooperate from inside." If that is what you accept, there is absolutely no ground for your opposing Mr. C. R. Das. Once you accept the theory that there can be "Non-cooperation from within the Councils", you are quite out of court in insisting on the boycott of Councils. Your business then will be to bring about such modifications either in the electoral rules or in the franchise as to secure for Congressmen led by Mr. Das an effective majority in the legislative bodies. You must help Mr. Das in putting into those bodies as many Congressmen as possible. You may—by resorting to combinations—secure majorities within the legislature. Indeed, if this be your view, which appears from the above sentence, why harass the people with all the alterations which have rent the whole Congress organisation? Perhaps yours is an unwilling remark; but any unwilling remark of yours is sure to be misinterpreted and is calculated to mislead. It is not you that you have to consider the position or interest of, but the mission of Mahatma which happens to be in your charge. Any slight mistake of yours has its reaction on the cause of non-cooperation.

Yours ever

P. R. Lele

Mr. Lele has misread the article, the meaning of which is quite clear. If he would revert to it, he will see that the mere paragraphing of it is pretty conclusive against him. The paragraph where the sentence under discussion occurs (by the by he has not quoted accurately) deals with what would happen if the Swarajists are beaten at the special Congress. The most optimistic Swarajists do not hope to get an effective majority without the support of the Cong-

ness. They would also admit that they could do nothing without such an effective majority. Mr. Das himself has admitted it. "Therefore" the article continues, "I take it that there can be no non-cooperation from inside the Councils." We see that the *Svadeshmित्रम* exploits the phrase for its own purposes; but we are not surprised at that. Ed. Y. I.]

Khadi Notes

Tree-Cotton

Sjt. Pujari, who is in charge of Khadi work in Bijiapur Taluqa in the province of Karnatak writes thus, regarding tree-cotton:—

"In my opinion *Dev* cotton is the best and most suitable for our purposes. It can be grown in every courtyard and under all the climatic conditions. The tree grows to a height of 8 to 10 feet. It lasts for 15 to 20 years. Four or five trees grown in the courtyard would be quite enough to supply cotton sufficient for clothing a family. It does not require much watering. In Karnatak one can find these trees in many courtyards. If the Khaddar movement is to last long and to succeed as a home industry, I think it is indispensable that each family should arrange to grow this cotton. I am told that our forefathers used to spin this cotton for their sacred thread."

Here is an extract from page 121 from the reports and documents of the East India Company from 1788 to 1835:—

"The delicate fabrics of Dacca were at all times manufactured entirely from the cotton produced in India and were probably the finest in the world; but the growth of this particular kind of Dacca cotton is limited to a space of about 40 miles in length by less than 3 in breadth along the banks of the Meghna about 20 miles north of the Bay of Bengal."

In view of the facts in the extract Sjt. Pujari suggests that accurate information regarding this variety should be obtained from some Dacca workers. Soon after receiving this letter we got a letter from Mymensingh from Sjt. Dharendra Mohan Datta giving a description of Bengal cotton together with its samples. Its substance is given below.

1. Jata Cotton

This sample is the same which is termed as *Dev* cotton in these bulletins, i. e., the same as the one described above by Sjt. Pujari. *Jata* cotton is perhaps so called because of its fibres collecting like *Jata* (matted hair) on the row of seeds, sticking on to one another instead of growing all round each seed.

2. Shiranj Cotton

This sample is the same as that named *Dev* cotton in the bulletins. A friend having sent the sample of this cotton had labeled this name on it. We have adopted this name from him.

3. Baria Cotton.

This cotton is exactly similar to the *Bori* cotton of Gujarat.

The above mentioned 3 samples have been sent as those of the tree-cotton variety. The *Bori* cotton plant, if allowed to stand, grows like a tree or a creeper, and the seed etc. of the *Baria* cotton are like that of the *Bori* cotton variety. It is thus safe to infer that it is the *Bori* variety.

4. Garo Cotton.

This is a seasonal variety. Its fibre is less than even half an inch and rough to touch like wool. About 14 seeds are found in each of the chambers of the boll. Generally we have only 7 seeds in the seasonal

cottons of Gujarat. This variety is so named because of its being cultivated on the Garo Hills. As its lint is like wool, the foreign traders buy and export hundreds of Khandies of this variety, to be used for mixing purposes in woolen mills.

Sjt. Datta while describing the *Dev* cotton writes:—

"*Dev* cotton is unavailable in large quantities for it cannot be used for purposes of trade. Three or four seers of what may be produced by a house-holder in his courtyard is used up in spinning for home use. When sold it fetches 3 to 4 annas per seer (80 tolas). The yield of its lint is 25 per cent, i. e., $\frac{1}{4}$ of the seed-cotton. As a result of the efforts of the last two three years the cultivation of *Dev* cotton has increased so much that we hope to get sufficient cotton for the spinning wheels that are working here. We are not likely to feel scarcity of cotton in future owing to our efforts in this year. We had made special efforts for cotton cultivation this year by going from village to village distributing cotton seeds. The position of Khadi on our side is as follows:—

(1) Formerly cotton was not available. The cultivation of *Dev* cotton is gradually helping in the solution of this question. Where there is too much rain in Bengal, no other variety is possible.

(2) Formerly spinning wheels were working in large numbers; now the number has gone down. Besides the scarcity of cotton, another reason for the decline of this activity was that no one undertook to weave hand-spun yarn. This greatly disappointed the spinners.

(3) Weavers however are now coming forward to undertake weaving hand-spun yarn and good Khadi is being turned out. This Khadi is cheaper than the bazar Khadi by 3 to 4 annas per yard. All this makes me confident that wherever we can coordinate the three elements of Khadi—cotton, wheel and loom—production of good Khadi can be assured. All the three things are ready in our country even now, what is wanted is its organization. That done, the success of Khadi is assured.

"This does not mean that there are no other difficulties. On account of the present political differences and consequent depression, there is a dearth of workers. For this very reason, my Khadi Vidyalaya too could not get a start. Moreover the Khadi authorities on this side do not believe that any particular training is necessary for doing Khadi work. Their belief, on the contrary, is that the workers can pick up the necessary information in course of their work. So I could not get students and start our Vidyalaya. But some trained workers of the Dacca Abhaya Ashram are doing splendid work in connection with Khadi training, and are making a steady headway."

Sjt. Pujari has expressed a desire to know something about Dacca cotton. Sjt. Datta's letter can give some idea about it.

Sjt. Datta was about to appear for his M. A. Examination. He gave it up and came to Sabarmati to receive training in the Khadi Vidyalaya. Though

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Notes

The Trek

A batch of volunteers have left Ahmedabad to do the whole long way to Nagpur on foot and to join the fight for the Flag. The leader is Sit. Surendra Gupta, an inmate of the Ashram—brave, resolute and with infinite grit. The sheer size of the enterprise is audacious, appalling, epic—tramping over six hundred miles in utter contempt of the Railway and all the other "blessings of British rule". Second thoughts, however, yield true results. It is only our defective education and the silent shamfacedness of life that breed in us the mood of surprise. Come to think of it, a six hundred mile march should be nothing to a race of pilgrims like us. It is only yesterday that the "blessings of British Rule" invaded us. For thousands of years, our fathers had been marching on foot along the wide surface of our land—from snow girt Himalayas to Cape Comorin, bathed in the light of mystic sunsets, in search of freedom and peace. What they did, it should yet be possible for us also to do. Nagpur is a place of pilgrimage for the best among us. It is in the fitness of things that young men should band themselves in the effort to blend march and song and the hard discipline of sun, rain and the dangers of strange paths into a genuine experience of life with a view to offer it in the service of India—Goddess,

Mother and exacting Task-maste. But it is something more than pilgrimage—though it is most important. The march will be propaganda not in towns and on Railway platforms (which is nothing) but preaching in the villages (which is everything). It is a first experiment that is going forth, but we can quite imagine this or a later day picking up volunteers all along the way, increasing in numbers and effectiveness snow-ball fashion. If the problem of commissariat can be solved, there is little to prevent the party numbering several thousands at the end. There is nothing impractical in the notion, as Mahatmaji's "Wonderful march" in South Africa proved. The final result on the Government would be overwhelming—the solid phalanxes walking into the Central Provinces to be arrested.

Treaty of Lausanne

Turkey's part in the War and Peace raised two problems, one national and the other religious. The temporal need was security and sovereignty. The requirement of religion was the maintenance of undisputed Muslim supremacy in the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. Genuine independence and freedom from the bondage of European Powers were exclusively the task of the Turks themselves. The maintenance of the integrity of the Holy Places of Islam is a duty cast on the Mussalmans of the whole world. The treaty of Lausanne has realised the political end defined by Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The settlement of the religious problem which occasioned the conflict between the British Government and the Indian Mussalmans is still as far off as ever. The manifesto issued by Dr. Ansari has made this fact clear and there is reason to believe that it represents the opinion of the country. The release of Maulana Mahomed Ali is now not far off. We must wait till then for a clear explicit and authoritative declaration in the light of recent development. What concerns us now, therefore, is the political issue. It is now acknowledged that Ismet Pasha has scored a series of diplomatic triumphs against the Allies; but there is something more important than diplomatic triumph. The treaty registers the first defeat of Europe these hundred years in European soil in the eternal conflict between Europe and Asia. Mr. Lloyd George is perfectly right in declaring that the Treaty is the most humiliating that England has signed with the Turks; he could have gone further and said, it was the most humiliating that any European Power signed with Turkey since the check to Islam under the walls of Vienna. All these years, the Powers had been continuously victorious in field and chamber. Several centuries through, the

Ottomans had been forced further and further to the East. This time last year, the process came to an end. The retreat of the Greeks to Smyrna and into the sea was no less than the rout of Europe. Three treaties in the twentieth century are of epochal significance:—Portsmouth which terminated the Russo-Japanese conflict; Kabul which recognised the Independence of Afghanistan and Lausanne. And the Fourth? Well, shall we say the Independence of Hindustan.....?

The Second Milestone

The Fight in Nagpur is heading towards another crisis. The order whose disobedience is now leading men to jail is the second of the series. It was passed by the District Magistrate on June 17, the day on which Seth Jamnalal Bajaj was arrested. The order will exhaust itself on August 16th and the Government is in a fever of activity. The Police are arresting volunteers as soon as they step out of the train. We congratulate the officials on the logical thoroughness of their policy. We shall be happier still if the Government should arrest volunteers even before they get into the Central Provinces. The day will soon come when it will be forced to arrest every one enrolled as a volunteer of the Congress. Obviously thoroughness calls for this step. All the same, we do not profess to understand the reason of the present change in official tactics. Anxiety to suppress the movement is natural; but the Government has not succeeded so far. The theory that is popular in Nagpur seems to be as follows:—The officials are anxious to get out of the mess into which they have got. But prestige should be maintained and it would not do to yield as long as Civil Disobedience continued. If only the stream of volunteers could be broken by wholesale arrests, the Government will show a generous gesture and refrain from the renewal of its order which has created all the trouble. The legislature of the Central Provinces is to meet next week, and there will be a resolution about the subject. The Government will seek to satisfy the Councillors by a declaration to that effect. Let us say at once that we do not believe a word of it. We have a rooted suspicion about the tactics of this Government in the course of a fight and an equally settled conviction about our weakness as diplomats, because of an incurable trustfulness in the good faith of opponents. We have no business to talk or think of diplomacy or negotiations. The thing that the nation has taken on hand in Nagpur is manifestly simple and straightforward. The District Magistrate's order has to be cancelled either by himself or a superior authority or it has to be allowed to die by lapse of time. There is nothing else to be done. The right of the Flag to exist in India is unchallengeable.

The Four-anna Franchise

We have long suspected that the *Indian Social Reformer* is a pessimist in politics. Its standard of achievement in thought and word is so high that it is bound to feel depressed at the contrast between things as they should be and things as they are. It is in a state of acute pessimism at the present moment. Kenya, Nabha, Salt everything is going to pieces, and there is not a word of construction or healing in the general babel of voices with which we are afflicted. We agree with our contemporary in the

recording of facts, but we differ from it in the diagnosis altogether. There is profound commiseration with the leaders who are criticised. Mr. Das is described as being as violently attacked as Sir Michael O'dwyer was in 1919. We are not sure about it; but we suggest that Mr. Das is not being assailed with anything like the virulence which Mr. Gandhi suffered at the hands of Mrs. Besant, Sir Sankaran Nair and the Moderate Press, in the days of his power. The *Indian Social Reformer* is not virulent; it is only cursed with a logical mind. If memory serves aright, we think that Mr. Natarajan himself knew how to deal with Mr. Gandhi faithfully and frankly. But Mahatmaj never made a complaint of it, and we know he has directed his followers to ignore all attacks on him. That is the essential condition of public work and whoever cannot stand criticism without making a grievance of it must leave politics alone. As a matter of fact, our contemporary's complaint is against the irreverence of the four anna franchise-wala. We tremble to think what it would say of adult-suffrage. Adult-suffrage gives the vote to everybody; while the four anna franchise presupposes sufficient political interest in the elector to persuade him to take the trouble of getting his name registered after paying four annas a year. Why exactly he must be described as a Frankenstein passes our understanding. We have always thought that from a purely democratic point of view, the invention of the conditional franchise is the most remarkable stroke of Mr. Gandhi's genius. Unlike other makers of constitutions Mr. Gandhi insisted on interest and a small sacrifice as the condition of electoral privileges. Making, come to think of it, adults or householders or men paying a certain tax electors irrespectively of their capacity or willingness to take interest in civic affairs is an absurdity. Why should man have a vote thrust on him unless he wanted it? But we take it that it is not the four annas scheme that upsets our contemporary; it is the wickedness of the common man (including Mr. Gandhi's secretary) who is impudent enough to criticise Mr. Das and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Somehow or other, we are old fashioned enough to believe in freedom of discussion, political equality and other democratic fundamentals. Mussolini and all the other violent dictators that have cumbered the path of history, have from time to time attempted to cure the distress of democracy. But we never expected that *Reformer* would be the preacher of the new violence known as Fascism.

Daily Supplement

The following are the agency terms with regard to the projected issue of a daily Young India

- (1) Selling price of a copy is 0-0-6.
- (2) Agents will get a commission of 25 per cent on the value realised.
- (3) Agents will place a deposit with us, at the rate of Rs. 40 on the daily order of every 25 copies.
- (4) The parcels will be generally sent at our own cost, but the Railway freight or postage on parcels containing less than 25 copies must be borne by the agents.
- (5) 5 per cent. Of the copies may be accepted back if unsold. But these must be returned by the agents at their own expense along with their monthly accounts.
- (6) Agents will submit and pay up their accounts of every month during the first week of the succeeding month.

Manager Y. I.

The Feast of Union

On 24th of July, Turkish freedom was confirmed and sealed at Luasanne. And simultaneously on a thousand platforms in India, the bond of union between Hindus and Mussalmans was sealed again with the word of honour of leaders of both communities amidst the joyous acclamation of the people. Turkey wrung her political freedom from the great Powers of Europe, and India offers her congratulations on this triumph of right and justice.

The mussalmans of India have not been fighting only for the political freedom of Turkey. The Ali Brothers and Mahatma Gandhi and others have been in jail not only or primarily for the political independence of the Turks, but for the honour and freedom of Islam. So long as the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* is kept under foreign domination or control, so long as this holy land of Islam is not made entirely free, the religious struggle of the Mussalmans of India is not ended.

The twentyfive members of the Council of State and Indian Legislative Assembly who waited on the Viceroy to express their sense of gratitude at the successful termination of peace negotiations did not forget to press this point on the attention of the Viceroy. The latter however closed his reply without offering any words of hope on this subject. Instead, he indulged in the mere platitude, that "the old traditions of Indian Muslim loyalty and attachment to the British Crown will shine forth with renewed light and vigour".

If these phrases were meant to draw the Indian Muslims away from the struggle for Swaraj, an unmistakable answer was given from a thousand platforms on the 12 day. The mutual pledges of Hindus and Mussalmans, not to rest until Swaraj shall be won by their joint effort and joint sacrifice, were renewed in most solemn form on that sacred day. Their mutual promises cannot be dissolved or slackened by any partial attainment of the Khilafat demands, but made doubly binding by the obligations arising out of part-performance. C. R.

Repudiation

Sir Charles Yate drew attention to a resolution of the Indian National Congress passed on 1st January last that after the attainment of Swaraj, Indians would not hold themselves bound to repay liabilities contracted by the legislature after that date. He suggested that trustees who invested or wished to invest trust money in loans issued under the East India Loans Act or by the Government of India should be given an assurance that Government would insist that one of the conditions on which responsible government would eventually be given to India would be that such obligations would not be repudiated.

Lord Winterton replied that the question related to the future and must be considered by whatever Government was in power when the constitutional change referred to occurred. Lord Peel was perfectly satisfied that no Government or Parliament would ever fail to

recognise the importance of a proper settlement of these matters.

There is little doubt that when the constitutional change comes about, a just and convincing indictment will be drawn up against the Government that brought the country by its avarice of power, its suspicion and its maladministration to the state of financial insolvency which justified the resolution of the Indian National Congress. The indictment will be irresistible when an impartial tribunal sits to settle the terms of Indian Swaraj. It may be that the British people may agree to bear the obligations repudiated by India, but that India should ever agree to bear the inequitable burdens and make Swaraj a mere mockery without fruit or reality, is unthinkable.

The Poor Man's health

After the salt tax, the raising of the price of quinine comes in appropriate sequence. Dr. U. Rama Rao, who is a member of the Legislative Council of Madras and is therefore not a non-cooperator, writes a letter from which the following is extracted:—

"For a long time past, the Government of Madras have been selling quinine through post-offices at a very cheap rate for the benefit of the malaria-stricken masses of this Presidency. The rate was originally 3 pias per packet of 10 grains. During the war, it was increased to six pias, owing to the abnormal labour and other conditions prevailing at the time. One would naturally expect the price to go down again when war was over. But, no. The recent order of the Government of Madras says that "owing to certain unfavourable factors likely to enhance the cost of manufacturing quinine in the near future, the Government have decided that it is no longer possible to supply quinine packets sold through post-offices at 6 pias per packet. They accordingly direct that with effect from 1st July 1923, the price of these packets sold through post offices in the Madras Presidency be raised to 9 pias per packet of 10 grains." What are those unfavourable factors that cause this increase in price? The Government are aware that malaria has done and is still doing a good deal of havoc in this Presidency. They are aware that quinine is the and the only medicine to cure malaria. They are further aware that medical aid especially in rural parts is scanty and the sale of quinine by Government at a cheap rate and not far from their abodes is really a boon to the sufferers from malaria. Then, why should the Government take this most retrograde step? Quinine is being sold in retail market for about Rs. 2 per ounce, while the proposed rate works up at Rs. 2-4 per ounce. Is it that the Government apprehend that dealers surreptitiously purchase quinine from post-offices at a cheap rate, and make a lot of money over it? If so cannot they find other means of effectively putting a stop to this practice, than by raising the price? Why should the Government have the monopoly of the manufacture of quinine and why not they entrust it to private enterprise? Or, is it that the Government wish to place this produce beyond the means of the poor people here to purchase, with a view to export their stock for gain? These are some of the questions which suggest themselves to the public and unless the mystery is solved, it is not possible to hit at the right solution. It is passing strange that the Government should have viewed the whole problem from a commercial standpoint and forgotten entirely the humanitarian aspect of it. I hope that wiser counsels will prevail and the Government will hasten to annul the G. O. at the earliest possible opportunity with a view to secure the health and comfort of the voiceless millions of this Presidency committed to their charge."

The Irony of the Empire Exhibition

The Imperial Parliament has accepted the Cabinet decision on Kenya which lays down a general policy for the whole Empire. Even Mr. Shrinivasa Shastri specifically advises complete withdrawal from the Empire Exhibition. C. R.

The Father of Non-cooperation

In the course of a speech marked by the Lokmanya's characteristic clearness of logic, delivered at Calcutta on 2nd January 1907, in which he explained the tenets of the Extremist party, he said:—

"Appeals to the bureaucracy are hopeless. On this point both the new and old parties are agreed. The old party believes in appealing to the British nation and we do not. That being our position, it logically follows we must have some other method... We have come forward with a scheme which if you accept shall better enable you to remedy this state of things than the scheme of the old school... The remedy is not petitioning but boycott. We are not armed, and there is no necessity for arms either. We have a stronger weapon, a political weapon in boycott... The whole of this administration which is carried only by a handful of Englishmen is carried on with our assistance.

"If you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign Government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts and when time comes we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from tomorrow."

This was what the Lokmanya said in January 1907. And on the solemn night of 22nd July 1908 when the judge who was to sentence him to a long term of imprisonment asked him if he had anything to say, the Lokmanya said, "All I wish to say is that I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destinies of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

"What is Swaraj?" ask many politicals of the over-scrupulous secular school. The great Lokmanya defined it as "a life centered in self and dependent upon self" and held that "Swarajya was the natural consequence of diligent performance of Duty."

Thus was the straight and narrow path of emancipation long ago shown to the people by the great soul, of whose liberation from the travail of earthly service we commemorated the third anniversary this week.

C. R.

cause of non-cooperation by enforcing the final logic of the struggle. Do you cooperate with the Government which, you maintain, has done and is doing grievous wrong? If you do, you are entitled to serve in the Courts of that Government. If you have no faith in petitions, but have a plan of direct action against the Government, then you are outside the law and the rights and privileges of our system. No one can object to this clear position taken up by the chief justice of Madras,

C. R.

Is not the Life More than Meat?

The Madras High Court and the Law Officers of the Madras Government have reached the lowest level of political unchivalry and of even political wisdom. But it is not for a downright opponent to criticise the wisdom of the other party. Each must be left to judge of his own interests. But in political struggles even of the bitterest type, which may be ranked with revolutions, we have all been taught by precedents and history to expect certain standards of conduct towards opponents. Even where arms have been used and the taking of life has been deliberately made part of the means of attainment of political justice, there has been a self-restraint imposed on themselves by governments. Much more therefore may be fairly assumed as the duty of civilisation in respect of the Indian struggle in which a truly wonderful code of non-violence has been with diligent sincerity sought to be observed, with a success which in spite of lapses ought to be the admiration of any impartial judge.

The proceedings reported in the papers over the application of Mr. K. Madhavan Niar and Mr. U. Gopala Menon for renewal of their licenses to practice, are disappointing in the extreme. But there is a more painful aspect than that of unchivalry in the adversary. One is surprised at the attitude taken up by the Vakils' association and the Advocate-general and the other lawyers engaged in the case. In the narrow casement of the particular case and the results thereof, they all seem to have conspired tacitly to ignore the traditions of liberty which the legal profession had been enjoying. Will the legal associations throughout the country not take up a bolder stand? Sadder than this even is the self-imposed disgrace of the applicants for license.

"The statement filed in Court did not contain a word of regret" said the judge.

"My client is here and authorises me to state to the Court on his behalf that he expresses his regret" answered the lawyer on behalf of the applicant.

"Are you instructed to say that your client is not a non-cooperator?" asked the judge.

"My client", replied the advocate "makes an unconditional statement that he will be a Responsive Cooperator, that he will assist the administration of justice and as in honour bound conduct himself as a proper officer of the Court."

The chief justice observed that a franker expression of regret and an undertaking not to take part in the boycott movement were wanted and the hearing was adjourned to obtain them.

It is not easy to see how any person who once had the courage and the determination to join the great national movement could ever come so low as to agree to subject himself to such indignities. But from one false step to another is man led when once he loses his foot-hold and the courage to fight against injustice and arrogant power, and is overtaken by the panic of hunger. Poverty and misery must be our proud lot, and trust in God who feeds the fowls of the air and clothes the lilies of the field. Then only can we preserve honour and liberty in our state. There is no middle course between honour and disgrace. The High Court of Madras has done signal service to the

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2-8-23

The Test of Empire

How often has it been uttered, and on behalf of every variety of political opinion in India, that the issue involved in the Kenya question is one that means Empire or no Empire?

And now the question has been answered. The decision is declared to be not a departmental one, but the decision of the whole Government taken by the Cabinet that rules over the Empire. They have stated in clear terms that they accept full responsibility for giving the decision, promulgating it and standing by it. They have declared that it is not merely a local question, but affects the whole of the British Commonwealth. Thus has a policy of Empire been laid down.

Shall we add all the brave words we have uttered to the bluff-heap of an impotent talking nation, or shall we unite, all of us, and change the first article of the Congress creed, and concert measures for a united battle for freedom?

What honourable place or seat can Moderate or Liberal or Nationalist have in the Executive or Legislative Councils of the Government of India after this great acid test has negatived all the hopes and expectations of all these hoping schools of thought? Let us not deceive ourselves any longer with charming turns of phrases and dexterous combinations of words in a language whose wonderful fluctuations we have but learnt too well to play with. There is no equality for us in this Empire. And without equality we cannot serve in it as permanent helots. The talk of impotent retaliation is mere makeshift and self-deception. It is Satan whispering procrastination and asking us to hold on to dishonour in the deluding excitement of a mock-battle. No, no, the place for you, Moderates, Liberals, and all honourable men is outside, in universal revolt against this helotism, promulgated in the name of Empire. If you do not come out now, the battle is for ever lost, and the chains forged now will hold our children in unbreakable bondage.

The Hypocrisy of Trusteeship

The British Cabinet utters words of high and sacred purpose towards the African people:—

"The Imperial Government are the trustees of the African Dependencies of which Kenya is one."

"There is no room for doubt that the mission of Britain is to work continuously for training and education of Africans towards higher intellectual, moral and economic level. Everything possible will be done for the advancement and development of Africans."

And how is this advancement and development of the Africans to be worked out?

His Majesty's Government are convinced that the existing system of Government is best calculated to achieve the aims which they have in view.

And what is the record of this "existing system of Government?"

Unjust taxation, compulsory registration, and compulsory labour. Government officials have been used to collect labourers through influence over Native Chiefs who were obliged to send men against their will to work on plantations of private European landlords and concessionaire companies who had obtained large tracts of lands confiscated from the natives. Nearly 12000 square miles of fertile land have been taken from the natives and turned into Crown lands without compensation, and now practically the whole of it is owned and managed by less than 2000 Europeans. Conditions of labour have led to immorality, prostitution and loose marital unions.

Two thousand prosecutions were launched in the course of one year of the Natives Registration Act. This is the record of the existing system of Government which is to be perpetuated to fulfil the trusteeship.

The Hypocrisy of Non-Racial Phrasing

We are told that His Majesty's Government cannot countenance legislation designed to exclude from a British Colony immigrants from any other part of the British Empire. But we are told immediately afterwards that the existing regulations in Kenya are of "general application", and applicable to undesirable persons from Europe or America as from Asia. The Governor of Kenya has been directed therefore "to explore the matter further" in concert with the Governor of Uganda and to submit proposals to the Colonial office for "controlling" immigration in the "economic interests of the African". This is too much even for the *Times of India*, which writes on July 26:—

"It is obvious that this form of control must chiefly affect Indian immigration. We do not believe that there are any 'extreme circumstances' which at present make, or are likely in the near future to make, this control necessary in the economic interests of Kenya."

Indian immigration affects the economic interests not of Kenya but of the European settlers, and it is well-known that these latter have always had in mind the ultimate prohibition of Indian immigration. With political and administrative power in their hands, whatever the theory may be, the control of immigration that is sanctioned is certain to be applied only against Indian immigration. The theoretical prohibition of segregation laws with the grant of all dominant political and executive power to the small European population will only lead to a campaign more determined than ever to crush the Indians by every means in their power.

Segregation

Simultaneously with the promulgation of the Cabinet decision against segregation of Indians in townships, General Smuts has declared war and opened the campaign to get this decision annulled. There is little doubt that henceforth what is decided in one part of the Empire will react on another, and that the status of Indians in any part of the Empire is decided not by the highest, but by the lowest position they occupy anywhere else. Look at the argument of General Smuts in answer to the Indian demand for equal franchise. Indians in British Columbia had been refused the vote, says General Smuts, and so he claims that the same line should be taken in South Africa. General Smuts has declared that legislation will be

passed through the Union Parliament by which it will be open to townships in future to set aside areas "both for residence and for trade". There was untouchability in the social system among Hindus, said General Smuts, and so he would get legislation passed in Africa imposing untouchability on Indians in the Empire. Unblushingly does the South African Premier, the favourite of the Empire, declare that his object is to prevent the South African people buying from Indian traders. "If after the passing of such a law" says he, "our people in South Africa prefer to go and buy in an Indian bazar, it will not be the fault of the Government".

The whole thing is presented in a nutshell in the claim of General Smuts that South Africa is "our own house". It does not depend on the relative population or Imperial policy, but it is an Imperial axiom that the dominions are the white man's own house, and he has the right to be master thereof.

Judging from the precipitous course of events, a universal policy of segregation throughout the Empire seems inevitable, unless India attains without loss of time the power to defend her people abroad.

Unredeemed Helots

The final blow to mutual recognition and adjustment of the needs and aspirations of all the inhabitants, European as well as African and Indian, is dealt by the decision that the franchise shall be communal. With the official majority, it was superfluous to have the additional precaution of keeping the Indians down to five elected members as against the Europeans' eleven unofficial members elected exclusively by the votes of the European population. If the respective sizes of the various communities are remembered the full injustice of the arrangement will be seen. The Indians in Kenya number 22,822, the Arabs who will have one member number 10,102, and the whole European population who are to have eleven elected members is 9651. And over and above this, the white officials outnumber all these elected seats put together, so that the exact strength of the Indian seats matters but little in the total impotence of their position. The vast bulk of the population, the 2½ million natives, are to be represented by two missionaries—one on the Executive Council and another on the Legislative Council.

It is no wonder under such circumstances, even Mr. Polak has whined, "very urgently advising no acceptance" and that Mr. Shrinivasa Shastri condemns the Cabinet decision as a profound humiliation and the deepest affront to India. The man whose moderation and restraint won for his abilities the highest recognition from Government and who was sent round as Imperial Ambassador to all the Dominions to sue for justice for India, sums up the situation, in an interview to Reuters, that the people of India are no longer equal partners in the British Commonwealth, but unredeemed helots in a Boer Empire.

Will Mr. Shastri's conclusion bear its logical fruit in determined action, or will it be lost once again in the barren sands of vain petitioning?

Mrs. Besant's Verdict

What does Mrs. Besant say?

The Government of Great Britain has yielded to the threats of the handful of Europeans in Kenya, and has handed over to their tyranny the 22,822 Indians and the two and a half millions of

the Africans, about whose interests they pretended to be so much concerned. We know how the Whites have treated the Africans; they have robbed them of their lands; they have imposed on them forced labour; they pay them shameful wages; they ill-use them physically.

As for the Indians, they are at the mercy of the armed Whites, whose threats have cowed the Cabinet of Britain, for, having yielded once, they will never dare to interfere with the power they have bestowed on them. The Cabinet insults the Indians with communal representation, and thus creates two hostile communities; to consummate the wrong, it gives 5 seats to 22,822 Indians and 11 to 9,651 Whites. The Whites will be able to pass everything over the heads of the Indians, and perpetually insult and trample on them. The Indians will be entirely at their mercy, and nothing is to be gained by accepting the franchise or filling the seats. They are handed over, bound hand and foot, to their enemies, who will now be able to oppress them legally as well as in other ways.

On the whole, I think the frank brutality of the White settlers is less offensive than the Pecksniffian hypocrisy of the British Cabinet.

It is well that this has come before the elections. It will make sterner the determination to win Swaraj. Then India herself will deal with the Dominions and Colonies, and will be able to protect her own children at home and abroad.

The Vital Point

By depriving them of the fundamental citizen right of equal opportunities for acquiring property, the Cabinet has mercilessly ruled that the people of India are untouchables in the Empire. The Highlands with Nairobi in it are the nerve centre of the Kenya Colony. Exclusion from rights of primary assignment as well as of purchase of any land whatever in the Highlands, is tantamount to exclusion from the whole Colony. The temporary reservation of a portion of the Lowlands is a worthless offer which can deceive no one. Without rights of holding any property of real value how can the twentytwo thousand and more Indians find life possible in Kenya? Just imagine, having to live in India without the right to hold any ownership over land! To the Indians domiciled in Kenya Kenya is their only home and they must now find themselves walls in the wide world. Mr. Shastri has risen to a height of indignation never reached by him before. But alas! Even here his words are marked by unmistakable symptoms of the fatal weakness that pursues his great patriotism and abilities. He obtrusively conditions his declarations with a proviso as to constitutionalism and the use of power already acquired, all which one does not know how he may hereafter define as the poison of weakness again begins to work. He advises however withdrawal from the Empire Exhibition and the resignation of the Indian members of Government. But again the tragic answer to it is the attitude already taken by Mr. Sharma. Words and attitudes continue to deceive us when even a child may see that the Government of India is not in the throes of agony over its people's grave discomfiture but is only acting the part of a disingenuous agent of Imperial authority merely feeling the pulse for advising patient submission.

C. R.

Impossible But for Him

(By George Joseph)

Today is the third anniversary of the passing away of Tilak. Today happens to be also the third anniversary of the beginning of Non-cooperation. Tilak represented—in thought, outlook and work—a great chapter in India's struggle for freedom. Mahatma Gandhi represents an equally great chapter in the same story—the Revolution of Non-violence on a national, nay international scale.....

It is idle to erect competing pedestals of greatness for them. One star differeth from another in glory. But there is a logical, exact, interlocking connection between Tilak and Gandhi which it would be profitable to understand.

In historical precedence in the back-ground is another figure, understanding not whom, we understand nothing at all. It is Naoroji. The accurate significance of Dadabhai to Indian nationalism—all the permanent part of it, was not struck by him till near the end of his long, combative and useful life. His earlier task was the intellectual formulation of the grievance of foreign domination. It was an accident—the inherent accident of his hard mathematical mind that led him into the investigation of the economic consequences of British rule. The work he did was final and conclusive. *Poverty and un-British Rule in India* is one of the determining books of history as fateful and classic as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* or Rousseau's *Contrat Social*;—nothing in politics or affairs could be the same after its publication as before. But his political judgment lingered. For so experienced and alert a man, Naoroji's recognition that economic exploitation and political dominance were two aspects of a single integral evil, was curiously belated. I do not know whether it was he that invented the blasphemous phrase about the "Indispensability of British connection"; but he believed in the heresy for a long time. But the Partition of Bengal precipitated his thought long held in solution as it did that of a million others. He made up his mind that the only way of redemption is *Swarajya*—a very revolution of the mind. Till then, Association in Government not Authority was understood to be the goal of Indian politics. The method was not in controversy, because the end was clear-conceived. But to Naoroji belongs the supreme credit of affirming that *Swarajya*. Authority was the only thing that mattered. The Revolution in Ideal was a miracle for a man of his age. It can be no grievance that he never achieved the complementary revolution in the discovery of the true master.

It was Tilak that discovered the true master in Indian politics—the common man, the man behind the plough and in the village. Indian politics before Tilak was the politics of private interviews and confidential whispers. No wonder either. As long as the final word was conceded to rest with the Indian Civil Service and with Parliament in England, the obviously right thing was to persuade them. By their very nature, they could be got at only through conversations and understandings, and the diplomacy of petitioning. Tilak discovered that the Civil Service

did not matter much nor even the House of Commons. He perceived that all governments have to be bullied and driven and a foreign government more than any other. He felt that the only way to move the Indian Government was to defy and if possible, frighten it. As it happens, the British Government is afraid of mobs. Parliamentary government, the only system of administration with which Englishmen are acquainted, is regulated mob-law. Whatever the mob shouts is right; the bigger the mob, the righter it is and the more irresistible its authority for Governments. The Lokamanya decided that the only way to bring the Government to reason was by appealing to the people. He did not object to the Educated folk, but they were no use to him;—they were so few. He, therefore, directed his appeal to the vast mass of Indian humanity. He saw that though our people were possessed of a fine and unrivalled culture and of an unequalled political sense, they were ignorant of the phrases and the outer forms with which he, as a graduate of Bombay and Englishmen by the fact of their existence were acquainted. There were two ways of getting the crowd into effective intellectual contact with the Government. The Government could be taught the phrases that move the people or the people, the intellectual routine of the rulers. He decided on the former course. He started on that vast process of popular Education, the result of which is to be seen in Maharashtra, where the common people know more about politics (genuine real politics) than in any other part of the country. The *Kesari* was created by him; but it was something more than the *Kesari*. He created a new language, he opened up a whole sphere of thought and intellectual interest; he made people alive with the thought of mastery, mastery over themselves, and over the Government; he brought the past to life again, made Maharashtra proud of itself and of its heroes. He rebuilt a nation. From time to time the Government imprisoned him; but whenever he came back, with ever growing power he threatened it with the weapon he had forged. Others have had the glory of vast popular receptions; but it was he that roused the people to the possibility of being organised into demonstrations. His march through the Maharashtra in 1917 was a triumphal procession. The Revolution was upon us. The Government was brought into touch with the politically-minded villagers in their thousands and it was afraid. It discovered that sedition had spread from the towns to the villages, from the universities to the farms, from the intelligentsia to the people. The passing of power from the lawyers to the peasants was not clearly visible in Tilak's day because the movement was so huge that it could be perceived only in the detailed result. But he was responsible for the true revolution.

The creation of the crowd as a compelling force in politics was the Lokamanya's work and by a subtle irony he was content to brandish the sheer size of the Indian crowd in the Englishman's face. The further problem was not solved by him:—How is the crowd to act? By an instinctive wisdom, he concentrated on the single issue, and succeeded beyond dispute. Rebellion, political assassination, passive resistance, boycott of British goods—all these were gestures with

which the air was filled in his time, and he was too wide awake—a politician and journalist—not to have known something about them all. But he never gave a sign of the current of his mind. As fate willed it, he died before the solution of the problem became a pressing, urgent necessity.

The Khilafat Question forced the issue. Public, particularly Mussalman opinion, was wrath at the betrayal of Turkey and the country was on the brink of disaster. Popular emotion had to be regulated into profitable and efficient channels, to avoid the imminent explosion. Violence was possible—sporadic, local or organised, national. But there was not a single responsible person who would approve of it or assume its leadership. Force was therefore out of the question. The need of the time found its fulfiller. Mahatma Gandhi came forth; we do not want to discuss his world-significance. In the narrow field of Indian politics, however, the whole of his life was a preparation for the change he introduced. He called it non-cooperation. The name was of no consequence; but the reality was that the people whom Tilak had roused were in need of regulation and subserving of national purposes. The power was there; but it had to be used. It was a method that the nation was in search of. Mahatmajī invented the method, presented the world with a perfect technique of non-violent coercion (to adopt Case's word). Non-cooperation was born on the day that Tilak died; and his very spirit was born afresh in the fulfilment of his purpose....

Has non-cooperation achieved its end? Can it achieve the object defined by Mahatma Gandhi? The nation is in the middle of a prolonged decision, which looks perilously like a battle. But no matter; history will tell. But of one thing we may be sure. The programme of 1920 would have been impossible but for the long life of him we knew as Tilak.....

(Specially Contributed to Navajivan, Tilak Number)

Jail Life in India

V. K. B. writes to the Editor of "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—In view of the coming meeting by the Bombay Presidency Association, on Friday the 27th instant, to protest against the inhuman treatment in the Visapur jail and the flogging of political prisoners in the Yerawda jail the following facts, regarding jail life in India, would be found to be interesting.

The Report of the Painter Committee, specially appointed to report on the Visapur jail and the statements of Messrs. Virumal and Bhojraj are now public property, and the treatment there has been rightly condemned by all right-thinking men. But the public does not know what happens in ordinary jails.

There are various kinds of tasks awarded to the prisoners, such as pumping water, grinding, breaking metal, etc., etc.

The 'Chakki' sheds are present in all the jails of India, and are responsible for many cruelties. Even Subraos are not rare in our jails. Hence, one can think of the indignities, and cruelties suffered specially by the political prisoners, for not fully completing the task because they are unused to such kind of work.

The following punishments are awarded to the prisoners, mostly for not finishing the task—which is impossible to be finished by those, who are not used to rough life:—

(1) Hand-cuffs—these are mostly awarded for 4 nights continuously. This is considered a milder kind of punishment.

(2) "Kanji-Roti"—penal diet, consisting of *jowari* bread with too much salt in it. It is mostly awarded for 4 days continuously. "Kanji-Roti" is an unhealthy diet, because too much salt not seldom causes diarrhoea among the prisoners, who—withstanding this unhealthy diet—have to finish their tasks, mostly grinding. When the prisoner fails to complete the task—which must be the case under the circumstance—he is awarded a still more cruel punishment, which is described below:—

(3) "Bar-fetters and standing hand-cuffs", awarded usually for 7 days. Bar-fetters are kept day and night, while standing hand-cuffs for 9 hours every day.

I interviewed one Mulshi Peta 'Satyagrahi' prisoner, since returned from jail. He was awarded this punishment for not completing the grinding work. He is a high-class Bania, but he was set to grind 25 lbs. of corn daily. The heavy 'Chakki' stone was difficult to turn, even for 15 minutes. A companion was with difficulty found out and they both ground the corn for some days. But, when he could not find a companion to turn the 'Chakki' with him, he failed to complete the task and was awarded the punishment, which he describes as follows:—

Bar-fetters consist of iron-fetters attached with a heavy long rod, which is fixed with the help of blacksmiths with hammers. It takes a quarter to half an hour to fix the bar and fetters, and sometimes the prisoners actually bleed on account of the operation. On account of the fetters with the heavy iron bars, which are kept on the prisoners for seven days and nights, there are sometimes 'abscess' on the prisoner's legs, and walking becomes painful. It is especially so, when prisoners have to answer calls of nature, when they have to rise from their seats almost naked and to climb three steps of a raised piece of ground to wash themselves. Added to bar-fetters, are standing hand-cuffs, which keep the prisoner fixed to a pillar for 9 hours.

(4) "Gunny-cloth, for a month". No clothes for a month. They have to undergo this painful and humiliating experience, even during the biting cold of winter—this gunny-cloth being porous—and it causes an itching sensation during the heat of the summer.

(5) Prisoners are at times given only boiled *jowari* to eat.

(6) To crown all, flogging is resorted to.

Who are these Mulshi prisoners? They are high-souled educated men offering themselves for imprisonment as a protest against the sequestration of ancestral homesteads of farmers to give waterpower to an industrial concern.

C. R.

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Young India

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Notes

Peace

Pandit Rambhuj Dutt passed away peacefully at Mussorie on Monday. An active politician and religious and social reformer all his life, he fought many battles and the years took off him the toll of suffering. He was one of those that were persecuted by the Government in the days of martial law in the Punjab. He laboured and spared himself not. Now the day of his call to the Peace has come. Our sincere message of sympathy to Sarala Devi Chaudharani who strengthened him in all good works and is now left in loneliness.

Ba

Steadily goes the battle in Nagpur. There is little to record, as little as there was in the long months and years of trench warfare, in France. The routine is the same as it was the first day, with the few variations initiated by the Government for its own purposes. Numbers vary, places are different; but the conflict between the right of the people and the will of the Government is still in being. Mr. Patel signified his accession to generalship by increasing the number of arrests every day. At the moment of writing, one of the possibilities of the situation is that the Government may purchase release from its difficulties by acceding to a motion in the Legislative Council of the Central Provinces asking for the cancellation of the Magistrate's order. But it would not do to leave anything to chance.

Any way, Mrs. Gandhi is going to do no such thing. She has watched the struggle from a distance and at close quarters. The call has come to her and she has made up her mind to enter into the struggle. She is going to lead a batch of ladies into jail on the next Gandhi Day. Her appeal for recruits is being responded to actively from far and near and we hope

it may be possible for her to march at the head of a hundred consecrated women. Praise and compliment would be irreverence in her case—there is none worthy enough to speak the words of praise. To thousands who have come into contact with her, she is just Ba. Ba she has been to all and Ba she will be to the fortunate sisters who will march into the house of bondage under her motherly, sanctifying leadership.

"No-Empire" Day

The All-India Congress Working Committee has passed the following resolution:—

The decision of the British Government on the Kenya question having made it clear that it is not possible for India to have an equal and honourable place in the British Empire, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is of opinion that there should be a solemn demonstration throughout India to mark the event. The Committee therefore resolves that there shall be a peaceful *hartal* throughout India on the 26th of August. There shall be meetings everywhere on that day at which resolutions should be passed calling upon the people to abstain from participation in the British Empire Exhibition, the Imperial Conference, the Empire Day celebrations and all other Imperial functions. In view of the unanimous expression of opinion by the representatives of all political views on the far reaching issues involved, the Committee hopes that everyone will join in the demonstrations and meetings irrespective of difference of opinion in respect of other matters.

The All-India Committee

The meeting of the All-India Committee in Vizagapatnam was a sad waste of energy, money and time. The meeting was convened by the President on the initiative of thirtyone members of the Committee who sent in a requisition for the purpose. We have already expressed our opinion that the President had a discretion whether or not to summon the meeting, and that he exercised it wrongly in asking members to reassemble from all parts of the country a bare three weeks after the Nagpur meeting. Mr. Venkatapayya thought that the relevant Article in the constitution was mandatory. We think he was wrong, but we cannot blame him. We wish we could say a similar thing about the requisitionists. When the few who thought it their duty to respond to the President's summons arrived in Vizagapatnam, they discovered that the gentlemen who had caused all this public inconvenience had thought it fit to telegraphically withdraw the requisition. The withdrawal was twenty-four hours before the date of meeting. What is more, there was not one of them present to explain to the Committee why the withdrawal was delayed till the

eleventh hour or to apologise to the Committee for the undoubted discourtesy. As it was, when the President opened the meeting, the House was left without any business to do. The Nagpur resolution convening the Special Congress stood unchallenged and there was nothing left to do besides its postponement from August to September.

The Consequences

Now mark the consequences of the requisition. The Council elections begin October next. The question before the special sessions is to decide whether the elections should be boycotted or not. It was bad enough holding the sessions in the middle of August,—a few weeks only intervening between. But the requisition made that impossible. As it is, the Congress cannot meet earlier than the middle of September. The fortnight between the meeting and October 1 (the last day of nominations for the Council in at least one province) will have to be filled with extraordinarily intense work, if the majority at the Congress, Swarajists or Non-cooperators are to derive any real advantage. In the meanwhile, both sides are kept in a state of paralysis in reference to the main issue—partly by the re-actions of the Bombay decision and partly by the conflicting duty of the elections to the Congress. Nor is this all. Mrs. Naidu now refuses, on behalf of Bombay, to hold the Congress in that city. We confess we do not understand the attitude of Mrs. Naidu. Taking North and South together, Bombay is the most central place in India. The question of the Councils has exercised and divided the country asunder as none in our recent history. Surely, a settlement of it, one way or the other, will be genuinely acceptable to everyone, only if all sections of opinions and all parts of the country are made to feel that they have had fair opportunities of being present and of pressing their views before the final decision is rendered. But Bombay has chosen to avoid the duty cast on it. We have said we do not understand Mrs. Naidu's attitude in the matter; but we have not it in our heart to be censorious. The blame in the case rests on the requisitionists who, we are constrained to say, acted with levity, irresponsibility and cruel heartlessness. If they wanted to avoid not a special Congress, but a special Congress in Bombay, they could not have acted more effectively. We shall ignore the tortuosity of the procedure, but the efficiency is unquestionable. Faced with the attitude of Bombay, the President has exercised the power vested in him and decided that the venue should be Delhi. It means that Madras would be prevented from materially influencing the decision of the Congress; but she should face the situation with patience and equanimity.

Mr. Sastri on Kenya

The first shock of the Kenya decision moved Mr. Sastri to unaccustomed speech suggestive of non-cooperation at its cleanest and radicalst. But his words have failed, so far, to carry decisive weight either with his followers or opponents. The Liberals have chosen to remain silent. Mr. Sastri's specific suggestions have left them cold.

The Liberals in this country in their turn have not committed themselves to any programme of action. Those who are not Liberals are frankly sceptical about Mr. Sastri's ability to lead the

present revival of non-cooperation. We know that he would by force of habit, object to the word; but we do not experience the slightest difficulty in believing that his toleration of this Government has reached its limits. Almost every Moderate politician has declared that Kenya means for him the end of India's remaining within the Empire. There is therefore nothing surprising in Mr. Sastri's declaration. He has been near the heart of things and his indignation is sustained at a whiter heat than that of his colleagues here. At the same time, he would do well to put himself completely right with the people and the implication of his discovery, if the scoffer's jest and the Pharisee's stone are to be avoided. We would warn him against two pitfalls. In the catastrophe that has overtaken the faith of a lifetime, he is in peril of seeking for futile anaesthetics. He is using phraseology which suggests that he is trying to escape the reality of the case. The distinction he has sought to make between the British Commonwealth and the new Boer Empire is a pure chimera. It is not the Boer that we are fighting; it is not the Englishman—it is the White man who happens to be both Englishman and Boer. In this particular instance, there is nothing to choose between the Englishman and the Boer. General Smuts, as a South African, belongs to a younger civilisation and practises the habit of frank speech; the officials of the English Colonial office being more competent masters of the language of diplomacy know how to be suave and disingenuous. Our test is this, and none the less for being contingent: if the decision in the Kenya question were otherwise and Lord Delamere "rebelled" the whole of England would have backed the "rebels"—as surely as English public opinion sustained Jameson in the Raid. The business of erecting an autonomy between Boer and Britain will put off the necessary day of decision still further. In the second place, the genuineness of Mr. Sastri's appeal to Sapru and Sarma (we venture to drop the Knighthood and all other prefixes) to withdraw from Conference and Council would be irrefragable, if he led them on the right path by petitioning the King to be relieved of his duties as a member of the Privy Council. We make this suggestion in all seriousness and humility. The fight (or agitation if that word would please any one better) that he has in mind to undertake will, if steadily pursued, involve the burning of his boats, the severing of ancient ties, and the clear repudiation of the assumptions of the politics of a lifetime. It would be as clear and decisive a step as that of Mahatmaji, the faithful cooperator turned relentless enemy. It may yet be that Mr. Sastri will perceive and illustrate by his life that the only place for patriots today is the jail. He could best signify his prophecy of the coming battle by himself doing the thing he wants others to do.

Mr. Yakub Hassan

The *Madras Mail* states that Mr. Yakub Hassan is to be released from prison before the expiry of his sentence. The paper adds that the Government has under contemplation the release of those who were sent to prison in the Khilafat cause, because the Lausanne Treaty has put an end to the agitation. The *Madras Mail* is as a general rule well-informed about the intentions of the Government of Madras and news of the actual release four days after the newspaper's

announcement demonstrates the correctness of its statement in the present case. Our first word will be one of welcome to Mr. Yakub Hassan. Strong and brave, he has given of himself to the country more unquestioningly and under graver personal difficulties than any. He was a member of the old Madras Legislative Council, a pillar of the Moderate Party and the Mussalman of the greatest consequence in South India, and there was no political prize beyond his reach. But as soon as the true purpose of the Government towards India and Turkey became clear to him, he had not a moment's hesitation as to his choice. Mr. Yakub Hassan has been to prison twice—once in Malabar for refusing to give security; the present term being in respect of the Presidential address to the Tamil Nadu Conference in 1921. We are not aware of his opinions about present day controversies. But whatever his views, he has made good the right to form weighty opinions and to be listened to with respect.

The Khilafat

But the reported policy of the Government regarding the Khilafat raises a wider issue. The inferences affected by the Government and (we are sorry to add) a part of the Moderate Press in the matter of the Lausanne are tragic-comic. It may suit official purposes to ignore the declaration of Mussalman leaders that the Khilafat question is not settled and cannot be settled as long as Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria are subject to the Protectorate of Christian Powers. The resolutions passed at the very Peace celebrations which have satisfied the Government's conscience were intimation enough that the religious problem of the Khilafat (the only one of life and death to non-Turkish Mussalmans) is still unsolved. There is none so blind as those that would not see. The Government has a motive in the profession of blindness. But we cannot understand how the red-herring sedulously drawn along the line should lead to appalling confusion of understanding amongst our politicians. The readiness with which students and workers assume that the interest of Indian Muslims in *Swaraj* as distinguished from the *Khilafat*, is truly bewildering. The root of it is the unexpressed postulate that Muslims are not patriotic and that they are moved only by loyalty to the invisible Theocracy of which God is the Ruler. That the Muslims have a loyalty which is not of this world may be admitted; but it is not peculiar to them, and to the extent of its singularity it should be a matter of pride and satisfaction. But it does not mean that Islam has not as an integral part of it, the claim of national freedom and patriotic duty. Why, the very triumph of the Turks which we celebrated a fortnight ago was national—the freeing of national soil from foreign domination. The long history of the Islamic peoples is that of national striving to freer, fuller, richer life for lands and peoples. That they thought of God and called on His name in the stress of conflict, heat of battle, is no reproach. Why do we imagine that Indian Mussalmans have no share in the feeling that moved the Turks to cast the Greeks into the sea and to defy the embattled Allies on the Continent of Europe? It is impossible to indict a whole nation and by the same token it is impossible to indict the adherents of a religion, that count more

than many nations. Courtesy among men is a virtue of civilisation and we suggest that the continued suggestion that Hindus have a monopoly of patriotism is an insult to the rest of India and a complete falsehood. The Ali Brothers are pious Muslims but they are also patriots, and courageous gentlemen.

Islam and Toleration

Tolerance is the child of understanding. To understand all is to forgive all. The problem of Hindu-Muslim unity is no more than the problem of Hindus coming to know Muslims and Muslims Hindus. All kinds of information will be of little use. Each should be judged by its highest achievements not by its lowest lapses. We do not know what religious education would be like under *Swaraj*; but according to our notions of catholic culture, Hindu children will be instructed in Muslim religion, the Muslim in the Hindu—instruction in the children's own religion being left for the parents. So also history, tradition and all the elements of discipline which make for wide sympathy and discriminate judgment. Every Hindu, child and adult, will be all the better for knowledge of such details as Mr. Nariman records:—

"One of the slaves of the Second Khalifa Omar who is believed to have persecuted the non-Muslims in so many lands, refused to coerce his Christian slave into Islam taking his stand on the Quranic verse. The tolerance of Islam is perpetuated in the treaties which the early conquerors made with the Christian and Parsi conquered. The model is the convention made by the Prophet with the Christians of Najran. The instructions which the Prophet gave to Muaz-Ib-Jabal who was proceeding to Yaman is also a pattern. "Let no Jew be disturbed in his religious belief." There is a Hadis attributed to the Prophet. "He who oppresses a Zimi, him I shall accuse myself on the Day of Judgment." The English traveller Porter in his "Five Years in Damascus" points out the site of the house of the Jew where a mosque was erected which Omar directed to be pulled down, because his Governor had forcibly appropriated the house of the Jew in order to raise the sacred edifice of Islam over it.

To the Prophet himself is attributed a desire not to use the slightest force in proselytization. According to Ibn-Saad's valuable book the *Tabakat* (Vol. VI page 30) the Prophet said: "If they turn to Islam themselves, well and good, if not let them remain in their former faith. Islam is broad enough."

The most instructive example is that of Maimuni described by Ibn-ul-Kifti in his *Taikh-ul-Hukuma* (page 319). This merchant-philosopher of the Jewish persuasion left Spain because Islam was forced on him, and arrived in Egypt. His talents placed him at the head of the Jewish community. A fellow-citizen of Spain and Mussalman fanatic, called Abul-Arab, denounced him before the Egyptian authorities as an apostate and according to the Law apostasy is punished with death. The case was heard by Abdur-Rahim Ibn-Ali, celebrated as Allazi--all--Fzel. He gave a judgment which redounds to the eternal credit of the tolerant spirit of Islam.

"There is no validity in the profession of Islam in the eye of the Law made by a person compelled thereto."

Young India

9-8-23

No Empire

The Working Committee of the Congress has decided that the 26th August should be observed as a *Hartal*. It is intended to signify the nation's final and irrevocable recognition that the decision in the Kenya question allows her no honourable and self-respecting place within the Empire.

The discovery is immense and of historic significance. Nationalism has never had any illusion about the place of India in the British Empire. It has always held that Empire was built on the supremacy of Englishmen—a supremacy which no self-respecting Englishman would ever permit to be challenged. The Indian nationalist desired the undisputed greatness of his country and was therefore in a better position to understand the soul of the English Tory. If England were slave instead of free, the Imperialist would be a Nationalist; if India were free instead of slave, the Nationalists would be die-hard Tories. Indian extremists have, therefore, never had any difficulty in understanding the implications of British rule in India. Judging them to be inevitable, the Extremists have sought to escape from the Empire altogether.

It is therefore to the Moderates that the meaning of Kenya has come with the shock of stupefaction. The comforting postulates on which they had built up their political philosophy have been destroyed—and they find their world gone. To them, indeed, Kenya was the "acid" test. The test was bound to fail, though they knew it not. Faced with the fact of expulsion from the Highlands, and a communal franchise, the badge of helotry, the Moderates have also found out that they are not for the Empire, the Empire not for them. Mr. Sastri, the leader of the Liberals, the Liberal Press in India, the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Council of State, the Kenya Indians, have all declared that India has no place in the Empire and the Empire can have no place for India.

The unanimous opinion of the nation has to find adequate expression. All alike find that internal quarrels, caused by the patriotic anxiety of a few to secure Indian freedom with the friendship of England, according to a Schedule of time defined by her, have been exploited to the dishonouring and continuance in slavery of a whole people. On this, there can be no difference.

We should record our protest, not for England or the civilised world, but for understanding ourselves. We should clearly say to ourselves that the nation must rely on its strength for redemption and freedom. Constitutionalism is a broken reed, because the national effort must be to get away from Empire and the British constitution.

Let us gravely and deliberately celebrate the day of No-Empire.....

Suspension of all Conversions

Would it be possible for our Mussalman religious leaders to coordinate the political needs of the country with the call of their religion, and be parties to an understanding that until political freedom is established in Hindustan, there should be no organised proselytisation work by any of the communities in India? Foreigners may go on with their work, and our attitude towards them would continue to be the same in future, as heretofore. But we who have our homes and our graves in Hindustan cannot now afford to do anything that hampers us in the struggle for the speedy attainment of that freedom which is a necessary condition for our national existence and the true basis for every other form of freedom. Freedom of religion is not much more than a pretence and a delusion under the existing conditions. All our available forces should be directed to the establishment of political freedom. When this is placed on a sure basis, and not till then, there would be true freedom of faith, and real conversion would be possible unaffected by political and economic considerations and unaffected by any thought but the vision of supreme truth. The history of settled times in India shows that there were no Islamic organisations for proselytisation. If this be a correct reading of history, it would greatly support the suggestion that by mutual understanding all organised effort at proselytisation by any of the communities in India should be suspended until the establishment of Swaraj. Individual liberty will not be interfered with by such an understanding, but a great deal would have been gained by a sincere fulfilment of an agreement or pact that there should be no organised effort at conversions from one faith to another during this period of strenuous common effort and common sacrifice. If the leading religious men among the Hindus and Mussalmans could agree to this pact of suspension of all organised proselytisation, the Congress would be helped to a vast degree in the struggle it is carrying on. The religious texts of Islam are commonly understood to stand in the way of such an undertaking being given by our Mussalman brethren, and this again prevents such an abstention on the part of those who seek to strengthen Hinduism. If Mussalman leaders can find authority in history or tradition for a pact of the kind suggested, it would appear that there will be much less difficulty on the side of the Hindus. The possibility deserves exploration.

C. R.

Party Politics

Nearly a score of years has elapsed since Mr. Asutosh (as he then was and in our judgment still ought to be) Chaudhari scandalised the whole of political India by the declaration: "A subject nation has no politics". He was obviously wrong, because a subject nation has, if no other, the undoubted right of revolt or rebellion—which is a definite category of political action. But there is one right which we are inclined to deny to subject nations—the right of party politics. Party politics is a form of civil war, and just as civil war may be a necessity to avoid putrescence in the body politic, party politics has a legitimate place in the current business of Government. But a subject nation by the very premiss is in a state of incipient or actual revolt

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The Ethics of Public Borrowing (Contd.)

[Based on the sixty years of Indian Finance]

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(Continued from page 56)

Origin Of Productive Borrowing.

Productive borrowing entered into the scheme of the East India Company's Finance to a very small extent towards the close of its regime. The principles which ought to govern such borrowing were not, however, properly understood at first. The only productive outlay by the Company was on Irrigation canals in the United Provinces and the Punjab, which was estimated to have cost in all about Rs. 5,40,00,000 by 1862. In 1867-8 a new policy was adopted. The State from that time determined to charge all expenditure on Irrigation and construction of Railways by the State to a capital account. The item of Debt was split up into two in the Public Accounts, the "Productive" or Public Works Debt, the interest on which was not to be charged under the general heading of "Debt," but under the Railway Revenue account and Irrigation. The remaining portion of the Debt was to be called Ordinary Debt, interest on which was to be charged under the general heading of Debt. In working out the new Policy it was found, that as the Government of India had provided for no sinking fund, and as no positive Law required the application of the revenue surplus to the redemption of the Debt, while the great undertakings of Public Works demanded considerable and recurring expenditure, it was most convenient to devote all spare or surplus revenue, not to the purchase of Debt with a view to its cancellation, but to capital expenditure on works for which the State would otherwise have to borrow. In order, however, to show accurately the amount of this capital expenditure, the revenues thus expended are charged to the "Public Works" portion of the debt and deducts a similar amount from the ordinary debt. If in any year Rs. 1 crore can be saved, the amount is spent on Public Works, and a corresponding addition is made to the Public Works Debt, and a simultaneous and equivalent deduction from the Ordinary Debt. The effect is the same, but the cost of a double operation is avoided, and the revenue surplus applied automatically to Productive or Public Works purposes.

The Ordinary Unproductive Debt Of India Upto 1920.

The Ordinary Debt, whatever its justification, was by the operation described above steadily reduced even though the Government of India have not followed the English precedent in this respect of buying debt for purposes of cancellation. Between 1860 and 1920 it has frequently been added to by the three main factors of Famine, War and Exchange, while it lasted. The following table,* however, shows that in spite of much additions the total debt was, upto 1914, regularly reduced, with a corresponding increase taking place in the Productive Debt, in so far as revenue surpluses were devoted to these purposes. During the European War the unproductive debt was very considerably increased, first in 1915-17 to meet the requirements of the Government of India, and after 1917 in order to make a War Contribution of £ 145 million to the United Kingdom. The policy of borrowing during the War had, if at all, to be carried out in India, as the English money market was already too heavily strained by similar operations of the British Government to permit any considerable borrowing by other bodies. But borrowing in India apart from the intrinsic wisdom or necessity of such a course as between England and India in view of the past history inevitably led to an undesirable deflection of Indian capital from more productive and legitimate channels.

*Date.	Year.	Ordinary Debt.	P. C. of total.
		Rs.	
31 March.	1888	109.5	48.5%
do	1893	97.5	37.14%
do	1898	105.2	36%
do	1903	88.7	28%
do.	1908	56.1	15.24%
do.	1913	37.5	9%
do.	1914	19.2	4.6%
do.	1915	3.3	.8%
do.	1916	3.0	.7%
do.	1917	10.5	2.5%
do.	... ..	133.3	24%

For the first time in a hundred years an opportunity had occurred for the development of Indian Industries by Indian capital; but that opportunity was balked by a policy of heavy borrowing, often under considerable and illegitimate pressure from official quarters. The evil might have been borne without protest as an inevitable misfortune of war-time, could the people of India have consoled themselves that the service rendered would have been at all adequate. But a policy which might have put back the Indian industrial development by a generation could not, even if it had been realised to the fullest desired extent, have borne the British War Expenditure for more than a fortnight in 1918. And, even so, India might have endured this borrowing in silence had there been no alternative. As a matter of fact the British Government was borrowing heavily in the United States, which had immense resources to offer to its allies. The Government of India could have borrowed in America, either directly themselves, or taken over a part of the debt of the British Government equal to the promised contribution, much more easily than in this country. The service to the Empire would have been the same while the disturbance to Indian Industrial development would have been completely avoided. As it was, the Policy of Borrowing in India was continued at the expense of serious inflation in prices till its logical conclusion had to be accepted in 1918—prohibition of all industrial investment except under license. No one can say what would have been the ultimate consequences if this policy had lasted a couple of years more. Luckily, however, the war came to a close in 1918, November and this disastrous policy was shelved.

The Productive Debt of India

Ever since 1867 when the policy of borrowing for Productive purposes was first introduced, the Government of India have remained heavy borrowers for such purposes. In the earlier years when the Railways were a losing concern, the Government policy of borrowing naturally excited some comment; and the defects, in the system of accounts, bringing about a needless confusion by frequent transfers from Productive to Ordinary Debt and vice versa, by meaningless distinction between Ordinary and Extraordinary outlay, gave point to the criticism. Later on the Exchange troubles led to acrimonious controversies about borrowing in England and added to the sterling obligations thereby. Since the beginning of the present century, owing to the profits shown by the Railways and Irrigation Works, the dispute about the wisdom of borrowing has lost much of its old interest. We have already discussed, in connection with the sections dealing with Railways and Irrigation, the extent to which borrowing would still have to be resorted to, as well as the justification of that policy in the past. Here we need only observe that the present attitude towards this question does not look upon borrowing as such as reprehensible, while the limit of borrowing is to be found only to the extent to which the money markets of the world would subscribe the funds.

But connected with this question of borrowing for Productive purposes, is the more difficult problem of the market for borrowing. The Company's Government

usually borrowed in India whether from its own servants or from the general public. But since the introduction of the guarantee system for the Railways, the practice of borrowing in England on a large scale every year was started, and continues even to-day, but for the stop put to it by War conditions in England. It was assumed that the conservatism of Indians, coupled with their want of familiarity with the new undertakings, would render the prospects of borrowing in India too slender to be thought of; and on this assumption—not entirely without foundation—upto 1880 no effort seems to have been made at all for borrowing in this country. The question had, however, to be reconsidered after that date, in view of the continued fall in the gold value of the rupee, and the consequent increase in the interest charge to be paid in gold on the sterling loans. In his Financial Statements Sir E. Baring distinctly urged the undesirability of borrowing in England, as it would introduce a most unwelcome element of uncertainty in the finance of the country. The Government were genuinely alarmed at the size of their gold obligations, and a Parliamentary Committee of 1889 authoritatively put on record the political and financial advantages of borrowing in India, if only the requisite funds could be forthcoming in the country. That body, however, recommended, that if the difference between the rates of interest in India and England were so considerable as to afford compensation for the disadvantages attendant upon borrowing in England, loans should be raised in England to enable the Government of India to carry out their general scheme of works undertaken for the public benefit.* Since that time, with the exception of two loans raised in 1885 and 1886 for £7,700,000 which were for a rate of interest sufficiently low to afford compensation for the disadvantages of borrowing in England, no loans have been raised for specifically Productive purposes. Such borrowing, as has since 1875 taken place in England, has been for the purchase of specific Railways, or for advances to Railway Companies which would otherwise have borrowed in England by raising debentures, or for paying off an existing sterling loan in order to reduce the charge for interest.† These, in magnitude, have been very considerable; but the present policy of applying all revenue surplus to such works as need capital outlay and are expected to yield a net return after paying all working expenses and interest charges, has saved additional borrowing in England. The Mackay Committee has recommended since 1908 further borrowing when required, for productive purposes, in England.

* See Welby Commission, para 116 loc. cit.

† In 1893-4 a loan of £6,00,000 had to be raised in England as in that year the Secretary of State could not obtain the money needed for the Indian Home charges by the ordinary methods of sale of Bills. It was estimated by the Government of India in 1895 that whenever in any single year they wanted to borrow more than 5 crores, the Indian money market would not be equal to the strain, and recourse must be had to borrowing in England. "The security" says the Welby Commission, "of the Government of India is too good to induce Indian capitalists to invest in Government stocks, for the interest offered by Government is lower than that which can be earned on good investments in the country. If money borrowed in India is to any extent found in England, the advantages of borrowing in India are proportionately neutralised, for investors here will only subscribe on terms which will, in their opinion, secure them from the fluctuations of Exchange."

It has already been observed that the distinction between rupee debt held in India and the sterling debt held in England does not necessarily correspond to the debt held by Indians and that held by Europeans. According to Mr. Jacob's calculations as placed before the Welby Commission, out of the total debt of Rs. 103 crores borrowed in India, Rs. 25 crores was held in England, Rs. 48.00 crores by Europeans in India, leaving only about Rs. 30 crores as held by the natives of this country. The whole of the sterling debt is held by Europeans even today. In 1901 it was estimated that about 58.8 p. c. of the rupee debt, including Rs. 19.29 crores held in England, was held by Europeans and about 41.2 by Indians. In 1911 the percentage held by Indians was estimated to have risen to 47. Today, after the huge War Loan operations of 1917-19, we may estimate that 60 p. c. or more must be held by Indians, leaving only 40 p. c. or less to be held by Europeans.

The existence of our sterling debt, and the pre-War practice of borrowing large sums in England, combined to prove to us that the possibilities of the Indian money market have not been sufficiently considered by the Government of India. Before the War the Government had estimated that in any single year more than Rs. 5 crores could not be borrowed in India with ease; and so every programme of borrowing in excess of that sum was placed before the international financiers of Europe. During the War in the very first year Rs. 6 crores were raised, without any great pressure or any considerable improvement in the rate of interest; and in the years that followed Rs. 25 to 40 crores could be raised in a single year without much difficulty, over and above considerable amounts borrowed for short periods on Treasury Bills. There was indeed evidence of undesirable pressure in some quarters, and considerable improvement in the interest allowed. But, making due allowance for these factors, the fact still remains that for any object, which could appeal to the masses of Indian people or in which Government takes special interest, the limits of available funds in India are by no means quite so low as was once assumed by the Government of India. Again by a travesty of argumentation, it used to be maintained that the credit of the Government of India is too good, the interest offered by them too low to attract Indian capital. But if the security offered by the Government of India was so very good it would be specially important to give its benefit to the people of the country in the first instance, if necessary, by raising the rate of interest; for even if the rate of interest be high, if paid in India, the economic problem would not have been quite so acute as it did become by the constant addition to the sterling debt. In any case, the fact remains that the Government of India, apart from the War, has never seriously tried to investigate the possibilities of the Indian money market, and *a fortiori* never attempted to to develop those possibilities such as they are. The result has been that while the Government seem to have escaped a probable burden of a slightly heavier rate of interest, the industrial and commercial community has had to bear that burden of higher rate to the prejudice of the country. If the Government

of India, while borrowing themselves every year, had paid any attention to the development of financial institutions like Banks in India; if the Banks had been encouraged to attract and collect the realisable wealth of the country for investment in productive enterprise under the patronage of the State; if the necessary degree of mobility had been imparted to the landed and industrial wealth of the country by Land-mortgage or Industrial Banks, there is every reason to believe that the need for borrowing abroad would have been obviated to a very large degree. Suggestions were made more than a generation ago to attract Indian capital by means, if necessary, of a British Government guarantee of the Indian public debt. But high authorities in Indian finance set their face against such an idea, and the proposal was ruled out of court. * Today the Indian investor has learnt to appreciate the value of Industrial investment, and he needs no exterior guarantee to induce him to invest in Government securities. The danger rather is that, being unfamiliar with the wiles of the company promoter, he may be victimised, unless Government creates institutions like an Industrial Bank to aid him in selecting investments. If the Government should attach to the proposed Imperial Bank a branch for Industrial and another for Agricultural finance, there is every reason to believe that the need for foreign borrowing would disappear altogether. †

A Proposal For Purchase of Sterling Debt.

At the present time, in view of the Exchange difficulty, the suggestion may be hazarded that the Government of India can and should undertake a policy of buying out the Indian debt held in sterling in England. Though we have paid for them at the rate of £ 1=15 Rs., our own sterling securities in the Gold Standard and the Paper Currency Reserves have depreciated till they are not worth half the amount in rupees that was paid for them. India, however, conti-

* Said Sir J. Strachey in the Financial Statement of 1880-81:—

"It can imagine few greater misfortunes to India than the loss of her financial independence and the acceptance by England of the financial responsibility for her Indian Empire. It would signify to India the loss of control over her own affairs in every department of her administration, the possible subordination of her interests to those of a foreign country, and the substitution of ignorance for knowledge in her Government. Although some rare instances may be found in which, when there seemed to be a conflict between English and Indian interests, it may perhaps be doubted whether India has been treated with perfect fairness, there can be no question that on the whole the Government of India has been carried on with as honest and thorough a regard for Indian interests as if India had a separate national existence of her own..... These fortunate results have, however, been due not only to the justice but also to the wisdom with which she has left to India a separate financial responsibility. England has felt that it would be no kindness to take upon herself burdens which India now bears, to guarantee Indian debts, pay for Indian wars, relieve Indian famines."

† We have already mentioned in the previous part that unknown quantities of available capital remain unused in the form of public charities, religious endowments, monastic or other boards. It would be the duty of an Imperial Bank to try and attract this otherwise idle and injurious wealth for purposes of material improvement. If the Bank takes the matter in hand it can realise the ideal much more easily than the necessarily high-handed action of the Government.

nues to show unmistakable signs of general prosperity, as evidenced by the heavy balance of trade in her favour: and the need for her raw materials and food-stuffs for the exhausted and reconstructing peoples of Europe is so great, that we need apprehend no reversal of these favourable conditions for some ten years or more. The heavy balance of trade in favour combined with the impossibility of finding sufficient gold to pay India for her excess of exports, and the appreciation of the rupee due to the scarcity of silver supplies, has brought about such a state of Exchange as to make our sterling indebtedness worth half the amount in rupees or less. The Budget Estimates for 1919-20 give our total sterling debt at £ 194,142,575, for which a sum of 150 crores, at the present rate of Exchange would be quite sufficient. If we take our average balance of Exports at £ 80 millions, or, deducting Home charges, at £ 50 millions, three years' balance would suffice, to take up all our foreign indebtedness. If the British Government could be induced to mobilise the securities of the Indian Government held in England—as they did in the case of American securities held in England to meet the difficulties of the Anglo-American Exchange—and sell the same in this country, the present exchange difficulty would be considerably modified, it not eliminated altogether; at the same time it would help to cancel India's sterling indebtedness. Incidentally, if the whole transaction were entrusted to the proposed Imperial Bank, it might be availed of to bring about a quiet but effective change in the standard of the country, from silver to gold.

The Budget of 1921-22 set afoot a special scheme of conversion and redemption. In view of the continually rising rate of interest, anxiety was displayed on behalf of the holders of the depreciating securities, during Budget discussions in the Imperial Council. In response the Government have created a special sinking fund of Rs. 80 lakhs a year for buttressing

† This was written in February 1920. Since then the ill-advised haste of the Government of India to give effect to the recommendations of the Currency Committee, and their head venture for the sale of Reverse Councils has entirely reversed the situation. We still feel convinced there is no occasion to fear intense trade depression in this country, so long as least as the war-wasted regions of Europe are not fully reconstructed, if only the Government of India would give us an honest currency system, if only we could have our foreign exchanges immune from the amateur meddling of incompetent financiers.

War Loans. It was rightly urged against this scheme that it made an invidious distinction between the holders of different classes of Government securities, all the more objectionable because the investors in the War Loans knew when they invested that they were subscribing for powder and shot, which when fired, would leave no realisable assets; while the holders of the earlier securities of 3½% or 3% were, at the time they invested, advancing against profitable productive assets. Besides, the bulk of the holders of the earlier and relatively more depreciated securities, are minors, widows, trustees and charitable institutions. It might reasonably be expected that Government should be at least equally alive to the need and service of this less noisy, though more deserving class of public creditors. The expedient of two non-official committees, one for Bombay and one for Calcutta, is scarcely calculated to afford a fair and an acceptable solution of this important question of public credit.

The total debt of the Government of India, then, has either been fastened upon India when it should not in simple justice at all have fallen upon India; or been incurred under pretences of productivity that have not been realised. Raised without the consent of the people, and used for objects not always of unmitigated benefit to the Indian nation, the problem of the Indian Public Debt threatens to be one of the most thorny questions of our national economics in the near future. Those insidious methods of lightening the load of the public debt which are bound up with an unrestrained activity of the currency printing press, are not yet open to India; and they are of questionable propriety even for those to whom they are accessible. The diffusion of the Debt in classes of the people who comprise the ignorant, the disabled or the helpless, makes it still more difficult to suggest brazenly the simple solution of a total repudiation. The only question is a readjustment of financial obligations—past and future—between India and England, and the reapportionment of the Debt on a basis of equity. But judging from the fate of a recent resolution in the Council of State on the subject, there seems no chance of such a happy consummation.

K.

against the foreign government placed over it. No nation in the world, free or subject, can afford to indulge in civil war or party politics, in the midst of the struggle against another people. This seems to be simple enough—but the application to current conditions is obvious enough. The *Bombay Chronicle* is distressed at the general confusion that has invaded Indian, especially Congress politics now. It has no difficulty in being impartially severe with the leaders of all parties. We join in our contemporary's appeal to the country to dislodge all the "leaders" from power and start anew on its own. The Council is perfect but there is a slight difficulty. The "leaders" themselves are as distressed and bewildered as our contemporary itself. By a cruel fate, they are charged with the maintenance of principles in which they genuinely believe and which persist in coming into conflict with other doctrines which are as dearly held and highly prized. The strength (of will, diplomacy, persuasiveness or wide popular appeal) with which to dominate and conquer opponents is lacking in all. In the absence of power, minds without compelling convictions (the majority in all political assemblies) insist upon vanity and compromise things which are essentially impossible due to the whelming sweep of forces. One is almost reminded of the figure of Fate in Greek tragedy which making playthings of the figures on the stage, heap up grief, evil and misery. Whether the present confusion is inevitable or not, however the blame may be assessed, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer is right in saying:

"That the division in the Congress camp has emboldened the Government in India and at Home to treat Indian opinion with scant courtesy. So long they felt there was a strong body to defy Government, they were anxious to placate the smaller body which worked and cooperated with Government. When they found that the larger body was hopelessly divided among itself, they adopted towards the smaller body an attitude of patronage and not an attitude of deferential treatment and of anxiety to please, which characterised the earlier days of the Reform."

While his explanation of the deference extended to the Councillors in 1921 is indisputably sound, there is a subtle fallacy against which we should be on our guard. The strength of the Congress was in direct proportion to the courtesy with which the Councillors were treated. The inference that Mr. Seshagiri Iyer wants to draw is that the Congress should "unite" before the Councillors can be reasonably certain of influence. But that is not the true inference. The true inference is that the pursuit of a single-minded policy should be adhered to with such unwavering purpose as would ensure courtesy not only to the Councillors but to the Congress as well.

In 1921 the Congress was strong; but it was not strong to achieve its own ends: the strength was barely sufficient to ensure an easy and useful time for Mr. Seshagiri Iyer and his colleagues. In the final stages of the struggle, we are afraid (and we wish to say it without discourtesy) the Councils surfeited with sweetness will vanish from the scene and the true adversaries will salute one another and settle their quarrels as adversaries. After all, a foreign

Government should have somebody to rely on. The Congress is the Government's opponent, and the Council was its prop. But to the extent the Council found itself strong, the power was going out of the Congress. Our complaint against the Councils and all those who love it (whatever the intentions) is that it is an institution which would thereby divide the loyalty of the country. A divided loyalty is treason.

The Fundamentals

We had occasion last week to venture a few observations about the conversion that the Government of the Central Provinces was charitably assumed to have undergone in the matter of Satyagraha in Nagpur. We then intimated our scepticism about any such possibility. Friends were inclined to blame us for our pessimism and our incurable suspicion of the ways of the Government. Boasting about the fulfilment of a prophecy may not be praiseworthy; but the irreclaimable pessimist is entitled to draw the attention of the perpetual optimists (non-cooperator or other) to Sir Frank Sly's manner of dealing with the battle in Nagpur. Opening the Session of the Central Provinces Legislative Council, the Governor has used the following language about the flag agitation:

"The peaceful condition of the province has now again been broken by the Nagpur flag Satyagraha. This defiance of law is supported by those who oppose all cooperation with Government and the movement is now kept alive by volunteers from other provinces. It is ostensibly based on the claim to use the public roads for a procession without interference or regulation by the authorities. So far as I know there is not a single civilised country in which such unrestricted right is permitted. The District Magistrate of Nagpur has not forbidden all processions within the prohibited area but processions without his permission in order to secure that they do not cause annoyance to any section of the public and are properly regulated. It is a matter of regret to Government that this agitation should result in the imprisonment of numbers of misguided persons but there is no alternative to punishment for organized defiance of the law. The Local Government regards this agitation as clearly civil disobedience, an attempt to overcome the authority of the Government, and is determined that this challenge to lawful authority should be resisted with all the resources at its command. In this policy it confidently hopes for the support of all law abiding citizens including members of the Council."

Let us say at once that we do not quarrel with the Government's determination to put down what is deliberately and in reality a breach of Magisterial orders. As long as the Government holds that the order of the Nagpur Magistrate is just, necessary and essential to the maintenance of law and order and to the continuance of its irresponsible activities, it should put the Satyagrahis into prison. The Satyagrahis who count prison know it and make no complaint. Far from making any complaint, the non-cooperators go on adding to the magnitude and purity of their sacrifice in the clear hope of a day when the Government will undergo conversion as to its notions of justice, necessity and the indispensability of the irresponsible exercise of

power. In this matter, the fundamental basis of the fight, there should be no misunderstanding whatever. The Government may disagree with us—by the very nature of the case, disagreement is inevitable; because the moment disagreement ends, the fight also will vanish. But we are extraordinarily anxious that the Government and its friends should clearly understand the sense of need that has moved our people to action. The need is so radical and dynamic that we shall resolutely decline to be balked of our attempts to fulfil it by the whole list of political penalties. Sedition, insurrection, rebellion, civil disobedience—and all the rest of the expansive list, have no meaning for us. Subject to the limitations that Congress and conscience have imposed—Truth and Ahimsa—we go forward regardless of consequence.

We are constrained to make this statement in all frankness, because we seem to detect in the Governor's speech, a loose employment of words far wide of the significance of the Flag Satyagraha. Observe what he says about civil disobedience and Government. There is a note of shocked horror in the challenge to Government, and in the possibility of such challenge. It is the old notion, the Anglo-Indian and (without offence) the Prussian, that the Government is a body which, saying the final word in a question, any thought of challenging or disobeying it is the sin against the Holy Ghost—the unforgiveable sin. The contention of India today is that the doctrine of State Infallibility is false and blasphemous. We claim that even in India, the powers of the Government are strictly and rigidly limited. The Government is not the final authority in administration. Limiting and conditioning that authority, is the people's will to wreck and disregard it on adequate occasion. The will may be expressed in various ways and after the coming of non-cooperation, civil disobedience was one of the ways invented. In 1921, public opinion, expressed not through words but through the continued suffering of those who embraced prison and its horrors, demonstrated the futility of official proscription of voluntary associations for national work; in 1922, the Akalis broke the Government's decision to suppress or regulate the process of religious purification amongst a brave people. Neither the Congress nor the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee allowed itself to be diverted from its path by legal penalties or Governmental violence. There should be no room for mistake or misunderstanding on this crucial point. We are loth to believe that the Governor used the phrase about civil disobedience merely for the purpose of propaganda amongst his Moderate allies. That is why we venture to restate the truth of the matter, free of rhetoric and mental reservation. The authority of Government must be made subordinate to the will of the Indian people—this is the goal of every Indian politician—moderate or non-cooperator. Civil disobedience is only one way of ensuring the subordination; Government and constitutionalists are grossly mistaken if they imagine that the weapon is ever likely to vanish from the field of Indian, perhaps world, politics.

A final word may be said about the right of the authorities to regulate processions. No one denies that in a normally governed, free state, the Police

may regulate processions—Flag or other. But the formulae of civilised governments sound incongruous when invoked to sustain the authority of officials free of responsibility to the people. What is more, the plea of the Governor interpreted in the wide sense which he imported into it, is futile. It is not the exercise of normal police functions that is challenged by the Satyagrahis now. It is a magisterial order, abnormal and emergent in its nature to which unquestioning submission is refused.

It is for the executive to decide what it will do. There is a line of retreat left open and we know it is not casual. The Satyagrahis have no use for administrative loopholes—the only clear opening they want is the gateway that leads to prison.

News of the March

The daily bulletins of the enterprising batch of volunteers which left Ahmedabad on foot for Nagpur on the 29th July last, bring interesting news. At the time of writing, the party is at Surat. The first two hundred miles have been covered in ten days. We were unprepared for this feat. The programme as sketched provisionally has been adhered to with wonderful fidelity in practically every detail. Twenty miles a day have been the rule and more the exception. The fact becomes all the more staggering when we think that the youths with the exception of the leader have been unaccustomed to long distance walking. With dogged perseverance they appear to have got over the initial stage of fatigue and exhaustion, which is the most critical in a long march. The original plan to assemble by train at Surat and march eastward from there was rejected by the party which insisted on Ahmedabad as its point of starting. It has had its own usefulness. The main portion of Gujarat has had in a number of villages and towns the unique privilege of welcoming the pilgrims. The party in its turn has been able to do propaganda which many meetings and triumphal journeys by train fail to do. Thus speaks the latest bulletin we have received:—

"The effect of our march on the people in general and the women and children in particular has been wonderful. I am getting more and more convinced of the utility of such marches through the heart of the country. I doubt whether any other method could achieve greater results. The faces of the village folk beam with delight as we approach them. There is unconcealed appreciation all over of the enterprise, courage and perseverance of the party. Enthusiastic old men cry out:—"We have none of our former vigour, else we should join in the pilgrimage. May God see you safe to Nagpur." The kindness of the people is overwhelming. Our attitude is simple. We bring home to every person taking interest in us the true significance of the National Flag. We don't fail to emphasise the need for greater attention towards Khaddar, Charkha, Untouchability."

The above is a typical account of the true daily history of the march, as we receive it regularly from Sjt. Surendra Gupta. The principal towns—Nadiad, Anand, Baroda, Broach, Ankleshwar—gave rousing reception to the party. Flag processions formed a

principal feature in the programme of the receptions in most places. More important has been the visit in the minor towns and the villages during the route which required it most. Disappointment has been felt in places, which the party had to drop from the programme to save time. In point of display of enthusiasm the palm goes to Nadiad—head-quarters of sturdy and stubborn Kaira. This was the first town falling on the way. Distance from Ahmedabad to this place is about 40 miles, which the volunteers did on the first two days. In the account of their experience in the first two days, a letter says:—

"Words fail me as I try to describe the great enthusiasm shown by the people and the hospitality extended to us, throughout Naika, Matar, Nadiad and other intervening villages. The huge procession at Nadiad, the loving welcome of the students, the general spirit of activity, and above all the blessings showered on us by the grandfathers of the town left a deep impression on our minds. The Secretary of the Congress Committee had sent word all along the route and quantities of hot milk, at times flavoured and enriched with spices, water and food awaited us at every turn. In Baria the people arranged quite a big procession, much to our discomfort. Aged mothers and sisters delighted in smearing *Kunkum* on our foreheads, and presenting us garlands of home-spun yarn, infusing new life and vigour into us. At places we got coconuts and money which we returned to be utilized for the village national schools."

Then comes Anand, the second stronghold of Kaira. Says the letter:—

"Being nursed in this manner with motherly care, we arrived at Anand, the Durbar Sahib's town. The reception at this place was surpassing; but I give no details. We were all weighed and also photographed. In vain did we plead with the crowd to be spared from making speeches. The Flag movement was explained. Durbar Sahib saw us off quite a long way to Vasad. What is more interesting, Chunnilal's father (who has been somewhat displeased with the lad for leaving his college studies to join the march) too came a fair distance to see his dear son off, and parted with nothing but good wishes in his heart for us, having relieved Chunnilal's pain and anxiety by withdrawing all the harsh things he had said to him."

"At Vasad we reached in time for a bath before prayer began in the local temple which we all joined. It brought back vividly to my mind the memorable scene at the Ashram, when we took leave of friends."

"We marched into Baroda on the first August at noon. Here we had the first few hours of rest (as fixed in the programme). After a refreshing bath we joined in the celebration of the Tilak Anniversary. There was good enthusiasm. After our morning prayers we left Baroda on the 2nd, making the first halt at Padra. Here Congress work is at a stand-still for want of workers. Today we received some news of fresh developments about Nagpur. We find people looking upon walking

unto Nagpur with greater horror than going to jail itself. This is lethargy pure and simple, and it must be shed."

"We have never yet done less than 20 miles a day. In some cases we may have walked twenty-five miles. There is a natural feeling of fatigue at this stage, but we hope soon to get refreshed by a slight change in the programme."

By a curious blunder, which could have been easily avoided, we hear a few of the volunteers have met with an unfortunate difficulty. Some of them felt the necessity of some foot-wear, which they provided themselves with at the first available opportunity. The result is that they are reported to be suffering—some severely some slightly—from blisters in the feet. This has hampered progress a little. But the captain is confident of starting from Surat without much delay.

Happily apart from the slight trouble mentioned above, there has been no other affliction to the party.

Full precaution has been taken against eventualities. Rain has as yet given the least trouble. But they are well armed with leather cloths to protect them when it pours.

Khadi Notes

Greater than Gold

Looking at the great and important events that raw cotton and its various industries have been responsible for on the globe, we realise how intimately cotton is connected with the destiny of the world. This thing has brought on and is still bringing on wars that have not been surpassed by any yet waged on other issues.

In a book named, 'Cotton as a World Power' the writer says:—

"The Great War brought home to the public mind as nothing else could have done the knowledge that this vegetable fleece is really golden."

The same author also states that the world's cotton crop exceeds in value the world's output of precious metals. The value of the output of gold from 1901-11 was £ 807,000,000; that of silver £ 213,000,000; together equal to £ 1,020,000,000; while the value of cotton produced during the same period was £ 1,607,000,000 i. e. greater than the total value of gold and silver by £ 587,000,000. But the same author adds that the golden value of cotton is dependent for its stability on the maintenance of an unbroken network of international trade. Three quarters or thereabouts of the world's cotton crop is produced in the United States of America. All this cotton except only a small portion required for the mills in the United States itself is exported to Europe. It is easy to imagine how much out of it is consumed by Europe. Except in England there is very little cotton industry in Europe; so the greater part of the American cotton goes to England alone. The whole of England's power rests mainly on the various beautiful textiles it manufactures for other countries. In order to ensure permanent support to her trade, she has taken care to induce among all the so-called barbarians of the earth the practice of wearing an increased amount of cloth. In fact the wireless, the aeroplanes and the long-range guns of England exist

for nothing if not for the upkeep of the textile trade—a fact which has been proved conclusively.

Europe and America are thus exploring the mines of cotton which are richer than those of gold and silver.

Compare with this the situation at present in India. A prominent trader of Bombay in a letter regarding Khadi writes:—

"A stock of about 50 crores of rupees worth of cloth is lying idle with the Indian mills; yet foreign cloth is being imported in small or big quantities." This foreign stuff is of course not such as we cannot at all do without. The same gentleman suggests in that letter that if the mill cloth be cheapened, it can be cleared out and the foreign imports will be decreased to that extent. That is probable. The millowners are shrewd and able enough to protect their own interests. But the situation requires deeper consideration. The stock worth rupees 50 crores might be lying idle owing to its being too dear. But it might also be due to the people having no need for it at this time, and their being able to do with less cloth than before. If such be the case, what will the country gain by cheapening the cloth and spreading it among the people?

On the other hand, if we could distribute cotton worth even a tenth—nay a fiftieth-part of this cloth at a cheaper rate than ruling at present among the poor people in whose interests it is proposed to cheapen the cloth, they would be perfectly capable of procuring their raiment out of it.

There is also one more peculiar circumstance present in India. At Gaya an informal meeting of Khadi workers of different provinces who were present there was held at the time of the Congress. There the Khadi servants got some opportunity to consult one another regarding the different conditions of their respective provinces. As the session of the Congress had been much prolonged and workers could not afford to stay longer the deliberations had to be cut short. But all were agreed on one point of fact, namely, that production of Khadi had been on the decrease for some time and that if nothing was done to relieve the stock of Khadi in different centres, thousands of *Charkhas* would be soon stopped.

The All India Khadi Department took prompt measures in this connection giving financial assistance where needed. Arrangements were made to sell the Khadi where it was lying idle in stock and to supply cotton to centres where production had stopped for want of it. As a result of this help, Gujarat alone as reported in the last bulletin lightened the stock of Khadi lying idle worth three lacs during the last 6 months.

But an expert inspector of the Gujarat Khadi Mandal having commercial experience who has just returned from his tour in the Punjab, the United Provinces and Behar says that a large number of the *Charkhas* started at the beginning of the movement of Mahatmaji have stopped. He also adds that the *Charkhas* in the Darbhanga district alone numbered about 60,000 before some time and that hardly 20,000 of these would be found working today. While giving some description of the Khadi centres he had visited he said, "Women spinners come from a distance of ten

miles or more to fetch 2 seers of cotton silvers and after spinning that they again come to return the yarn, take the wages and also fetch more silvers. They have to choose between the two alternatives of earning $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 annas by spinning yarn, and sitting idle. There is no other industry for them. It is not possible for the humblest of them to go to the mills or factories for work abandoning their fields. Only those who prefer this income of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 annas or who are fortunate enough to get this much labour, are able to save themselves to some extent from starvation in the dry season.

It passes our comprehension how under such circumstances the *Charkhas* can stop. Who is to blame for that? Is it not an irony of fate that the country which can stock cloth worth 50 crores of rupees even at the time of such bitter poverty cannot afford to stock Khadi worth even one or two crores of rupees? It is not the rich only who can help us out of this situation. Much lies in the power of every Khadi using individual.

If the 30 crores of people of India spin a yard a day and pay the price of that for the purpose of stocking Khadi—or, letting alone 29 crores—even if one crore of people give out 30 yards each a day, eight to ten lacs of rupees can be collected monthly for the purpose of stocking Khadi. These figures need not be worked out here. The readers of these bulletins are already familiar with the method of doing that.

Within a month the 55th birthday of Mahatmaji will be upon us. The great patron of Khadi Sjt. Jannalaji graces the Nagpur jail. The bulletins of this department have the good fortune of enjoying the hospitality of the columns of several newspapers in many different languages of the country. If the readers of all those papers would make it a point to send their quota of what they could earn from self-spun yarn in honour of the living memory of the great Hindu and Mohamedan leaders, a good number of *Charkhas* can be set working and a good deal of the present tension relieved. Persons using cloth other than Khadi can perform a double service. By beginning immediately to use Khadi they can in a moment relieve the burden of idle stocks of Khadi; by taking to spinning they can do a permanent service to the cause. In celebration of Mahatmaji's birthday a big sum can be collected without taxing the purse of any individual if we spin yarn and subscribe its price to the fund.

Mahatmaji's birthday can fitly be observed only if on that day we take the same food which is taken by thousands of Satyagrahis in jail, spin to our utmost capacity on that day and subscribe to the Khadi Fund every thing that we save from our food expenses and earn by our spinning.

If the well-wishers of Khadi will remit the most insignificant quota according to their mite to the All-India Congress Khadi Department at 183/85 Kalbadevi Road, Bombay c/o Sjt Jannalaji's firm, the money will be utilised in helping Khadi.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

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The status decreed for India in the British Empire is one which it is impossible for her to accept. India would rather be segregated as a whole from the Great Empire than allow her children to be untouchables and helots in it. The Imperial policy has been made clear with brutal frankness by the South African Prime Minister. He has laid down a programme for not only preventing future Indian immigration but for mercilessly wiping out the existing Indian population by depriving them of political and municipal liberties, trade and property rights, and by locating them outside the towns. This programme, there is no doubt, will be carried out without serious objection on the part of the British Government and soon become the general policy of all the British Dominions.

The Kenya decision is the symptom of a great Imperial conspiracy for racial domination. It is a chastisement and a warning from God for our faltering steps. There is no way but grim determination to sacrifice everything and to achieve freedom for India, as the necessary foundation and the first condition of honour and equality abroad. Every Indian irrespective of community or political party should join in the great demonstration on twenty-seventh August.

A word to English merchants and traders. The suspension of business called for on the twenty-seventh August, is a non-party demonstration. Is it too much to appeal to every Englishman, who is on the side of India in this struggle, to demonstrate his sympathy and non-racial catholicism by joining in the general demonstration? From the earliest times Indian rulers allowed you perfect freedom to settle and trade among her people, and you are now here by reason of that same hospitality. It is your turn now to support our suffering children abroad and obtain for them the liberties they are asserting in the national demonstration, and suspend your business on Monday the twenty-seventh August, when the Indian bazars will be all closed. It will be an achievement of good-will, worthy of your best traditions and a noble example to the whole Empire. It will make the struggle a truly religious and irresistible battle. On the other hand, if you keep your shops open and compel your employees to attend business in spite of the National *hartal*, the racial character of the Kenya decision will be emphasised and your action will support the White Imperialist policy.

The National *hartal* will be successful as a demonstration of Indian sentiment in spite of English traders in India keeping aloof. Your non-participation will be a defeat of those who still fondly build on Christ. But if even a few among you join, the cause of Religion and Truth will have triumphed.

C. Rajagopalachar

Notes

An Explanation.

When I wrote in last week's *Young India* begging friends to permit me to go into obscurity, I showed the original article to a friend. In deference to his criticism I removed a couple of sentences which savoured of egotism. But the omission has left my decision open to the charge of undue personal sensibility. For a long time past my health has been shattered. In spite of ill-health I did not spare myself. Against the advice of friends and doctors I have been struggling and putting my feeble frame to a great strain. I have kept the flag flying only until stronger hands should reach and hold it aloft and then I feel now that I may give myself some rest not altogether undeserved.

Man's work is no doubt his duty, but the great force on which we rely in *Satyagraha*, demands a clean atmosphere. I find that the air around me is charged with ill-will. Opposition is healthy so long as there is respect and good-will, but where the latter have given place to opposite feelings, my usefulness is gone. Under these circumstances one should wait in patience. I blame no one for I realise my own faults full well.

An Avoidable Struggle

The mill-owners of Bombay have threatened to stop the usual bonus to their workmen this year. The three and a half lakhs of mill-hands will therefore lose the one month's pay which they had expected to get as "bonus". This means in all probability a great struggle. The mill-owners could avert the undesirable conflict if they decide to forego a ninth of their profits or rather not to covet a further eighth. Their profits would not be below eighteen per cent on paid up capital if they paid the bonus as usual. The mill-hands would on the other hand lose a ninth of their due wages if the "bonus" be cut out. A ninth out of bare maintenance of three and a half lakhs of workmen and their families and dependents is a serious thing as compared with a reduction by three and a half per cent of profits on capital. The mill-owners have ample time to reconsider their decision and avert a huge struggle and all its incidents.

Amusing Confessions

It is very significant though also sometimes highly amusing, that in all sorts of quarters, complaints are raised about the disorganised condition of the Congress. People who always minimised the importance and the work of the Congress and piled in ignoring it, are now heard uttering words of complaint that the National Congress is not strong enough. The truth is that every person and organisation who thought they were the prime movers of reform and producers of change, now see the truth that their strength, efficiency, prestige and power were really derived from the sacrifice and the toil of those whom they affected to ignore and even condemned. From the policeman below up to the highest Indian officers, all the chain of officials know that their status, dignity and emoluments depend upon the sacrifices, trials and tribulations of the very people whom they served as tools to oppress. All the political non-Congress organisations know that their influence and their power depend on the extremism of the Congress which they deprecate on every possible occasion. The latest and most amusing light on this

fact is thrown by the statement of a Madras Minister, Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu, who when interviewed about Kanya exclaimed, "Unfortunately, the Congress is disorganised!" Yet this Minister and his party are in power as anti-Congressmen, and their one pride and policy was opposition to and contempt for the Congress and support to repression undertaken by the Government.

A Sin against our Country

In resigning his connection with the Empire Exhibition Committee, Mr. Devaki Prasad Sinha, member of the Legislative Assembly writes:—

"I regard it now as a sin against our country to have anything to do with the Empire Exhibition which would, undoubtedly be dominated by the Governments of the Colonies and where our countrymen will have to appear, if they do appear at all, with the stigma of inferiority written large on their brows. We have now realised that the idea of a British Commonwealth of Nations with India as an equal partner is a more deceptive exploration of words and Imperial citizenship for us would mean a position of permanent subservience and abject humiliation."

Frank General Smuts

General Smuts does not know the Imperial art of hiding the truth. There are such men in all conflicts who take upon themselves the blame for the wickedness of all their more self-spoken kinsmen.

"There is the colour line," said General Smuts at Petermaritzburg. "Right or wrong—I do not argue about that. But it is a clearly marked line you can follow."

An Anglo-Indian paper consoles us with the thought that for more than a century millions of people lived and died in Great Britain who were refused much the same rights as those now claimed by Indians in South Africa—the reference is to Catholic disabilities. It is idle to expect England to help us in this world-wide struggle. There is no good searching for cross-roads to reach the goal. The problem is not really an overseas problem. It is purely an inland problem and one which has to be solved by ourselves. Unless the people of India are prepared to undergo privations and sacrifices and attain complete mastery over their own affairs, Indians abroad can have no equality among others. The Empire will not help us to obtain equality. We must help ourselves and attain freedom first—and equality will follow automatically—in spite of the Empire and not on account of it.

The "Times" Teaches Political Science Anew

Campbell-Bannerman said that self-government was better than good government. But the *London Times* has recently attempted to lay down a different proposition. It thinks that this theory of self-government is a profound misunderstanding. The doctrine of self-government it says, has been extended too far and to dangerous limits. It enunciates the, now some what new, doctrine that the end is good government, and that constitutional government ought not to be a fetish. Campbell-Bannerman's statement, it thinks, has gained undue currency, and that not only India but many other countries are suffering this error to mislead them in politics. The *Times* thinks that India should overcome this fetish of constitutional Government and stop asking that the policy of Government should be entirely regulated by the vote of the Legislative Assembly. Belated advice!

Crying Illegalities

Sections 108 and 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code, embody provisions for demanding security which according to a law passed several months ago this year carry the liability to be detained in prison as simple prisoners, upon default of furnishing security. The old and judicially erroneous law by which men called upon to furnish security under these provisions could be awarded rigorous imprisonment was abolished this year. Yet, strangely, the Government has persisted in not giving effect to this change of law, and magistrates, continuing to act under the superseded provisions, prefer to exercise their discretion the wrong way, and give rigorous imprisonment on default of furnishing security. Government wants our bonds; out of a sense of self-respect we give up our whole bodies to the charge of the Government rather than submit to the disgrace of giving security. Government has thus the greatest guarantee which its victims can furnish. But not satisfied with shoring up their political opponents in prison, they subject them to rigorous imprisonment under a repealed law. That prisoners are given work, is not the complaint. In fact, most of them would ask for work even if sentenced to simple imprisonment. But rigorous imprisonment carries with it a status and certain incidents in prison life which become the opportunity to inflict unbearable hardships, tortures, indignities and cruelties.

The legislature has not even enquired when the law, which was passed and accepted by the Viceroy, will be given effect to. Every hour of detention on default of security is under the authority of the special provisions of the Criminal Code, and is not to be treated as a judicial sentence of punishment. As soon as the Government chooses to give effect to the new provisions, the Nagpur Nagayana prisoners detained under section 109 as vagrants and the other prisoners everywhere imprisoned under the most-easy law of sedition, section 108 C. P. C., must automatically pass from rigorous to simple imprisonment; thus in a way the effect would be retrospective. Unless Government has definitely made up its mind indirectly to flout the law and be vindictive, effect should at once be given to the amendment.

The Secret

The craving for apologies has spread like an infection. From all accounts, the treatment of political prisoners this year is far worse than last year. The latest news is that Doctor Varadarajulu Naidu, from whom the jail authorities earned an encomium when he was released last year, is now the object of unusually harsh treatment. "If you do not like it, give apology and go to your bungalow..." this is the reported summary of the prison official's attitude. The weakness of some people has whetted the appetite of authority.

I need only extract from a dear friend's letter lying before me written just after a dive into Irish history.

"What a galaxy of heroes beginning from Wolfstone downwards! What generous, what sacrifice, what talent! Where shall we have such another parallel? Courage that rises with failure, determination that draws strength from defeat! The more I think of these flaming figures that marched so unflinchingly to their goal, undeterred by the general wreck and ruin of hopes around them, the more I feel that we lack something of radical

importance. One passive resistance campaign has disillusioned so many of our heroes, while here I find a host of sufferers whom all the refined cruelty and horrors of the British jails with their silent system, their deathly, their sleep tortures failed to bend or break. While hundreds died of these tortures and others were driven to insanity, I am surprised to find the utterances of the latest survivors from these jails as uncompromising, as defiant, as lofty, as noble as the first men who marched into them. The more I reflect over it, the more I wonder at the secret of that spirit which made all this possible."

The secret is that the patriots of Ireland felt that surrender was impossible. Non-cooperation with the conqueror is a duty absolute, simple and final—not merely a means. Nor is it like an ordinary strike for high wages. It should be comparable only to resistance of chastity to dishonour or outrage. Who would then ask for success as a justification or cry halt upon delay or defeat?

Pratap Narayan

Pandit Pratap Narayan Vajapeya is for the second time in prison in Tamilnad. He is one of the foremost of the Hindustani pracharaks. He is the author of a very useful Hindustani first book which is much appreciated by Tamil learners. He came out of prison but recently in very poor health, and he was wanted again and sent up. In the interval he had published a letter in the press about the treatment he had in jail. The secrecy of the prison wall hides from us the consequences of this rash act of the young man. He has cough, piles, has lost the use of one of his ears, and is rapidly losing weight. The food given to him is unsuitable. The released prisoner who has given this information adds that unless immediate medical help is given to Pandit Vajapeya and he is allowed proper diet, his life would be in danger. Poor Pratap Narayan! One cannot easily guess what a pure and beautiful spirit is encased in his uncouth figure with face rendered ugly by small-pox and blind of one eye, now with one ear also gone and malodour all over the flesh that holds and hides his noble soul. His friends know the private sorrows which he has manfully borne during his service in the Southern Province. When Mr. Ranganatha's statement about Pandit Vajapeya's condition was published, Dr. T. V. S. Sastri of Trichinopoly applied for an interview in his capacity as a medical adviser. The interview was, as may be expected, promptly refused. If it is by the spirit of authority, why should the Visapur jailor and Sub Assistant Surgeon be punished with stoppage of promotion and allowances? And why should they not be cruel until discovered?

The Spirit Filters Down

What is the use of stopping the jailor's promotions for a period or of cutting down the doctor's special allowances for the crimes of inhumanity proved to have been systematically committed in the Visapur jail? Such atrocities are encouraged by the attitude which Government itself shows in regard to the subject, and cannot be compensated for by occasional punishments when they are discovered and proved and when Government cannot escape taking some action. What does Government do to make prison-officials feel that they should be humane and treat their charges not as if they were beasts of prey made captive, but as brothers and men? Except when cornered into some sort of interference, does Government ordinarily exhibit by its conduct a policy of humanity, which its servants can be expected

to adopt and assimilate? Far from encouraging humanity, everything is done to make prison authorities, jail warder upwards, believe that the sterner and the more cruel he is, the more effective would he earn the approval of those above him. The whole of the morality that is taught is, not to be discovered. As soon as an abuse of power or act of oppression or infringement of merciful regulation is discovered, the first thing that we see is the tightening of the screws of secrecy over happenings inside prison walls. When Government does this, is it wrong for its servants to infer that the offence was the neglect in letting the thing being discovered rather than the act of inhumanity? Is it strange if the jail officers continue to think that the pious declarations of the Government are a pretence? There is no method by which we can escape the rule, that if we want those below to be civilised or humane, there must be true humanity and civilisation above. Every little act of the father, harsh or kindly, just or unjust, has its reaction on the family which shapes its conduct and character after him. The father cannot usefully punish the son for the discovered crimes of the latter, when he himself daily sets the example by thought, word and deed for the same crimes.

The Hitvada's Complaint

The *Hitvada* of Nagpur had an editorial complaining about its representative being refused facilities to see jail conditions. It strengthened its protest by referring to my having been permitted to see some prisoners in Akola jail, as was evident from an article in *Young India*. This was enough to put all C. P. jail superintendents on the *Qui Vire* against me. It served the *Hitvada* but little to compare its own plight with the imagined privilege I had enjoyed; it however took away what little chances I had of seeing even those whose rights of interview could not be questioned. But this is of no consequence. I only wish to assure the editor of the *Hitvada* that when I was allowed to interview the prisoners at Akola, it was the barest exercise of their right according to prison regulations. They were entitled to an interview once in three months as ordinary hard-labouring convicts and the interview was across the bars of the prison gate and was closely watched according to rules by the jail authorities.

C. R.

person. Pretending to consider the justifiability of the prohibitory order, which is itself irrelevant to the enquiry, the magistrate seeks to cloud the issue by misleading references to what the Doctor did during the past five years. The veriest tyro in legal procedure should have seen the inadmissibility of all this misleading evidence. But as there was no one to be misled, except the magistrate himself, who of course stood in no danger of being misled by himself, there was no harm whatever in this infringement of the Law of Evidence in an undefended non-cooperator's case.

Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu is in prison not because the Periakulam conference would have ended in a riot after hearing its President's speech about the Congress situation, but because Dr. Naidu was prepared to suffer for the sake of honour and freedom and was true to his faith and would not defend himself.

C. R.

Dr. Varadarajulu's Case

There would have been a riot in the Periakulam Conference, but for the presence of the Sub Inspector of Police!—this is brief is what is sought to be proved by the Magistrate (and taken by him to be satisfactorily established) who sentenced Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu to the maximum period of rigorous imprisonment provided by Sec. 188 of the Penal Code. A perusal of the judgment in Doctor Varadarajulu Naidu's case confirms what I said last week. The conviction is the result of a double falsehood. Dr. Naidu was elected to preside over the Taluk Conference of Periakulam in Madura District. The Conference was fixed for 21st and 22nd July. The Government took no steps till 19th July when the Magistrate issued a prohibitory order. This order, served on 20th July, did not prohibit the Conference to be held next day, but sought at the last moment only to prevent the President from doing his duties at the Conference. If any Magistrate had the deliberate design to create disorder, nothing could better achieve the object than this irresponsible act of the Magistrate by which a great gathering was suddenly deprived at the last moment of its chairman, with no time or machinery for choosing another chairman. The Doctor, however, chose to disobey the order and spoilt this rash and wicked game. The meeting had its normal and previously appointed peaceful course.

It is amusing to read the Magistrate's judgment wherein he tries to show that the Conference was successful only through the pacificatory efforts of the Sub Inspector of Police. For whose benefit is this trouble taken by the Magistrate?

It would be better and on the whole more conducive to the general morality of officials if repressive laws were made more downright. If sec. 188 punished every disobedience of an order, on mere proof of the existence of an order and of a deliberate act of disobedience, there would not be all the falsehood about violence, riots and affrays. As it is, the section demands proof that the accused person's disobedience tended to a riot or affray, and this is sought to be established in spite of the most patent impossibility. But as judicial facts are established by the written word of the magistrate, whether in fact they be true or not, anything is possible. So, it is established that the object of Doctor Varadarajulu Naidu in going to preside over the Periakulam conference was to create a riot and affray there, but this was prevented by the lucky presence of the local Sub Inspector.

To put down as true what every one in the world knows as untrue is the tragic lot of paid magistrates trying political cases. The magistrate is conscious of the speciousness of his own arguments; the accused remains unconvinced of his own guilt; the public cannot of course be induced to accept the story; and superior officers also know the game full well. The absurdity of attempting to prove the impossible and looking satisfied with the result of the effort is the unfortunate lot of magistrates who have to carry out the Government policy of repression.

To clothe the absurdity and save it from total nudity, the magistrate who tried Doctor Naidu goes into what he calls the antecedents of the accused.

Young India

23-8-23

The Nagpur Triumph

How we wish Mahatmaji had been out today just to witness the successful close of the Satyagraha in Nagpur which does no less credit to the Government than to those who saw it successfully through! At the last session of the C. P. Legislative Council H. E. the Governor argued that all authority and administration would be at an end if the order of a magistrate were to be disobeyed. The Government members alleged that the struggle was intended not to establish the elementary right of citizens to carry the National Flag through all public streets, but to cause annoyance to certain subjects of His Majesty. It was pure camouflage. His Excellency should have known that the National Flag is not a seditious sign or an emblem of class hatred, but a symbol of legitimate effort on the part of the people of India to attain unity, peace, and freedom, and he should not have allowed any section of the people to raise false pleas of unjustifiable annoyance and permitted them to prevail against the liberty of the citizen. But he clouded the issue by a general denunciation of Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience. The true offender and criminal breaker of peace is the man who says he can see unperturbed a display of the French or American or Japanese or any other foreign flag, but the flag of the Indian people is annoying to him, and tempts him to commit an affray. His Excellency, in short, tried to put the Satyagrahis in the wrong by putting in their mouths a claim which they never made. The campaign had never been based on a claim to use the public roads absolutely unrestrained by normal police regulations known to all civilised cities. No one ever denied the need for *bona fide* regulation of traffic. The Satyagraha was directed against the setting up of a White Highlands in Nagpur by the use of the forms of law. It was organised and conducted to defend the honour of the flag of the people's choice against the attack of narrow-minded and ignorant opposition. It was conducted with the object of showing that public rights ought to prevail against private ignorance and prejudice. Above all it was conducted to establish the real supremacy of popular will even in a country, to which self-government is denied, over the forces of injustice though armed with Government authority.

But all this, said some of the opponents, was never made clear by the Congress. To put the Government on their honour Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel was authorised by the Working Committee to issue a public statement making the Congress position clear once again. We doubted that that plain and dignified statement, which we publish elsewhere, would open the eyes of the Government. Our doubts were confirmed by the Police order issued immediately after the statement. But the triumphal march of the procession of that disciplined band of volunteers on the 17th Gandhi day, without interference from police, dispelled all our doubts. The

Government were put upon their honour, and they have vindicated their honour simultaneously with vindicating the honour of the National Flag. We publish elsewhere Mr. Vallabhbhai's statement declaring the Satyagraha to be closed.

Thus ends the struggle which will go down in the history of Non-cooperation as unique in many respects. The Satyagraha of 1919 was abortive; that of 1921, grand in proportions, would have been grand in its result but for the unfortunate Chauri Chaura. The Akalis' Satyagraha was a triumph for which the nation as a whole cannot legitimately take much credit. But the present victory is one which the whole nation is not only proud of, but can take credit for. It was initiated and organised by one ill-versed in the arts of war, but who staked all in full and unquestioning faith in the justice of the cause and in the unshakable belief that he was doing what his Master would have wished him to do. Above all it is the triumph of non-violence at a time which appeared to be the least congenial to an organised effort of that kind. For all this, let God be praised in the fullest measure. Triumph it is, but a triumph which is nothing more than the natural outcome of pure and undefiled suffering, sacrifice. It is only a successful skirmish in the war which we have yet to win. Let it hearten us for the fiercer campaigns which we have still to fight. If the successful termination of the Nagpur struggle finds us more determined and more hopeful to achieve the goal, it will not have been fought in vain.

The Electric Fan

India is thankful to the Government for having at last released Lalaji. In spite of its other cruelties and its general indifference to the demands of justice and popular opinion, we feel grateful for this one act of humanity.

When Major Ferrar arrested Lalaji in December 1921 while he was actually presiding over a Provincial Congress Committee meeting, he was in good health. If there be truth in the claim that Government prisons are healthy places, our Lalaji after twenty months' physical rest therein, with regular food, exercise and freedom from worry, would have come back to us with added strength and physical vigour. But the Government returns the eminent prisoner whom it took in good health, with tuberculosis of the lungs, poor digestion, tendency to diarrhoea, heart intermittent, pulse quick, and with fever every evening. The doctors prohibit visits from friends and all talk in order that his life may have a chance of being saved.

An official *Communiqué* has been issued claiming that the Government has been keeping for the last three months a careful watch upon the state of his health and that since July last he was receiving constant medical attention. It is particularly mentioned that during this period he had been accommodated in the European ward, allowed a generous diet and supplied with an electric fan.

The electric fan for Lalaji is indeed a feather in the Government cap! It will serve as a set off against all the indiscriminate treatment, the barbarities and the insidious tortures inflicted upon thousands of political prisoners all over India. Ropes, fetters, standing handcuffs, solitary confinement, beat-

chain, oil mill, flogging—all these physical tortures, and more than these, the numerous forms of indignities to the soul melt away before this triumphant picture of the electric fan! As for his being accommodated in the European ward, the Government is proud of it, too oblivious of the irony of it and of the self-condemnation implied thereby. The European ward is for criminals, thieves, robbers, cheats and forgers who happen to be of European or mixed parentage. The Government provides for such people on account of their race, superior accommodation, to which it is deemed a great privilege, worthy of being recorded with pride and satisfaction in a Government *communiqué*, to admit the highest among the sons of India who has been arrested on a technical political charge and detained not for moral turpitude but for reasons of State. Nothing but the grave illness of the prisoner rendered even this possible. What a commentary on jail and other administration in India!

Yet India is thankful that the remainder of Lala's sentence has been remitted in order that there may be a chance of saving his life. C. R.

Unfair Criticisms

Babu Rajendra Prasad's purity of intention, clarity of vision and strength of character are known to friends as well as opponents—to all except the prejudiced partisan. His recent article in the *Deek*, as summarised by the Associated Press of India, has however evoked most unfair criticism in the *Voice of India* and the *Social Reformer*. One cannot lay the blame on the Associated Press summary, for it does not lend support to the interpretation on which Rajendra Babu has been blamed. "Those who accept Mahatma's principles and consider non-cooperation the only path to Swarajya, should stick to their conviction even if the Congress should decide otherwise." These words of Rajendra Babu are incapable of misconstruction. The Congress has the right to lay down the policy for the nation and every national worker is bound to offer his life and resources to carry out the policy, if he agrees with it wholly or in the main. But if he finds a line of work laid down to which his essential convictions are opposed, the utmost he can do is to stand apart and work by himself if possible or wait if necessary. Is this attitude of Babu Rajendra Prasad open to objection? The very newspapers which are angry with him have been loudly proclaiming the need for full freedom of action. The liberty they would accord to dissent of one variety they should accord to him also.

Babu Rajendra Prasad appealed to the people of Bihar to stand by non-cooperation and demonstrate their faith, "although the sessions of the Congress is being held at a place where the Das Party is strong." Do these words of the Associated Press summary lend support to the statement of the *Social Reformer* that Babu Rajendra Prasad "actually suggests that Delhi has been preferred by the Working Committee for the Special Congress because of its being predominantly in favour of Mr. Das's programme"? The interpretation is obviously so unfair that one can only wonder how any one could have written and commented on that basis.

Rajendra Babu wrote: "Mr. Das advocates a line of action free from the hardships which non-

cooperators have to face." This is a plain statement of fact and imputes no motives whatever. It reminds people that Council entry is not sacrifice or privation, without which nothing can be achieved. It warns people against the error of following the line of least resistance. There is no insinuation here that any section of the Congress or any leaders are more ease-loving or less unselfish than others. To find in the words of Babu Rajendra Prasad any unworthy insinuation or imputation, shows only morbidity of temper. No frank explanation of political opinion would be possible if such standards of interpretation and criticism were permissible. C. R.

Affairs in the Punjab

[We extract below passages from a private letter written by a member of the staff of this paper, who is now in the Punjab. They give a vivid picture of some of the doings in that province, which suggest an atmosphere of vagueness. We might add, that the writer is both a Hindu, and a Punjabee. Ed. Y. I.]

On reaching Delhi, I was made aware of having crossed the frontier, by stray whispers about the state of Hindu-Muslim unity. At Lahore, I began to hear about Shuddhi. At Amritsar, I was asked by somebody, whether I was an Aryasamajist. But, the limit was reached at a Railway station near Gujranwala, where some one, with a significant congratulatory nod of his asked me whether I was an *apadshah*. Wherever I went, I found myself in a state of disadvantage, owing to my white cap and Khadi dress. For an educated man, to wear these symbols in these days here, is regarded as an abnormal feat. Some of the Aryasamaj preachers known as *pracharaks* and *apadshahs*, wear clothes such as mine.

I went to Amritsar, to study the Sikh situation at first hand. I saw a prominent Sikh leader in the morning. Most of the conversation turned upon the Nabha question. It is a most gruesome story of bribery, corruption, treachery and intrigue that would leave the tangled tale of *Mudrarakeshava* in the shade. Nabha State is situated centrally in the heart of Patiala, like an island. The boundary line is very irregular, and the Nabha territory sports out arms into the surrounding Patiala State, in all directions. Sometimes, to go from one place to another in the Nabha State, as the crow flies, you have to cross and re-cross Patiala territory twice over. Thus occasions for friction between the two States are numerous. Disputes mostly take the form of violation of sovereign rights. Taking into consideration the general character of government in these States, it is not difficult to imagine midnight flights of State officials or subjects to escape from the tyranny of the rulers. The extradition proceedings are so precarious, terse and tangled in procedure that an oppressor (Prince, official or subject), setting his heart on the desired end, does not consider worth his while to mind the boundary lines. Occasionally, trouble arose about women; the Maharaja of Nabha was always anxious to lay hold of miscreants from Patiala, who often came to Nabha for disreputable objects; and in accomplishing his purpose, he never permitted himself to be obsessed with forms of law. Thus, it was the easiest thing in the world to bring up a number of cases of "oppression and misrule" against any of these Princes. They afforded a very convenient handle to Justice Stuart

to make out a case against the Nabha Prince. This is the underlying reality about the judicial findings against the Nabha Durbar.

A number of these cases had been hanging fire for a long time past. At length the Maharaja of Nabha was successfully cajoled by the British Agent and his own ministers into the belief, that the Government was their friend, and that he might refer these cases to the Government, with a probability of the decision in his favour. The Maharaja was thus entrapped and you know the result.

There is one more interesting fact about the abdication. Apparently, to justify Government action, the so called violation of the sovereignty of Patiala was construed into an offence against the British Government itself. The complicity of the Maharaja, was established somewhat in this fashion in the judgment: "It is not probable, that a Prince who exercises such enormous influence through all his State departments, should have known nothing of this case. He *must* have therefore been a party to it."

The real reason, that all the officials of the Nabha State, entered into a general and a silent conspiracy to lure their chief to destruction, is very interesting. There were negotiations for compromise, between the two States, and something in the nature of a treaty was concluded. One of its terms was, that Nabha would surrender unconditionally any of its State officials or any other person, who should be charged by the Patiala Durbar for conspiring against it. This clause which was understood to be confidential, was brought to the notice of the Nabha State officials. The consequence was that the officials found it to their interest to be unfaithful to the interests of their master. He was for several weeks before the abdication virtually a prisoner in his palace.

Sjt. Vallabhbhai's Statement

(Issued on the eve of the expiry of the original order)

The prohibitory order expires to-morrow, the 17th. Instead of a batch of three volunteers as usual, a procession of five volunteers would start for Sadar Bazar through the civil lines on the 17th. The route, time and instructions for the processionists are indicated in the notice issued to them. If they are prevented by the authorities, the struggle would assume a new phase. I ask the public not to be impatient but to wait and watch. In the meantime and under the authority vested in me by the Working Committee of the Congress I desire to make the position of the Congress clear in regard to certain misunderstandings and misrepresentations in certain quarters including the Government.

We (non-cooperators) have been accused by no less a person than His Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces that we claim an absolutely unrestricted right unheard of in any civilised country to use public thoroughfares for processions. I have been instructed by the Working Committee to state that, that is not the case. No one for a moment denies the need for "bonafide" regulations of traffic and processions, but I desire to make it clear that the Nagpur Satyagraha struggle has been started in order to vindicate our elementary right against arbitrary and unjustifiable interference and abuse of law. The Working Committee of the Congress has further asked me to make it clear that the organisers of the processions never intend to cause annoyance to any section of the public. This fact has been made clear by several responsible persons in their speeches and writings as also in the very first bulletin printed, published and

distributed broadcast by the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha Committee in the month of April, before the actual commencement of Satyagraha. The Working Committee has also instructed me to repudiate most emphatically the suggestion contained in the speech of the home member of the C. P. Government that the National Flag processions were being organised to offer an insult to the Union Jack.

Final Statement

On the eve of the expiry of the order of the District Magistrate of Nagpur, prohibiting National Flag processions through the Civil Lines, I issued a public statement on behalf of the Working Committee of the Congress which has already appeared in the press. In the same statement, it was announced by me that a procession consisting of five volunteers would pass on the 17th August through the Civil Lines which had so far been the prohibited area. Detailed instructions regarding the route and the conduct of the procession were also given and it was made clear that if that procession was interfered with, the struggle would assume a new phase. Almost simultaneously with the publication of my statement containing the programme for the 17th, an order of the District Superintendent of Police, prohibiting procession in the Civil Lines, was also promulgated under the Police Act. The 18th of this month fell on a Saturday which used to be observed as a holiday. I had, therefore, to change the plan of action. I accordingly fixed Friday the 17th as a holiday and announced that a big procession of about one hundred volunteers would pass on the 18th through the prohibited area by the same route and under the same conditions as I had fixed for the 17th. Printed copies of this programme were distributed freely and a copy was sent for information to the D. S. P. This procession of a hundred volunteers under Pandit Makhanlal Chaturvedi, with the National Flag, passed in a most impressive and dignified manner through the city and entered the prohibited area. After crossing the Railway bridge and the Jhanda Chouck, it passed along the Courts, the High Court, the Secretariat, the Commissioner's Office and the Church and came to the Sadar Bazar. It was not interfered with by the Police at any stage. The honour of the National Flag thus stands vindicated and our right to take procession on public roads, in a peaceful and orderly manner, has been restored. This I regard as a triumph of truth, non-violence and suffering. By the grace of God, I am, therefore, now in a position to announce that the the Nagpur Satyagraha campaign successfully closes on this auspicious Gandhi day in a manner entirely in consonance with the spirit of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. I have to thank the various Provinces for the ungrudging support rendered by them in the course of the struggle, thus demonstrating the strength and solidarity of the nation. I shall be failing in my duty if I did not tender my most heartfelt congratulations to all those brave men and women who have suffered, are suffering or have been ready to suffer, for the cause of the nation and the honour of the Flag. I also take the opportunity of publicly acknowledging my thanks to those who have directly or indirectly assisted me in the conduct of this campaign and in bringing it to a happy termination. I now formally declare that the Nagpur Satyagraha closes from this evening.

Khadi Notes

A Khadi Union

The Village Congress Committee of Borivli (Bombay Pres.) has formed a Khadi Union. It is called a *Khadi Mandal*. This name is used mainly with reference to bodies of Khadi propagandists under the Provincial Congress Committees. The Borivli scheme however is of a much wider scope and allows of every individual joining it. The term *union*, therefore, seems better suited to this organisation than *Mandal*.

It will be worthwhile, this time, after describing the aims and rules of this union, to discuss possible improvement in this scheme:—

1. This association will be named "The Borivli Khadi Mandal" (better if named the Khadi Union).
2. The object of this union will be to explore all possibilities of supplying Khadi to the poor at cheaper rates.
3. Any person young or old, male or female can become a member of this institution.
4. The fee for membership will be 10 *tolas* of yarn per month.
5. The Khadi made out of this yarn will be sold without any profit or at a profit fixed by the union.
6. Steps will be taken to arrange that 36 inches wide cloth is sold not dearer than 4 annas a yard.
7. Members will be given preference in the matter of buying; but the union will request members having better means to give chance to the poor for buying this Khadi by waiving their own claim upon it.
8. Profits, if any, will be utilized for propagating the use of Khadi.

While giving the above conditions and description of the new venture, the Secretaries state that this scheme will enable them to sell Khadi at 3-4 annas per yard and that the Borivli people will naturally be clothed in Borivli Khadi. They have also appealed to the Borivli people to set apart yarn equal to the fee of the *Mandal*, (quite in the manner of the household practice among Hindus, of reserving a share for the cow out of the daily meals).

The Borivli Village Committee deserves congratulations on this novel step. Even a handful of men inspired with such laudable motives, setting themselves earnestly to the task can achieve enormous results out of humble beginnings.

Analysis of the Scheme

Ten *tolas* of yarn is the fee fixed for membership. It is not much—certainly not beyond the capacity of the village or the town people. Of course, the count should be definitely determined. It would not do to fix it below 16, if the cloth produced is to be cheap, nice and suited for different uses. It is also necessary at the same time to fix the maximum count, i. e. 20. Otherwise, if different members were to subscribe in yarn of so many different counts it may become well-nigh impossible to turn the heaps of variegated yarn into decent cloth.

The executive members should also make necessary arrangement for coaching members unable to spin desired counts. A person used to the initial process of drawing a thread out of cotton, can control the count also after a practice of 2-3 weeks. Then it should not at all be a difficult task to spin 10 *tolas* of 16 to 20 counts within a month. Ten *tolas* of 16 c's means four hanks (840 yards=one hank); i. e. 3360 yards in all,

So, 112 yards will have to be spun every day. 336 yards per hour is reckoned to be an ordinary rate. With that speed the everyday quota of 112 yards should take 20 minutes. It is obvious that the speed can be increased.

Let us also calculate the time required for carding and making slivers. $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *tolas* of slivers will be required per day for the same amount of yarn. After having learnt how to card (which will take 2-3 weeks of 2-3 hours days) 10 *tolas* of cotton can be carded and slivers rolled within an hour or a quarter more by means of either the improved bow or the *Bardoli pinjan*. The bigger carding instrument called the 'middle *pinjan*' can turn out twice or at least one and a half times as much. Two minutes per day, say, will therefore be required to card and roll slivers on the calculation at 10 *tolas* per hour. Thus 22 to 25 minutes per day in all will have to be devoted to this task under this scheme.

Next arises the question of cotton. It is needless again to invite attention to the necessity of using only clean and good cotton. The price of 10 *tolas* may be reckoned to be from 2½ to 3 annas. Every member will therefore have to spend that much out of his or her pocket.

The sum of 2½ to 3 annas that will have to be spent out of the pocket will be fully repaid to those with whom spinning becomes a daily affair. Only, the Khadi union will have to make suitable arrangement to keep good cotton, spindles, spindle-bearings, guts etc., always to be available to every spinner at a reasonable price. If every spinner has to manage by himself to secure required accessories or buy cotton in retail, the cost of the bother will exceed the amount of the fee.

The Khadi union should have a small capital at its disposal to stock cotton and necessary accessories. It is not difficult to raise that. If every member deposits a third or a fourth part of his annual cloth expenditure by instalments or all at once, the capital will be sufficient for storing necessary articles. In cotton-producing areas the question of capital will not arise at all.

The calculation by which it has been deemed possible to sell Khadi at 4 as. per yard is staggering. Yet in a way it is true. If the price of yarn is not taken into consideration the price of 36 inches wide cloth per yard will be 3-4 annas, i. e. the weaving charges. But it would be worthwhile for the poor who get the cheap cloth to spin in lieu of the concession received. The details of condition for giving cheap cloth can be worked out only by the workers themselves according to local conditions.

Arrangements should also be made by the union for members wishing to have their cloth out of their own particular yarn (spun for themselves) to weave it for them separately. Thus weavers will also have to be engaged besides the storing of accessories. In addition to all this, the Secretaries themselves ought to learn all the processes of manufacturing cloth out of cotton and this is an essential condition if the work is to go on with thoroughness.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

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Notes

Released

Mrs. Gandhi received the following telegram yesterday from Maulana Mahmed Ali at the Satyagrahashram:—

"Released today. Am searching key of Yeroda prison. With trust in God and my fellow countrymen." MOHAMED

How like the Maulana!

Mr. Shuaib Qureshi

Young India's greetings to Mr. Shuaib Qureshi, who has been released after serving out his full term and more;—more because of the fine of Rs. 1000 imposed on him over and above the one year's rigorous imprisonment. Mr. Shuaib took up the *Young India* at the earnest desire of Mahatmaj. His first article was a comment on the trial and conviction of Mahatmaj. This and another article, which was a similar comment on the trial and punishment of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, brought Mr. Shuaib before the judicial machinery of the Government of Bombay and he was awarded, along with the publisher and the keeper of the press, one year's hard labour, besides a heavy fine. Mr. Shuaib's health, it is understood, has broken down. It is something he has been returned to us with a clear chance for recovery.

Lesser Men

K. S. Subramaniam, whose sweet temper was the admiration of Maulana Mahomed Ali, under whom he served for a time at the Aligarh National University, and who is in Wardha jail arrested on his way to Nagpur, is also a rebel against this system. He is reduced from 122 lbs. to 105 lbs. during the short stay in prison he has made so far. He is suffering from stomach complaints, (which can be no surprise, seeing that these prisoners are made to eat hard *Jowari roti*, when their stomachs have known only soft cooked rice). I understand that the Tamilnad prisoners have all protested against the bodily search system, and as a consequence are awarded fetters and hand-cuffs and gunny clothing. All this torture they are bearing in preference to submitting to indecency and insult.

More About the Electric Fan

The *Tribune* has discovered some supplementary facts about the fan which was given to Lalaji. It was not the Government that gave it. Lalaji's people supplied it at their own cost and as power connection could not be given, a battery had to be used. Again, it was actually in use only for sometime before release and not all through as might be inferred from the language of the Government *communiqué*.

The Government of India and the Kenya Decision

The Government have issued their resolution upon the decision of the British Government. They state the history of the question and the issues involved, and conclude that the decision should be accepted. These are their words:—

"They are conscious, however, that they are under obligation to accept the decision of His Majesty's Government, and that His Majesty's Government cannot now be asked to reconsider and revise a decision just reached after protracted deliberations."

Nor is this all. No injury is complete without an insult. So the Government adds on our behalf, that it recognises "to the full" the "obvious desire" on the part of His Majesty's Government "to arrive at a just and equitable conclusion".

The famous "protest" under which the Government of India has accepted the decision is embodied now in the following words:—

"Nevertheless, they must reserve to themselves the liberty of making such representations as may be necessary when in the future a legitimate opportunity should present itself either as a result of the experience gained or by change of events or otherwise."

These words can hardly succeed as an opiate when the eyes of the most credulous have been opened.

What "change of events" can we expect? The leopard cannot change his spots. Things will go from bad to worse, spread from South to North and to East and West, and we will be declared outcasts everywhere in the wide White Empire. At the same time, the wheels will gain momentum and resistance will become impossible. We need not and dare not wait for "experience", which is the learned official word for surrender and submission to wrong. C. R.

The Consequences of Kenya

(By C. F. Andrews)

II

I have explained, in my previous article, the picture which most vividly represents to my own mind, the position of the Indians in Africa. It is the picture of Mahatma Gandhi, more than thirty years ago, clinging on to the seat of the stage-coach, as a matter of life and death, while the physically more powerful European was trying by true-force and violent blows to compel him to "make way for a white man".

Ever since that time, the European in Africa has been trying to compel every Indian to "make way for a white man".

The colour bar has been extending in every direction. The colour bar is omnipresent and omni-

potent, if my own information is correct, even in the Cape Province,—where the racial question had before appeared for a time to have found a partial solution. The conditions have changed; and the most serious effort is about to be made to do away with the common franchise, and to come in line with the rest of South Africa; establishing at the Cape the complete political social exclusion, which already exists in Natal and the Transvaal, with a few notable exceptions. The Cape Europeans are becoming as eager as the rest to take away all citizen rights from the Indian and to drive him out of the country. Some passengers on board the steamer, on which I came back to India from Africa, were 'Cape-born'. They were British, not Dutch, by birth. I found them as bitter against the Indians as any one in Natal. They told me, that the one great mistake had been to give the coloured man the vote! Among the 'coloured man' they disliked, they said, the Indian most of all.

There is no other question as important as that of the colour bar in Africa today. The worst feature of the betrayal of the Indian in Kenya has been, that on every single point except one, (that of segregation in townships) the colour bar sinister has been more rigorously imposed than ever before. That is why the *Morning Post* is so jubilant. That is why Lord Delamere is so satisfied. That is why South Africa has at once become more arrogant and racial than ever before.

Everyone in India, almost without exception, is agreed that the present position is intolerable. But what is to be done?

I believe that Mahatmaji's action in South Africa, during that memorable scene on the coach, which I have narrated, gives the key to solve the problem.

Mere retaliation—the returning of one blow with another—is of all things the most useless and the most ineffective. Morally also, it leads directly to disaster. Modern Europe today is almost in its death agony, simply because this policy of hard retaliation has been carried out with an inveterate intensity of hate. The disease is still spreading, in wider and wider circles until some of the sanest thinkers have given up Europe as practically incurable. Nothing appears, in the future prospect, except ruin and rapine and slaughter. Another example, which is almost equally terrible in its own way, though the world hears less about it, is the slow destruction of the ancient civilisation of China by internecine civil war. Dr. Sun Yat Sen has recently issued a manifesto which begins:—

"The Chinese people have suffered long and heavily under the burden of militarism, which has brought in its train civil war, disruption and anarchy. To the long suffering Chinese people, the recent bandit outrage was but one of innumerable similar happenings in places little known, and another count in their indictment against their oppressors."

The words of Christ are true for all time: "He that takes the sword shall perish by the sword."

If, in that incident upon the stage-coach, Mahatma Gandhi had started hitting back and had returned blow for blow, he would never have gained the victory.

If he had not kept every passion under control, he would have been defeated. But he won a moral triumph. Yet it must not be thought that his struggle was merely 'Passive', as though he himself were inaction all the while. On the contrary, he displayed a strength of will and courage and endurance, which even the strongest man and the truest man might envy. Furthermore, there was a dignity and a high nobility, which would have been entirely lacking, if the whole scene had developed into a violent physical struggle.

What then does this example of Mahatmaji mean to us? Surely it means that we must make up our minds to refuse to consent any longer, weakly and feebly, to succumb to indignity and injustice. We refuse to have any connection as far as possible with a 'White Empire'. We must not accept the inferior position of a mere hanger on or a parasite, living a parasitic life of dependence, seeking to get what advantage we can out of the power of Great Britain, even at the sacrifice of our own self-respect. We must remember, that if the white race can treat India as inferior and subservient, India herself will be used to bring other races into inferiority and subjection. Indian troops and resources have already been used in this way. Such things must not be allowed to go on any further.

Three years ago, I argued with all the force I could command, as a moral principle, that independence was the birth-right of India, and she should claim her birth-right. I did not believe, from what I had seen times without number in Africa, that she could ever be treated as an equal in the same Empire. It was for this very reason, that I declared my belief, that India's destiny lay outside the British Empire altogether. But I found that I was before the time. The public mind was not prepared for such a thought then!

But things have moved very quickly. What was in advance of the times then, is becoming a commonplace now. For this reason, I welcomed with all my heart the leading articles in *Young India* on July 26th and August 2nd. The article on July 26th appeared to me to give in a very brief compass the main point which I have been trying so hard to make about Kenya. I feel that no words of my own can express better what I have wished so much to state, than the closing words, that were then written. They read as follows:—

"One thing is clear. The problem of Kenya and South Africa and the rest cannot be solved as long as we are in a state of slavery. Retaliation against the Colonies has been suggested,—retaliation against South African coal, retaliation against goods from Kenya, boycott of the white races. But the precondition of them all is the strength of this nation to stand upon its feet and throw forth God's gaze of battle; the readiness to shock Europe into conviction of sin by the gigantic magnitude of our sacrifice, discipline, efficiency, courage, and the faith that removes mountains."

These words are great and true and they should be remembered by the nation.

Khadi Notes

True Self—Purification

Out of the numerous letters we received in reply to the questionnaire regarding economics of Khadi addressed by us to Khadi users, here is one furnishing detailed information. It comes from a Gujarati gentleman now settled in Burma. We advisedly refrain from giving the gentleman's name as it is but due to him that his name should not be divulged without his previous sanction:—

"With my wife and three children we are five members in the family. The children's ages are 6, 2½ and 1½ years, while both of us are about the age of 30. Avadhya Brahmins by caste, we come from Kathiawar and belong to the middle class. I am employed in a rice mill where I draw Rs 125 per month. Formerly I used to spend away what I earned. I had even to borrow on marriage and like occasions and am now consequently in debt too. Thus I may even be ranked among the poor class. My tenpency in my present mode of living is to become more and more simple and economic.

"Three years back the annual cloth expenditure of my family was at least Rs 300. Then the family consisted of three individuals whereas now it has five.

"After the adoption of Khadi, the cloth expenditure in the first year was about 200 rupees, in the second 100 rupees, while in the third i. e. the present year expenditure will come to about 50 rupees. My children still use, besides pure Khadi, some old mill-made clothes that are almost totally worn out now. They include even some foreign ones. Many have been destroyed in the bonfires but a few still remain. But no more cloth that is not pure Khadi is imported into the house now. My wife and I have been regularly spinning for the last two years. We get our yarn woven here and restrict our use to the cloth made out of it. I have not had to buy even Khadi for the last one and a half years. The outturn of yarn is 3 or 4 tolas per day, which gives about 10 yards of cloth every month; and that is quite sufficient for us. Ten to twenty yards of cloth is always lying in stock. The cloth even for the mattresses, bedsheets and pillows has been gradually replaced by Khadi.

"Is spinning done at the sacrifice of any other duty? The question provokes a laugh. Yes, it is done at the sacrifice of idleness. Industriousness has replaced our idleness. We have become more religious minded. We feel more self-reliant and independent free from the slavish charm of foreign cloth. Far from sacrificing anything, we have gained tremendously. I do not enumerate other gains here for fear of burdening the letter.

"I have no complaint against Khadi. Of course much can be said against the so-called pure Khadi sold in the Bazar. It is not genuine, is dear, and less durable. The fault lies with the merchants and the middlemen. With the non-cooperators too, of course, why don't they keep a check over it? Why don't they spin every day when our Bapu is in Jail? It is we who neglect our duty that are to blame, not Khadi, which is truthful and holy. I have experienced it to have the power of fulfilling one's cherished ambitions. Bapu has laid down our duty in this connection while going to Jail. All of us should make spinning and weaving a necessary part of our life. Just as religious observances, food, sleep etc. are things of daily necessity, the spinning of the wheel should also be a daily duty.

"Good cotton ginned by a *charkha*-gin can be had here from the villages near by at 8 to 9 annas a lb. We are able to spin about 35 lbs. in a year, so we buy that much cotton. It costs us about 20 rupees. The weaving wages amount to 20-25 rupees. That makes the amount of the expenses we incur. The weaving charges are about 2-2½ times higher here. But we willingly pay some extra weaving charges so that our weaver sisters and brothers may also have some share in the advantages we derive from the use of Khadi. A handloom has also been set up in the house for learning weaving. An old Burmese lady had woven for us about 100-125 yards of Khadi upon this loom. My pre-occupation in service and my wife's household cares prevented both of us from learning the art before the lady died. Now we send our yarn to the villages and get it woven there.

"The amount of cloth required per head by us is as follows:—for myself—30 yards; for my wife—50 yards; for 2 sons—30 yards; and for a daughter who is only 1½ year old—10 Yards. Thus 120 yards in all are required for our family, and that much can be prepared out of our own yarn.

"The effect on our general expenditure has been remarkable. We have been able to reduce our expenditure in food, amusements, carriage hire and several other directions. The total reduction may come to about 200 rupees a year.

"Our washing expenses have decreased, because we wash our clothes at home now, and this invariably gives a longer lease of life to the cloth. There has been a total decrease of 20-25 rupees per year in washing expenses.

"Out of my savings I am able to provide for some little luxuries of the family, gradually free myself from debt and also give my full quota—in proportion to my capacity, perhaps more—to the Tilak Swaraj Fund in obedience to the order of the Congress. My ambition is to serve the country and my soul by primarily divesting myself of all connection with riches. The life that I have been leading at present is a training in disguise to fit me for the service.

"I, at one time a man of abnormal self-conceit spending blindly am now by the grace of Khadi getting myself freed from debts. Thus there has been a monetary gain, but it is the moral uplift that I value and prize above everything else. Two years back I was serving—willy, nilly in the mercantile profession with all the attendant fraud, cheating and deceit, and ever lived in fear of imminent starvation and distress if service were gone. But now I have the courage to stand firm against being party to any unjust transaction, whether to please my master, relations or friends. I am thus undergoing self-purification and am greatly helped in this (by 'Bapu and the *Charkha*')."

Excepting the introductory portion, which has been omitted, the letter has been published in full with only minor changes at certain places. No remarks need be added to the above, which speaks volumes for itself. Indeed, no comments can add to the force of such a practical proof of the sanotity and blissful economy of Khadi.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

Young India

30-8-23

Dharmayuddha

There is a child's story in which the comparative merits of the sun and moon were discussed by two juvenile advocates and the sun's claims were summarily dismissed on the ground that he gives light only during day time, whereas the moon helps us at night when really light is needed. The strength we attain by the practice of Satyagraha is like the light of the sun. It fills the whole being of the community with irresistible and permanent strength, and it pervades so fully that we lose the very consciousness of its existence.

The power which a community silently develops by resistance through suffering is again like the strength developed by an athletic who daily exercises his muscles to their utmost capacity. Every day he sweats and fatigues himself and finds as a result that he can lift a greater weight and put forth greater exertion than he previously could. That is the secret cycle of physical strength. You cannot gain strength except by spending it. But a man ignorant of the laws of hygiene might wonder and ask himself why he should sweat and fatigue himself today to the full only that he might be able to sweat and fatigue himself more tomorrow. We know however that while we may buy clothes and temporarily protect ourselves with sticks against an adversary, the health and bodily vigour acquired through exercise gives permanent and unfailing strength and protection. Exercise gives stout muscles and bones to the individual, Satyagraha gives true protection and unfailing strength to a community subjected to arbitrary and irresponsible government. This is the meaning of developing Swarajya from within.

The victory secured in the Nagpur struggle is not to be sought for either in the confessions of Anglo-Indian papers or in the boasts of our own organs. It is not to be found in agreements or treaties.

It is to be found in the consciousness of men. Each party may claim success for the sake of prestige, especially as there is no independent referee to declare who has won the battle. The secret of success consists in the involuntary shaping of their subsequent conduct on the part of the combatants. Will the Government dare issue again such arbitrary orders against the national flag? Will not magistrates think and consult a hundred times and pause before again challenging the people's strength? This is the real test which will show whether there has been victory and where.

We cannot get behind the fact that Satyagraha is truth all over, true at base, true in super-structure and true in coping. Its victory is not in what people say about it, but in actual fact and feeling. We cannot make Satyagraha successful except upon a genuinely felt grievance. If people do not feel in their heart the sting of a wrong, they cannot sustain for any appreciable length of time the trials of non-violent resistance. The refusal to submit to wrong and the willingness to suffer and continue to suffer as long as the wrong is imposed, is bound automati-

cally to fail if there is no genuine grievance to sustain the determination. Neither will the rich and opulent leave their luxuries and go to jail, nor will the poor leave their families to suffer the untold hardships of destitute poverty—nor will even public subscribe towards the sinews of war—unless there is a grave dishonour or a serious injury and a genuine and strong realisation of it. Truth at the base is therefore essential for Satyagraha. "They do not feel for the flag", thought Government. "It is not a national flag. Your forefathers did not know it," said they. "It annoys the European's" said they. All this and more have been answered, and answered by suffering and established in truth. If the claim that the flag annoyed people were true, the struggle could not have ended thus. If the Europeans were annoyed, the Government, their protector, would have fought more strenuously. It is because their grievance was not genuine that their resistance collapsed. It is because of this that our resistance triumphed. No one thinks it worth his while to suffer and struggle for falsehood, be it on the people's side or on the other. This is the fundamental fact of human nature on which Satyagraha is founded.

The superstructure, the means and methods employed in a non-violent struggle must also be truthful. Otherwise the enemy will easily triumph. We can make no headway in a campaign of passive resistance by spurious methods or with false material. Disappointment and reaction will set in and the campaign will very soon have to come to an end, in spite of every attempt to hide the weakness. Weak elements, by reason of miscalculation of their own, as well as of the organisers of the campaign, often get into the struggle and greatly retard its progress and sometimes may even wreck it. But worse than even this is reliance upon falsehood as distinguished from weakness. The man who goes to prison must possess a soul that vibrates with pain at the wrong sought to be imposed on him. Otherwise he will soon find his soul rebel against his own decision and the suffering undertaken will be found impossible to bear. To the true passive resister the suffering will be a relief to the soul, a mixture of pain and pleasure which sweetens and sanctifies both. The men who undertake resistance for the sake of false pride or other crooked motives, cannot sustain the battle. Men brought into the army by deception or through ignorance will leave the field automatically. Satyagraha weighs out with the precision of a perfect and sensitive balance.

The Nagpur struggle has its important lessons too in this respect. Undoubtedly many weak persons were among those who entered the struggle. But as stated already, this is more or less inevitable. The apologies and withdrawals soon filtered out the weak and the rash and were a warning to others. The actuality of suffering is always severer than the anticipation of it in the flush of indignation and of the noble incitement of patriotism. Misjudgment of one's own strength is natural where honour calls, the adversary has time to regulate and choose his weapons and to inflict suffering in the most effective form. Truth is most severely tested and it is no dishonour to confess weakness and leave the field.

Much capital was made of the apologies secured in the course of the Nagpur struggle. Government made a scientific business of it. Experience again, enabled them

to develop and utilise what in previous campaigns had been neglected as casual or unimportant. But if Government were inclined to be boastful about these apologies, we could ask them to consider their own recruitment of soldiers during the war. Materials, aims and methods, all bear most favourable comparison. Men were enlisted by Government ostensibly to save the honour of the country and to protect hearth and home against a great danger. "Your country wants you", said Government and undoubtedly many brave souls responded. But if the Turks and Germans had the time, the secret and unrestricted opportunity and resources to poison the minds of the recruits, which the Government officials had in dealing with the imprisoned Satyagrahis, is there any doubt but that almost all the Indian recruits would have been successfully persuaded to withdraw from the war and go back to their homes and their fields?

Our Satyagraha army has on the whole shown far greater strength and understanding than the soldiers taken for England's war against Turkey and Germany would have shown, if subjected to similar ordeals. The magistrates who amused themselves by questioning the Satyagrahis about the nature of Swaraj and published the answers through the Associated Press, would not have fared better if they were themselves similarly examined as to their own ideals of life or politics. Nor could the soldiers recruited in India from 1914 to 1918, for sickness and death abroad, have given better answers about the aims of the war or the ideals of the British Empire or even as to their own duties and prospects.

The result of a campaign of Satyagraha is nothing but the establishment of truth. The losses and gains of a non-violent struggle can be no more and no less. We cannot hide the losses nor can we be robbed of our gains by diplomacy or propaganda. In the very nature of things it was not possible to get an amendment of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code as a result of the Nagpur campaign. Our success consists in taking away the courage to apply it wrongly. What happened in 1919 to the Rowlatt Act which was wholly wrong? Mahatma's organisation of the country for civil resistance at once made it a dead letter. Its repeal by the legislature recently was merely a belated formality. So also section 144 may remain, but its illegitimate application is prevented by successful Satyagraha. The Government now knows that however arbitrary its own powers may be, however all-embracing the laws as enacted by itself may be, and however entirely subservient to its own will the so-called Judiciary may be, the people have the power to declare and organise refusal to cooperate with and submit to wrong.

Government has had opportunity to see the solidity of the nation and the manner in which it can respond to the call to suffer. It is a call and a principle of action to which Government cannot respond. It is not surprising therefore that it may under-rate the popular response to and the possibilities of such a campaign and treat it with scant respect, as a mere scheme of Utopia, based on human virtues and courage that did not exist. But it has now seen and learnt. The people also have now seen that India has brave hearts ready to suffer, and possesses the courage

of conviction. Confessions of defeat or proofs of victory are not needed after the actual experiences on both sides. On the one hand, the fear that an illegality may be followed by a determined national resistance, is now an established matter for calculation in every step of arbitrary authority. On the other hand, we have tried our own capacity and seen our own strength.

C. R.

Must Repudiate

Mr. C. F. Andrews made a speech at Calcutta in which he laid a true and irresistible indictment against the Government of India Office:—"India has been betrayed" he said. "The greatest betrayal of all has been that of the India Office in England, but hardly less blameworthy, in my opinion, has been the attitude of the Government of India." Mr. Andrews took up issue after issue and exposed the crime of the Government.

First the *Franchise*, The white settlers would not allow a single coloured man in their roll, not even Indians who had obtained English University degrees. Previously in 1922 the Colonial Office had stood out against this colour bar. But the whites were defiant and stubborn. The badge of perpetual race inferiority was placed on the Indian.

"But what did Lord Peel do? I repeat, he did practically nothing from the moment we landed, but implore the different delegates to accept the communal franchise with all its stigma of race inferiority in Africa."

Take the second issue, the *Highlands*

"Let us take the second vital issue,—the Kenya Highlands. Here were the British settlers, after pledges had been given to the contrary, confiscating and alienating a huge new area of country on the Equator and marking it off as a 'white man's country'. Every legal right of Indians to purchase land in Kenya was flagrantly and violently put aside. One more large and fertile area of God's earth was illegally shut out from Indians. Canada, with its millions of square miles, had been closed. Australia had been closed; South Africa had been closed, the United States had been closed. And now, on the top of all this a new 'white men's country' had been barricaded off, opposite the very shores of India, on the Equator itself. Could insolence towards the coloured races go further? Yet what did Lord Peel do? Did he put up a fight? Nothing of the kind. Before even we reached London a secret and disgraceful compact had been made behind our backs sacrificing the Highlands, at least in Lord Peel's own term of office."

Then, *Immigration*.

"So little had the India Office studied the question of immigration, that they had not even got the figures and statistics when we arrived. When we pressed upon them the fact that the Colonial Office figures, presented by the European settlers, were most misleading; when we brought to their notice the true figures, which showed that Indians were actually leaving the country in greater numbers than they were coming in, even then, although the Indian case was invincible, the India Office could not make a fight. Lord Peel was all the while trying to persuade the delegates to find some neutral formula for restriction of immigration. He never seemed to take the obvious line that there

was no need for restriction at all. And now Lord Peel has accepted and defended an immigration restriction system, which is directed against the Indian and the Indian only. For all the classes to be discriminated against are Indians. Let us take them one by one. Who are the 'subordinate clerks' in Kenya that have to be restricted in the supposed interests of the natives? Are they Europeans? No, they are all Indians. Who are the 'artisans' that have to be restricted? Here again they are all Indians. Who are the small 'shop-keepers'? They too are Indians. Therefore, only Indians are the restricted classes. Nothing is said about restricting the land-grabbing Europeans. The present White Paper declares that an impartial commission is to be set up at Nairobi to decide, under these three heads, what immigrants are to be excluded on economic grounds. We know well what an impartial commission at Nairobi means, because we had in 1919 the Government's own Economic Commission Report, which declared in favour of absolute prohibition of all Indian immigration in the supposed moral and economic interests of the natives. The new Economic Commission will almost certainly make the same kind of report and Indians will be excluded. Again, I ask, what fight has Lord Peel put up against such an iniquity as this? As far as is apparent from the facts before the public, he has put up no fight at all, but has abjectly surrendered. If this is a misinterpretation of what he has done, then let the Government of India publish all the papers."

Then, the Services.

The Government and the railway posts, the professional and the technical posts, are all subject to the rigid colour bar. The European, however inexperienced, gets the superior posts.

"What has Lord Reading or Lord Peel done to remove the colour bar here? As far as the public have been told, nothing has been done at all. The whole matter is glazed over with a discreet silence; and the colour bar, in all its racial injustice, will now become harder and harder than before."

The fifth issue is Segregation.

"With regard to commercial segregation, the Kenya Europeans themselves were against it. With regard to residential areas, the mischief has been already done by past acts of Government and by the final alienation of the Highlands. For, with the confiscation for Europeans of every scrap of agricultural land outside the municipal limits in the Highlands, the Indian now has no chance at all. Take the case of Nairobi. The quarter allotted to the Indians is on the borders of what is called, in the survey maps, the Swamp. The European quarter is called Hill side and are Portlands. The very names reveal the difference. But Nairobi is an expanding capital and will extend for many miles in every direction. What chance has the Indian of getting a decent residence, when all the land outside the municipal limits is European and he is not allowed to purchase even a small area? What chance has he in all the new townships? He is at the mercy of the European every time. By racially segregating the agricultural Highlands, the Colonial Office has racially segregated all the new rising townships as well."

Mr. Andrews sees in the Kenya decision a grave portent, an evil that will spread throughout the world:

"But this defeat and definite Indian racial inferiority, in Kenya is not the end; it is only the beginning. This defeat that has been inflicted on India will reverberate all over the world. It will immediately redouble the energies of the Anti-Asiatic party in South Africa, of which General Smuts himself has assumed the leadership. The Indian community there is now doomed to perpetual racial segregation. It has already reacted on Fiji and brought such racial conflict there that even the mildest Indian nominee of Government, the Hon. Badro Maharaj, has resigned. Everywhere throughout the world, wherever a common franchise had been granted in which Indians shared equal rights with other races, this old liberal policy is likely to be reversed and the colour bar is likely to be imposed. In Canada we have just had a blunt refusal to give the vote to a tiny band of some fifteen hundred Punjabis, who are still lingering on in that country. The United States which was regarded as free and impartial in its ideals has just taken away the citizenship from Indians domiciled there. All over the world, the white domination of the coloured races is growing harder and harder."

But, says Mr. Andrews:

"When I consider the whole matter quietly and carefully and from the highest standpoint, I am sure that this defeat has been a good thing for the people of India at this time, to bind us all together in a common suffering and a common unity of purpose. It will open the eyes of everyone to India's true position. It will make it as clear as possible to every single one in India, that India cannot remain any longer as a subordinate in a White Empire. For the world's sake, as well as for her own, India must repudiate that humiliating position with all her moral strength."

"In the defeat of the Indian the African has been defeated as well."

"It is a call not for the service of India alone, but for the service of humanity. For if the colour bar is laid more heavily of India, it will be laid more heavily on Africa as well. If it is removed from India, it will be removed from Africa as well. In this struggle for the removal of the Colour Bar, India is fighting for a human future of the world."

C. R.

Mr. Sastri's Hotel Cecil Speech

On August 2nd, prior to his departure from London, Mr. Sastri was entertained at a reception given to him by Sir Ali and Lady Imam in the Hotel Cecil. In the course of a speech made on that occasion, Mr. Sastri said as follows:—

Let me now assess the gains and losses of my own community. One gain only is clear, though even that is subject to qualification—the rejection of all proposals for residential and commercial segregation. The latter i. e. commercial segregation has been abandoned as impracticable, while the former is to be secured by building and sanitary regulations and not by the offensive method of racial discrimination. Segregation, however, in respect of the Highlands is to be perpetuated, and segregation is to be introduced, although not in a physical sense, in the political and municipal franchise of the Colony. The Wood-Winterton agreement had fixed a proportion of 10 per cent of the Indian community for enfranchisement—the white paper appears to favour the idea of an even higher percentage no matter how many are brought on the register so long as the register is confined to Indians.

If anyone thinks that a concession made on that obvious ground is likely to please or be valued, he does not know human nature. To compensate those who are excluded from the Highlands, it is proposed to constitute under limitations an Indian reserve in the Lowlands. The Indian community looks upon this offer as a trap which must be avoided, and a bribe which must be rejected. They object to exclusion, whether it is of the Indian from the Highlands or of the white man from the Lowlands. If they ask for equality, it is for equality of privilege, and not for equality in disability. If then, they escape from the ignominy of physical segregation, it is the only gain which can at all merit that description.

Bare-faced Partiality

And what are the losses? Exclusion from the Highlands has just been mentioned. Hitherto resting under the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, this discrimination, involving bare-faced partiality, is invested henceforth with the sanction of H. M.'s Government and the Imperial Parliament. Nor is this the only colour bar that has been erected. The new franchise penalises colour in three different ways. First of all, it segregates coloured from white communities. It passes one's comprehension how the Cabinet can make themselves responsible for a statement so clearly opposed to the truth as this on page 12:—

"No justification is seen for the suggestion that it is derogatory to any of the communities so represented."

Surely communal representation on the legislature has been demanded in Kenya, solely on the ground that the white is superior to the coloured person irrespective of individual qualifications. Communal franchises in India exist, but for different reasons; not that it would justify them even for those reasons, but it is only just to point out that they have nothing to do with the galling suggestion of inferiority on racial or colour grounds. The reasoning of the white paper would almost appear to indicate that the communal system was good even for Great Britain, but however that may be, the following statement is utterly gratuitous and borders on hypocrisy:—

"From the point of view of the Indian residents themselves"—how they appreciate our views!—"This system permits of a far wider franchise being given than would be the case if a common electoral roll were introduced, and this alone renders it acceptable to all supporters of the Indian claims who have at heart the political development of the Indian people."

They might have asked us whether our view corresponds to this statement. (Laughter)

A Third Decisive Humiliation.

Here again, a reference must be made to the unfortunate Wood-Winterton agreement, which would have established a common electoral roll with the qualifications applicable to all communities alike. The communal system renders it possible to establish another great disparity between the communities. So in Kenya we shall find an adult franchise for the white citizen and a suffrage limited by qualifications for the Indian citizens, and apparently, also suffrages on different qualifications for the Arab citizens, and when the time becomes ripe, for the native citizen. But the representation of India is a third decisive humiliation. Though the Indian greatly outnumbers the white citizen and though he is to return only eleven members to the Legislature, against eleven allowed to the favoured community. Now eleven is a clear majority of the non-official portion of the Council, and five—it is no great piece of arithmetic to know—is less than half of that. No more contemptuous negative could be given in answer to India's claim to equality.

Next, as to immigration: the subtle cynicism of the white paper is most perceptible under this heading. The theory propounded is in favour of the Indian, the practice prescribed is all to the benefit of the white. Starting off with a courageous declaration that racial discrimination in immigration regulations, whether specific or implied, would not be in accord with the general policy of H. M.'s Government, the document proceeds to record two findings:—

1. That it is immediately necessary to restrict the immigration of those from whom the African native stands in risk of economic competition.

Insult to Injury.

2. That these undesirable economic competitors are small traders, subordinate clerks in Government and private employ, and mechanical labourers.

Now it is a well known fact that these three professions are exactly those which are followed by Indians in Kenya. Does it merely happen? Is it a simple accident? We know two facts just previous to the arrival of the various deputations in London. When the terms of the Wood-Winterton agreement were made known to the white population in Kenya, they refused even to look at the documents, unless Indian immigration were forthwith restricted with a view to eventual stoppage. The Colonial Minister, changing his mind as to the necessity of immigration, sent for the Governor of Kenya, attended by representative white settlers. What was demanded was restriction, openly directed against Indians. What is given is restriction directed against the occupations for which Indians go to Kenya. Shall I be called perverse if I say that our case is lost even on the immigration question? We cited facts and figures to prove that, taking the last twelve years into account, the European community has increased much faster than the Indian. We cited facts and figures to prove that during the last two years, more Indians have left the Colony than have gone into it. We pleaded that, instead of being competitors, at present we were the only people who trained and taught the native anything. We pleaded that when the competition stage was reached the native would, in the ordinary course of things, defeat us on his own ground. We pleaded that the Government had no data as to the extent of the competition, or as to the numbers of the various communities or professions that the Colony could absorb. We pleaded that it would be unjust without an open enquiry to conclude on the prejudiced and one-sided statement of white settlers, or even of missionaries, that our presence was a menace to the development of the native. The facts and figures and pleas have all been set aside, and we have been condemned. To add a touch of sarcasm to the whole thing, we are bidden to congratulate ourselves that we are not excluded on racial, but on economic grounds. (Applause.)

Which is the Greater Menace?

Which is the greater menace to the welfare and the progress of the African native? Is it the small

trader or the artisan who can be squeezed out of the ordinary laws of competition, or is it the farmer, who grabs land on a large scale, and squats permanently and fortifies himself by every means that the law will allow? Does anyone seriously believe that the white man, once established in political ascendancy over the semi-civilised native, will ever help him along in the path of political evolution and in the end gladly surrender responsible government into his hands? Does the experience of Ireland, Egypt, or India justify such a forecast? The white man's mission to rule, to dominate, to annex, is blazoned forth on every page of history—(applause)—and yet the Cabinet of Great Britain, newly awakened to their obligations as trustees of the native, would let white immigration flow unchecked into Kenya! They have not been impressed at all by the facts that the Indian has long emigrated into East Africa, that he has been excluded from the self-governing Dominions and that to exclude him from the Colonies on racial or economic grounds is to deny him the benefits of British citizenship and, in fact, to deprive it of all value to him.

Towards the end of the White Paper the Cabinet profess to apply the principle enunciated in the resolutions of the Imperial Conference of 1921 to the peculiar conditions of a tropical colony in British East Africa. Those big expressions at the end are meant to terrify you with the extraordinary difficulty of conditions in Kenya. In fact, the expression they use is to relate the principle of the Conference to the conditions of Kenya. "To relate"—well, this relation is achieved by the institution of a colour bar, and by the relegation of Indians to an inferior position and a debased citizenship.

Changed Times!

How short is human memory! It is not so long ago that no words were good enough for the Indian for his services during the war, his loyalty, his bravery on the battle-field, and the rich compensations he had earned. Where are the pledges gone, of the full rights of citizenship and absolute equality and ungrudging partnership in the Empire? They came from Royalty, from responsible Ministers, from the press and from the platform, with every grade of solemnity and in every tone of sonorous phrasing. Why cite the resolution of 1921 with its demurer from South Africa and India's answer thereto? That resolution applied only to the self-governing Dominions, with which India had in the year 1918 entered into a pact of reciprocity. H. M.'s Government controlling the Crown Colonies directly, come under the sway of principles of equality and brotherhood long anterior to 1918, and pledges and promises of quite respectable antiquity.

After waiting for a long time with his proverbial patience, and after earning equal treatment a hundred times over, and after endless expostulations and entreaties, and having declared that Kenya supplied the acid test of Empire and his position in the Empire, the Indian has been cruelly betrayed. Victim of many broken pledges, dupe of many solemn promises, his faith in the justice and impartiality of the British Empire seemed almost incurable. He is at last undeceived.

He now realises that a large section of the British people, the section that keeps the present Government in power, have not come under the sway of the spirit and ideals of the League of Nations, and that in their opinion, pledges made to a people not able to exact their fulfilment, need only to be honoured to the extent that it may be convenient or profitable. The deciding factor of the decision is not to be found in the white paper at all—make no mistake about that. It is something outside of it altogether. As Colonel Wedgwood said the other day, it is the fact that the whites in Kenya threatened force while the Indians relied on the merits of their case. Not justice or truth, but the amount of trouble that a party is able to cause, prevails with His Majesty's Government today. (Applause) Having had this lesson burnt into them, Indians, let us hope, will not ever forget it again. (Cheers)

In making war on the Republic of South Africa, Great Britain professed to teach President Kruger exalted and righteous principles of government. President Kruger is now fully avenged. Not only are Indians worse treated under the Union Jack than ever before, but the colour bar of South Africa is spreading over the British Empire, and it is now infected with the poison of the Boer spirit. The undertaking to establish justice and righteousness in the Empire, which the Labour Party gave through Colonel Wedgwood, untamed champion of good causes, is the one bright feature of an otherwise gloomy situation. We owe them a deep debt of gratitude. (Applause)

Blasted Hopes.

One final word. Our friends must understand that in the whole of this struggle India has looked in vain for one sign, one gesture that Britain recognises her right to equality, or, as Sir Robert Hamilton in a wise and temperate speech said, that they will have the citizenship of the British Empire. Is there one matter in respect of the Highlands, the franchise or immigration restrictions wherein that aspiration and sentiment are satisfied? The denial of it is written large on the pages of the white paper.

How can India acquiesce in this settlement for one moment? It blasts at once the hope of India and the honour of Britain.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have expressed myself, as I told you before, with fulness and candour on the situation as it appears before us. What we are to do in the future is the question, I am sure, that is oppressing young hearts here, as it is oppressing young hearts in India. (Applause) In short interviews I have given indications of my personal views, but they are only personal views. It is difficult to take decisions when one is far away from friends. Anxious thought, mature deliberation are necessary before plans can be laid. Wait yet a while in patience. I will not therefore, at this moment say, what will be done in India. But I will say this once more, which I have said before, that India has lost many a time because she had never shown that she can resent indignities in the only way in which a strong Western Power understands resentment. (Cheers.)

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Notes

Kenya

Boycotts, withdrawals and retaliatory measures are mere symptoms of the injury received. They are natural reactions that show that nature is not paralysed and that blood and nerve are alive. They are not however remedies in themselves. To trust to such measures as a complete programme of action would be merely yielding to the insidious voice of Satan which is ever suggesting procrastination and lapse into surrender. At best they can only imperfectly clothe our impotence and impotence. The only remedy is the attainment of national freedom full and unfettered.

Freedom does not mean a license to tarry. Every delay makes our work tenfold more difficult. To attain Swaraj then the nation must unite and work. The path is only one and is not to be negotiated by skill or device, intellect or diplomacy, but by sacrifice, suffering and death. We can find life only by losing it. Mr. Shastri has returned. India needs him and welcomes him. He has come back very sick in body and even more sick at heart. The ways of Providence are inscrutable and disappointments may be our very salvation.

The Baptism of Kenya

After the baptism of Kenya the spirit of the nation has lighted upon Mr. Shastri and well may India say, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased". The temptation in the wilderness will follow no doubt. God grant us that Mr. Shastri will come out of it with increased strength and determination and lead India's united battle. In the darkest hour breaks the ray of hope. The great statement issued by Mr. Shastri promises a national struggle which united India can make irresistible. Truly and nobly has Mr. Shastri said from his sick-bed that party interests and party shibboleths are an irrelevance and a handicap. The unity I hope for, the joyous vision that I see in the clearing clouds is not the unity of a mechanical mixture, not a conglomeration of opposites covered over with a formula of equivocation, but a true and single line of action consistent with national self-respect and dignity." Mr. Shastri has only one decision more to make: whether the Government of India is a thing apart from the satanic force we have to give battle to, or whether it is not indeed its agent and working representative. Our battle can only take effective shape if directed against the coercion in India. The ignoble association is here rooted, in the cooperation we give to the Government, in India and unless we aim at this fundamental, our efforts will only

be spectacular and bring but little fruit. India looks for decisive action now. Mr. Shastri's one word now will repeat in India the story of the Arab elections in Palestine. It will be the spark that will make the nation act as one man with all the potential strength that has been silently developed by Mahatma's programme of suffering and self-reliance made dynamic. Lest we forget the secret hand that guides everything, the man whose service is most wanted now is afflicted with sickness. Let us all pray for his health.

The Daa Battle-Ground

The chances of effective show of obstruction in the Reformed Councils can be guessed from the figures given in the table appearing on the next page showing the constitution of the various Councils. The ratio between the seats open to popular election and the total strength should be carefully studied.

What Einstein thinks of the League of Nations

Einstein, the great scientist, resigned his seat on the Committee of the League of Nations for "Intellectual cooperation". He explains his reasons as follows:—

"The activities of the League so far have convinced me that there appeared to be no action, no matter how brutal, committed by the present Power group against which the League could take a stand. I withdrew because the League of Nations, as it functions at present, not only does not embody the ideal of an international organisation, but actually discredits such an ideal. May the League in the future prove my harsh words to have been false."

C. R.

The Corollary.

The release of all the Satyagrahis in C. P. jails was a necessary corollary to the attitude of that Government in respect of the happenings on the 18th August. It declared its penitence on that date and has now set the seal of genuineness thereon. The latest act is one which it was in honour bound to do, and no one need be ashamed for having been able to fulfil one's obligation. Indeed it is a matter for congratulation that the C. P. Government could muster courage to reject the evil counsels of Anglo-Indian papers that were hounding it on to be firm at all costs, "to stand by its spoken or written words"—to use the words of the "Pioneer", the frankest exponent of the theory of Government by force. It is also a matter for congratulation that it could muster courage to regard as naught the storm of indignation its action is bound to raise amongst members of the civil service. Let us hope the courageous step of the C. P. Government heralds the dawn of sense in the whole system of government which has to go through a like ordeal of penitence.

Magnanimity or Abdication?

Magnanimity according to the "Times of India"; abdication—abject abdication—says the "Pioneer". Even the uninterrupted triumphal march of the Nagpur volunteers on the 18th was to the latter paper a portent. What will it say of the "wholesale jail delivery of the persons convicted by the criminal courts for having taken an active part in an agitation avowedly revolutionary in its aims"? Indeed the wholesale jail delivery would be a disastrous portent if the persons released answered to the description given by the "Pioneer". But the Government found that if any of the two parties was criminal it was they—though the confession may not be in so many words—who in a fit of madness enjailed the most respectable members of society as "Vagabonds" and "Habitual offenders", members on whom the "Times of India" showered malignant abuse in those days and in a characteristically hypocritical note now describes as "men of solid social position". It was thus a simple act of contrition, there was no abdication of functions therein. The abdication has yet to come, not an abdication wrested—as in Nabha—by threats and intrigue, but a pure and voluntary abdication following upon a recognition of the people's right to govern themselves, and upon a realisation of its unnatural position. If that abdication ever comes about, then and then only may impartial judges have seriously to consider if that action does not partake of the nature of magnanimity.

The Truth about it

We never thought fit to draw upon our imagination for details to enable us to cast mud at either of the parties in the Nagpur struggle. Some contemporaries have been at pains to prove that the leader of the Nagpur Satyagraha entered into a compromise amounting to abject surrender, in view of the fact that he could not carry on the fight any longer. *Apropos* of that we present them with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's emphatic statement at a meeting in Allahabad on the *Hartal* day, that "a letter was received from Nagpur saying that they were deceived by the Government as they were told that the order would be withdrawn whereas a fresh order under the Police Act was issued. The letter informed them that volunteers should be sent as Satyagraha would be continued". In Gujarat of course it is a matter of common knowledge that two batches, one of ladies under Mrs. Gandhi, and one of men under Dr. Kanuga, were ready awaiting orders to start any day. Regarding the "application to the District Magistrate" of which some of them have tried to make much capital, Pandit Jawaharlal said that the notices specifying the route of the procession through the prohibited area on the 18th contained some such

heading as "Procession against Police Order". He also informed his audience that those who were released the next day took back their flags and to satisfy themselves also passed through the prohibited area. "But", said the Pandit "if the authorities chose to regard the copy of the notice for the procession that was sent to the police as an application for permission, they were welcome to please themselves."

Lalaji's Views

It is no use dissecting Lalaji's statement of his views on the present political situation. He is too ill to enter into a controversy and he has begged friends not to try to convert him to their way of thinking. We wonder why then the friends who had an opportunity to see him, and discuss things with him then insisted on publication of that statement. We, for our part, will rest content to pray for Lalaji's speedy recovery to which from recent reports he seems to be well on the way. We shall then request him to hear the other side and reconsider his statement.

Panditji on Nagpur Satyagraha

Pandit Motilalji's adverse criticism of the Nagpur Satyagraha is based on his considered opinion that "in the taking of the last procession through the prohibited area with the permission of the authorities and obeying the orders of the Police Superintendent about calling 'jais' the organisers of the movement had practically abandoned the first principles of non-co-operation. We hope Panditji will revise his opinion in the light of facts stated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech. After the basic misconception is cleared he will be fit to revise also the opinion that all sacrifice has been wasted."

"Hartal of out practice."

One can understand Pandit Motilalji falling foul of everything done by a "Working Committee dominated by the orthodox non-cooperators". One can also understand the cheap sneers which he has directed against the Committee, as it is beyond the banter-loving Panditji to say anything about an opponent without a sneer. But what passes comprehension is that the venerable Panditji should have been so off the rails, when he asked his audience at Gaya to consider Mahatmaji's ban against *hartal* on his arrest to be a permanent ban against the demonstration of such resentment at all occasions and all times. That hardly does justice to Panditji's own power of reasoning, and his general sense of fairness. May we ask why Panditji said not a word against the *hartal* on the 18th of March last? The present Working Committee will confess to having not been able as yet to do anything more than organise a general *hartal* regarding the Kenya decision. But even the Panditji has yet to demonstrate that Council entry is a better form of protest, not to say, a better solution.

Constitution of the Councils

Councils	Government nominations and special constituencies	Mussalman	General Constituency	Total strength
Council of State	25 + 4 = 29	10	20	59
Legislative Assembly	40 + 22 = 62	30	51	143
Madras Council	39 + 20 = 49	13: 28 (non-Brahmins)	37	127
Bombay "	25 + 13 = 38	27: 7 "	39	111
Bengal "	26 + 29 = 55	39	46	140
United Provinces Council	23 + 11 = 34	29	60	128
Punjab Council	22 + 7 = 29	32: 12 (Sikhs)	20	98
Bihar & Orissa Council	27 + 10 = 37	18	48	103
Central Provinces "	16 + 7 = 23	7	40	70
Assam Council	14 + 6 = 20	12	21	58

Mr. Vallabhbhai's Statement

Mr. Vallabhbhai's statement was received by wire long after the notes were in type. It is a magnificent document which would do credit to any true disciple of Mahatmaji. The facts leading up to the preliminary triumph have been narrated with remarkable candour and fairness, and one can plainly see that Mr. Vallabhbhai must have been pained even to have to make a reference to all sorts of hostile criticism against what is mis-called the Nagpur compromise. Painful as it may be it was a clear duty. He owed it to the released Satyagrahis who went fighting to prison absolutely confident that the flag would be kept flying by those who remained behind. He was bound to make it clear to them, if not to the carpentering world, that they were out, not because some one had pleaded for mercy or clemency on their behalf, not because the movement was defeated, nor because the Council had passed a resolution that they should be released, but because the honour of the flag was vindicated, and the Government had seen the injustice of keeping them a day longer in jail.

We have no doubt Mr. Vallabhbhai's statement will give a quietus to all the criticism, honest and mischievous, levelled against him. Pandit Jawaharlal has, as we have shown in a note, fully anticipated Mr. Vallabhbhai.

We wish Mr. Vallabhbhai had magnanimously omitted the amusing reference to the Commissioner of Nagpur whom the inadvertent (or shall we say the more honest) "Statesman" has unwittingly betrayed. Not that he did not deserve to be exposed, but this great statement was no place for it.

Mr. Vallabhbhai was deputed to Nagpur to carry on a task which was hardly easy or encouraging. He has carried it out nobly and manfully. Those who fought whilst the struggle was on, demonstrated by their manner of fighting that no battle could be fought in a cleaner manner. It was left to Mr. Vallabhbhai to demonstrate that none could be won also in a cleaner manner.

A Prison Official's Confessions.

It seems a strange expectation to fit a man for freedom by depriving him of it for a term of years. Yet this is just what governments seek to do by putting criminals in prisons. The immediate problem might perhaps be solved by sending a thief to gaol, but it is at the cost of creating a still more difficult problem: what to do with him when he has finished his term of imprisonment and completely unfitted himself for freedom? Humanitarian methods of dealing with criminals are more efficacious than those that incline to severity. The direction of prison reform should have as its aim the closing of gaols rather than the building of more of these costly institutions. These observations are not mine, but have been made by the Inspector General of Prisons of Burma, Lt. Col. Knapp, in his concluding general observations in the latest administrative report issued by him.

Discussing how far the Government achieves the various possible purposes of putting men in prison, he very effectively exposes the futility of the present

system. Is the prisoner deterred from committing further crime after release? In a general way the gaol system is deterrent. But examined with reference to the class of people who are prone to lapse into crime, the Burma Inspector General says, no:—

"Man is, above all others, an adaptable animal, and quickly learns how to behave in a new environment, and that is what happens in a gaol—any gaol. A man readily learns how to become (more or less) a good prisoner. But this training, by which he becomes part of a more or less efficient machine, is the worst possible training for free life; and the more perfect the machine, the less fitted probably is the individual at the time of release. The soldier finds civil life difficult on his discharge; the prisoner much more so."

"It is certain that many of our 'good' prisoners leave gaol thoroughly bad citizens. They are adapted to gaol life and have developed a special kind of 'herd instinct'; many of them—homeless, landless, friendless men—find freedom too hard a thing, and make no determined fight against the return to crime and prison life. These recidivists are pretty numerous, and they are the origin of the popular legend that prisoners come back to gaol because they have a better time inside than out. It is this class that swells our criminal returns and that causes others to fall into crime."

Reformation ought to be the aim of imprisonment. But here governments have miserably failed, Dr. Knapp says:—

"When we ask how we stand in regard to this, we must, I fear, admit that our gaols are not, and probably cannot be made, reformatories. The facts of adaptation and mass association with criminals stand in the way. Still, some men do make themselves fit for freedom while in gaol; but they are few, and they do it in spite of, and not because of, the gaol system. I do not believe it is possible to fit a man for freedom so long as he is kept in unnatural surroundings. Other methods are necessary, if this object is to be attained."

The ugly truth is told by the Inspector General that;—

"Retribution still, in my opinion, underlies our whole system of punishment. It is generally considered hardly decent to admit the existence of the primary instinct of revenge, but surely it is always there. If so, it would be more honest to admit instead of denying it, and rationalising the defence of the prison system on other grounds."

The following observations of Dr. Knapp are worthy of rumination by all those superficial disciplinarians who amidst other avocations think that severity of treatment is a panacea for crime.

But many will ask, if gaol is not deterrent, why not make it so? The answer is, that it is a fallacy to argue that because punishment does not deter we should therefore increase the punishment. Punishment might be really effectively deterrent, both as regards the individual old offender and the potential offender, if it were inevitable. But this is not so. The man who commits a crime believes he has an excellent chance of escaping both detection and punishment, and he is fully justified in this belief under our present system. To put it briefly, fear does not deter him from crime. Another argument is that we are morally forbidden to punish a man by interference with the

prime needs of existence, such as food and sleep. Torture is out of date. That a gaol might be more rigorous in certain ways is undoubted, but that matter I must leave aside now, beyond saying that if you seek to deter by the imposition of very unpleasant and severe forms of labour, you will probably make the idea of work distasteful to the prisoner, which is precisely what you do not want to do. C. R.

Young India

6-9-23

The Key to Yeravda

When the heart sinks and the head reels to think of the purposeless riots in various places in the U. P., there is one thing which soothes the troubled soul. It is the return of Moulana Mahomed Ali.

Dr. Kitchlew came and placed the issue before the country in words clear and emphatic. 'The situation is so bad that we cannot do without Mahatmaji. Not Swaraj, not Hindu-Moslem unity; let Mahatmaji's release be our first concern'—that has been the burden of all of his speeches. Lalaji too has placed the issue in the forefront, and has emphasised that the programme he suggests should be considered only in Mahatmaji's absence. And so has Moulana Mahomed Ali—but in a manner all his own, in a manner supremely captivating. His telegram to the revered mother Kasturba—probably the first thing that he did immediately on his discharge—will remain in history for all time: "Searching Key of Yeravda prison with trust in God and in my fellow countrymen". And he has repeated his heart's desire to many another, asking them not to trouble him with further queries. The music and other demonstrations of welcome jarred on his ears; they were too much to bear in the absence of Bapu. As one thinks of this enthusiasm of devotion, almost beyond all telling, he is most irresistibly put in mind of Bharata of old, declaring before all his grievous distress,—the absence of Rama. All pleasures and palaces, the Ayodhya of his happy days, even the mothers and kinamen, to say nothing of the offered *gaddi*,—all was naught to him without Rama. 'Permit me to join or bring back Rama; unless I see him the fire in my soul cannot be quenched, the fierce longing of my eyes cannot be assuaged.' There is just this little difference. That he would get to see Rama, Bharata had no doubt; but he was not sure that he would bring him back. The key to Rama's recovery was with Rama. To Bapu's recovery is with us. Even as Bharata rated himself for the exile of Rama, Mahomed Ali rates himself and his fellow men. It is we he says, who have kept him in; let us with that in God, get him out.

One reads various prophecies about Kaliyuga, the present age, in ancient Sankrit books. We read of the fire, religion and immorality and iniquity, the diverse crimes against God and man, that man's race in India, at any rate, will in the Black Age perpetrate. It may

be all true in proportion to one's quickness of perception and sensitiveness of conscience. But one thing the ancient sages' vision failed to prophesy is that a Muslim Mahomed Ali will be so devoted to a Hindu Gandhi, that he can find no rest or peace without him. Blessed we who have filled our eyes with their vision, with that friendship and brotherhood which ennobles and adorns both Hinduism and Islam. The mad mobs in Sabaranpur, Agra and other places may be too blinded with petty passions and animosities to see the significance of the return of Mahomed Ali and of his passionate cry. But it cannot long continue to be lost on them. In his return and the rallying cry that he has raised lies the key to Hindu-Muslim unity. Devotion to a great personality is indeed the key to all self-improvement, self-elevation, all unity—certainly to Hindu-Muslim unity. The strength of Islam and Christianity is the devotion to the Prophet and the Prince of Glory, cherished by every adherent of the respective religions. The strength of the religion of Indian Unity will be the devotion each bears to the greatest men of faiths different from his. For the sign of the purity and strength of a faith, as of a nation, is the thought and act of its best and most representative man. That devotion binds Mahomed Ali to Mahatmaji and Mahatmaji to Mahomed Ali. Take up anyone of Mahatmaji's speeches in those days when he used to go about with the bigger and the younger brothers. Every one of them you will find prefaced with an exhortation to the people to see Hindu-Muslim unity embodied in his attachment to the brothers. Attachment to the brothers meant to him attachment to Islam and he wanted the people to see the greatness of the faith in the greatness of its representative adherents. Even so does Mahomed Ali today. His ardent cry for the release of Mahatmaji, his passionate declaration that Mahatmaji is dearer to him than his brother, is an exhortation to all, especially to the erring brethren of his faith, to see the greatness of Hinduism in the greatness of Gandhi and to forget the little things about them that stir up their prejudices and their animosities. In his self-surrender to Allah, he says that he will think that his task is unfulfilled if he fails to bring about Hindu-Moslem unity. But it is not difficult to see that in the search for the key to Yeravda is the solution of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Where then is the key? Dr. Kitchlew in his straight, plain manner answered: 'Satyagraha'. The poetic Moulana gave a suggestive reply: 'I adhere to Mahatmaji's programme of non-violent non-cooperation. There is absolutely no change in my views.' In the course of a reply to a telegram from Mr. Kaza Ali he said:—

"If cooperation was *haram* according to the Islamic law two years ago, it cannot become *halal* today unless the *Jarimat-ul-Arab* is once more under an absolutely independent and exclusive Muslim sovereignty and the Khilafat's relationship with the Muslim world is recognised according to the Islamic law. Have you been able to persuade the British Government to respect these religious requirements?"

The Present Situation

(Some suggestions for a pan-Indian campaign of work. They are taken from a letter received by Mr. Mahadeo Desai from an intimate friend.)

What I am most anxious about is in connection with Sjt. Rajagopalachari. I had very lately heard about his intentions to retire not only from his leadership but also from public life, and I have now read his article "furlough".

Now, if I were in his position I would never leave my post as the chief exponent of Bapu's ideal about N. C. O. merely because I was assailed, however furiously, by any opponent, who were out to kill non-cooperation. I would rather die bleeding than give up the good and holy fight.

Next, if Bapu's followers, by reason of anything in my character or temperament, would wish me to give over my charge into the hands of some one else of their deliberate choice, I would be the first man to submit most cheerfully to their wishes or verdict; otherwise I would stick on, under the impulse of the thought that I was serving Bapu, although it might be under a severe handicap of temperamental defects.

Again, if I felt after some rigorous self-examination that the primary idea with me was not to serve Bapu (i.e. his cause), but service to myself in the sense of attaining to a position of power or of reputation, however much at the same time I was eager to serve my country or Bapu's cause—I should immediately retire and proceed to submit to a course of self-discipline and self-purification. The mere fact that I have some temperamental defects which go to alienate people who do not know me as I really am, would not impel me to throw up my post; for what man is there who has not the defects of his virtues? So also with Rajagopalachari or anybody else that you could name.

This is a very critical moment in the history of the N. C. O. movement, and now is not the time to give way in a word of self-depression or a spirit of reaction. Let our fight above all things be clean and above board against the onslaught of intrigue, hypocrisy, and even of violence from the opposite camp, at a time when old valued friends are proving faint-hearted and are being wooed and won over by the latter. The flag, Bapu's flag, must be kept flying whatever happens. And therefore I think this is not the time for Rajagopalachariji to retire.

This is the first part of my argument. The next part is this: Maulana Mahomed Ali is about to be released. Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Hasan Ahmed, another Karachi prisoner, have already been. They are all, I venture to think, Bapu's men, and good fighters in Bapu's cause. About Mahomed Ali, I am almost sure that he cannot leave Bapu and the N. C. O. and be an egregious compromisewala. Rajagopalachariji, in my humble opinion, should do nothing of the sort he is contemplating without consulting Mahomed Ali and having his approval. If Rajagopalachariji now retires, Mahomed Ali and the rest would feel distinctly weakened in strength of party leadership.

I have another idea and this is not the least in point of importance and I would venture to draw your careful attention and the attention of some

friends to it. I have read the article on *Party Politics* in "Young India" (9th Aug). I consider it to be worth its weight in gold. I was thinking for some time past on the extreme impolicy or inexpediency of party politics in the course of our present fight for life or death. You can't dislodge your determined opponent from his hold on us if we are prevented from delivering a single concentrated attack. That is, today, we must be united in strategy, if our strategy is to be effective and successful. The division in the advancing army of the Congress is not strategically bad; but the bitterness of fight, which is akin almost to violence, strikes at the very root of non-cooperation as Bapu would have it. Therefore, for the sake of the cause of non-violence, I am daily getting to think that it might be desirable,—if we must accept at all hazards Bapu's point of view,—for Bapu's lieutenants and workers under his flag to separate themselves from the Congress party, but without creating any new Congress party, and working among the masses in the various departments of constructive activity as outlined by Bapu. In other words, let us leave the whole field of Congress politics to the other party, and let us not come in any way in collision with the Congress as regards any plan of political work to which it may choose to devote itself. If that be done, then the Congress may work *politically* as a united body under the guidance of the Swarajya party leaders and their associates, and if the political strategy of this Party is good enough, it will prove its worth by being left unfettered in work. Just as after Surat (1907) the extremist section left the whole Congress to the guidance of the Moderates, and the country had a taste of what Moderate politics was like during one prolonged spell of Moderate Congress rule, so also I feel the Gandhi-ites should unite themselves into an all-India body, and set about to work wholly apart non-politically, and therefore independently, of the political (Swarajya) Congress and without coming into collision with it. In that way the Gandhi-ites would help on the growth of a spirit of non-violence throughout the country which is now being jeopardised under the present conditions of divided political strategy and divided political feeling. My position is that we must not be thinking of the formation of a new political party at all to fight the Government independently of the Congress; and so the separation I speak of is not a political secession from the Congress. Let the Congress remain as before the Country's sole political mouthpiece; let politicians muster in it; and advice *with one united voice* as to what political programme may be necessary to combat the bureaucracy.

But let ours be the humbler, though the most vital, role to rouse the country morally and spiritually—not politically—to a new awakening of collective soul-life. Let us eschew all practical politics, Congress or other, for the time being, in order to waken the *soul of the masses to a new birth* through all the processes of non-violent constructive work so dear to the heart of Bapu. The question of solving the problems of untouchability and all-India unity, of spinning and Khaddar work in the homes of the masses, of giving up the use of intoxicants by the villagers, the creation of a freer atmosphere of life for village young men in village national schools devoted to the above purposes, the work of establishing the principles of settlement of

villagers disputes by the villagers themselves (and so helping the process of village unity or solidarity and self-help)—let all these items of work be undertaken by the army of pure Gandhi-ites, apart from and independent of the political Congress; i. e. without any taint of immediate political purpose, but solely with a view to help the people in the villages in particular to recover their lost soul. When the recovery has made itself fairly appreciable, it will undoubtedly make its power felt on the political plan. If we, Congressmen, Gandhi-ites and the other party go on fighting amongst each other, and create ineradicable bitterness of feeling in the manner in which we are now doing, we shall be striking at the very root of non-violence, and therefore retrogressing spiritually; and Bapu's followers can never think of any politics or any political achievement which is not the expression of the people's developed soul-life. For I take it that Bapu would never think of a political Swaraj on mere political lines. Bapu wanted, when he started the N. C. O. movement, to combine the two together, the political with the spiritual work, the two proceeding *pari passu* and acting and reacting on each other. The Swarajya party men want to separate the political work from the spiritual work, and would try to attain Swarajya by mere political means. I admit that if we could tack on the ideal of organised political life i. e. of a political Swarajya to the different items of constructive work (and so make the political Swarajya an expression of the developed soul-life of the people), the constructive work under a vigorous political impulse would have received a tremendous impetus. But the difficulty here is that the politicians of the Swarajya school not understanding and appreciating the supreme importance of self-purification on a nation-wide scale in relation to the organisation of political life in the country, could only think of Swarajya in terms of mere political fight or resistance as taught in the West and are advising the people to get rid of the methods of the Indian Saint in favour of western political methods, which are soul-less. Therefore, if Indian Swarajya has to be won in terms of a truly Indian scheme of politics, and not in terms of the West; or in other words, if the spiritual life of the Indian people, the masses, has to be preserved and conserved in the pursuit of Swarajya, there is need—a most supreme need—of fighting against all idea of unity with the Swarajya party on their terms. For supposing we agreed to unite with the other party on their terms and so avoided bitterness and violence of thought against them, it is evident that the unity in question if it was to be real would lay the axe at the root of the fundamentals of Bapu's spiritual methods of attaining Swarajya. Therefore, to solve the dilemma, the followers of western political methods must be kept at an arm's length by the followers of Bapu's spiritual methods of wresting Swaraj. Therefore, they must separate, and work independently, the latter for the time being having nothing to do with Congress politics if it must be of the Swarajya school type; but only sowing the seeds of a truly Indian type of Swarajya—spiritual and political in one, and not merely political. For the purely political type of Swaraj would as in the West be never for

the good of the masses, but only of the classes, as Bapu has conclusively shown in his "Indian Home Rule".

Therefore, to conclude, if Bapu's scheme of a truly Indian type of politics is to be conserved and preserved, the spiritual ideal of Bapu's Congress politics must on no account be sacrificed or merged in the merely political ideal of the Swarajya party, or even given a second place. But the lure of unity among Congressmen may be too tempting a bait for the more unsophisticated among us. And if we Gandhi-ites must stick on to the Congress at any cost, this line of political unity must always be present, and since the other party would not swallow Bapu's spiritual political methods of work for the attainment of Swaraj our precious Centre party could only think of asking us to restore unity by the sacrifice of Bapu's methods and by the sacrifice of a man like Rajagopalachari who has dared to fight for Bapu's sake and Bapu's flag against the concentrated onslaughts of erstwhile friends and open foes. Therefore if the other party cannot think of accepting Bapu's spiritual political methods, is it not a matter for serious consideration by Rajagopalachariji, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and others, whether they should not solve the problem of Congress political unity by separating themselves, for the time being at any rate, from Congress politics altogether and working out Bapu's ideals of non-violent work in the constructive line *solely with a view to purify the lives of the masses and thus to evoke permanently their dormant soul-life*? When the foundations have been well laid along Bapu's lines, and when the recovery of the people's soul has made appreciable headway, Indian Swaraj on Indian lines, i. e. *for the benefit of the masses* would follow as a matter of course.

If Maulana Mahomed Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Sjt. Rajagopalachari and other leaders agree on the lines I have suggested and organise a Pan-Indian campaign of work, Bapu's ideals and methods of work would soon be stirring the stagnant waters of India by the united efforts of the whole body of genuine non-cooperators. That is one way for Sjt. Rajagopalachari to retire from his present leadership of N. C. O. Congress politics; but his retirement would in such case be not one individual retirement, but a general retirement for all who would work for the country along Bapu's lines. I have a suspicion that if Bapu were now free, he would fight shy of divided Congress politics with all its present bitterness and intrigues and violence in thought and word, and separate himself with his devoted followers to concentrate on the work of purifying the masses and so preparing them eventually to fight against the bureaucracy with clean spiritual weapons on Indian lines of political warfare. He would not make Congress unity a fetish to be worshipped at any cost, even at the cost of sacrificing Indian spiritual to western political methods. Bapu's way of restoring unity in the Congress would be, I suspect, along the lines I have suggested, by leaving the whole field of Congress politics to politicians of the western type such as the Swarajya party people are. India's political Swaraj can only be an expression, however inadequate of our individual Swaraj; otherwise India would lose her soul and stand a wreck in the waters of Time.

Mr. Joseph's Presidential Address at Salem

[The following is the more important part of Mr. George Joseph's Presidential Address at the Tamil Nadu Provincial conference held at Salem on Sept 2. Ed: Y. L.]

Political Situation

It is a commonplace to say that the political situation is difficult and critical; but in the affairs of State all times are difficult and critical—either actually or in possibility. I therefore refuse to be depressed or unduly tired. Two years ago we were on the high crest of a movement which was on the verge of revolution. I am free to confess that the coming of Swaraj at breakneck pace with the problems of constructive statesmanship seemed to me a terrible thing. Today the position is different in some respects; but in point of mere difficulty, the period of weariness is nearly undistinguishable from that of excitement—each day with its fear of explosion from far and near. All that wise men, therefore, venture to do is to manage present troubles with foresight, firmness and courage, free of the sentiment which enfeebles. There is no day shown of burden, but today's burden is no heavier than yesterday's; to-morrow has no greater trial than that through which we are immediately passing. It is in this mood that I intend to address myself to three specific problems:—The Special Congress, the Khilafat and Kenya.

Special Congress Necessary

In my humble judgment, a special Congress is necessary for one simple reason:—there is confusion and uncertainty in national counsels; three meetings of the All-India Congress Committee have failed to put an end to them. Obviously there is only one manner of solution—the popular referendum which we call the Congress. There is no other constitutional method by which a clear lead could be framed. The Gaya decision was straightforward enough; but its force has been exhausted. The diminution of its authority was not due to the rebellion of the Swarajya party; it was due to ill-fated attempts at compromise, attempts for which the leaders of the majority party were as responsible as anybody else. It is not rebellion and counter-rebellion that have necessitated the summoning of the special session; it is confusion and paralysis. Let us hope that the special Congress will give a clear decision, aye or nay. I know it will, because, the average individual is a more radical and clear-minded person than responsible leaders.

But what is the issue to be decided at the special Congress? It is none other than this:—should the Congress continue to pursue the policy of non-cooperation or should it go back to constitutionalism. In the matter of the second alternative, I am indifferent as to whether the lapse into constitutionalism is temporary or permanent. The simple problem is whether the reversion should take place.

Non-cooperation

Of this let there be no doubt:—The departure of 1919-20 was novel, violent and without a precedent. The Congress decided that the doing of certain acts, new to political practice, would achieve a visible political result—that the withdrawing of children from schools, the refusal of lawyers to practise, the boycott of courts and polling booths, the giving up of titles and honours bestowed by the

Government, non-violence, going to jail without a defence—will win Swaraj. This was no doubt a strange proposition, and it was vehemently opposed by almost every individual who had worked his way up to political leadership in constitutional methods. The Government also failed to take it seriously and Lord Chelmsford was sincere when he described it as foolish and insane. But in spite of all repression and misunderstanding, non-cooperation thrived exceedingly; India seemed to be on the brink of a revolution; then by Chauri Chaura which looked like a miracle, she righted herself; the man who was responsible for these topsy-turvy proceedings, far from securing Swarajya, was sent to prison for a period which at his age seemed for life. Now his chief colleagues, mad with hope and excitement a moment ago, are in a more confused and quarrelsome mood than they ever were before. Some of them are asking on what high solitary desert they are finding themselves. As for the common folk, they are in a state of bewilderment and weariness. The old phrases are on their lips still; but the conviction of reality is absent. At this stage, the constitutionalists, the men who opposed the new methods most vehemently in 1920, but whose judgment was paralysed by the wild swoop of the new visionaries (their original scepticism justified by time) are back in the old position, asking the Congress to change itself to a party caucus at the next election. Their intention is to force the Government to practically suspend the Councils, so that the resultant political crisis may be exploited to the point of universal civil disobedience, including the non-payment of taxes. In other words, they are nearly at the same point where they were in 1920.

The Dis-illusioned

I can quite understand a convinced non-cooperator of 1920 arguing to himself thus:—"We thought non-cooperation was excellent; perhaps under certain undefined conditions, it has in it possibilities of success. In 1920-22 we put up a first class fight; we had a great man as our leader, and we did all we could to win. But through our inefficiency or ill-luck, we were beaten. But the conditions of success are unrealisable and the method is therefore fundamentally wrong; it was a wild-goose-chase from the beginning. The people are clearly tired; what they are prepared to do with a short run and fixed goal before them, they would not look at now. Any way I am tired, I cannot stand the heavy strain involved—prison, loss of money, children away from schools and going to pieces at home. Violence is impossible. Two alternatives are open—drop politics—'what is Hecuba to me, what am I to Hecuba'. Or go back to constitutionalism. I shall have to eat the humble pie; but that is only once. That ordeal gone through, the rest is easy; I do a certain amount of good, prevent a selfish one or a waster going into the Councils and truckling to the officials. No more fruitless waste of life in prison; respectability, usefulness—with the mental reservation that when the critical moment comes, I shall cast all to the winds and be

at the post of danger once more." This is what hundreds have done already; the most recent notable instances being Messrs. Madhavan Nair and Gopal Menon. This train of thought I understand and almost sympathise with, excepting perhaps that I would question the reality of the reservation about the assumption of revolutionary politics.

Frank Opponents

The man who opposed non-cooperation in 1920 may enforce the above position a little more effectively; he would add:—"My prophecy of 1920 is fulfilled. The whole of non-cooperation is fantastic, hypocritical; who with a grain of historical or political knowledge will imagine that a foreign despotism can be destroyed by non-violence? Nothing is more absurd. This will-o'-the-wisp has killed the political movement in the country. Till this *maya* of non-violence and non-cooperation is exorcised, there will never be an efficient or useful chance for political freedom. The world knows what constitutionalism is and it knows also the good old law of rebellion. But this *tertium quid* is mischievous innacy—it should be branded the humbug it is and given no quarter." Of this type are Babu Bipin Chandra Pal and the Maharashtra party. I understand them also, but I am not prepared to waste any sympathy on them. But independently of subjective judgments, it is obviously the duty of both groups to state their position to the people frankly and attempt to rally opinion to their side. It is the duty which they owe not only to the common need there is for the free development of sound opinion, but also for their political survival. Opinion against constitutionalism is not so deeply laid as to associate with it dishonour or corruption. There is certainty of its futility; but very few people will say that a constitutionalist is a traitor. Nor will public disapproval be more heavily against one who holds this view because he is a non-cooperator turned constitutionalist. On the other hand the fact that he was a non-cooperator will be accounted for him of grace.

The Swarajists

But there is a third attitude which I can neither understand nor sympathise with. The advocate of this view says:—"I am a non-cooperator, I believe in non-violence, I believe in the pursuit of truth. But it is hard to ask people to keep children away from the schools; the ban on practising lawyers should be removed, the boycott of courts should be raised, the elections should be contested, the oath of allegiance taken and the members of Councils should practise obstruction." This is the gist of Swarajism. The preamble is in terms of 1920 resolutions; the operative direction of conduct is in consonance with the old rule of constitutionalism. Each of them is comprehensible separately; but the mixture of the two is as impossible as a permanent emulsion of oil and water. Obstruction is supposed to be the original feature of the prescription. Confessedly it was invented by Mr. Parnell forty years ago. Mr. Parnell's policy was tolerated as long as the picturesqueness of Mr. Biggar amused the House of Commons. When it became a real nuisance, the Speaker put the obstruction down. The actual putting down was, I believe, against the Standing Orders. But the House supported its Speaker in a manifest illegality. The illegality was made legal soon after. English constitutionalists who draft Standing Orders

for the Indian Legislatures are armed not only with the experience of the forty years after Mr. Parnell, but also with the bureaucracy's method of dealing with natives. Even as applied to Indian conditions, obstruction is no novel suggestion. In the days of Mrs. Besant's Internment, I was fired by Parnell's example and seriously advocated obstruction in the Councils as a means of securing her release. My friend Mr. Ranga Swamy Iyengar encouraged me in the investigation of the method out of the vast stores of his learning. We were slightly contemptuous of the Honourable Members of those days (we always made an exception in favour of Mr. Narasimha Aiyer who employed his polyglot gifts to confound Lord Pentland, ignorant of Tamil). But we finally came to the conclusion that the rules were too clever for us and what was more, that the Anglo-Indian's power of making fresh rules was devastatingly elastic. Fundamentally, the authority of the Government to make rules is just the same as in 1917; and there is not a single device of obstruction which cannot be countered by an alteration of the rules. The share of the Standing Committee of Parliament in the framing of fresh rules will afford the obstructionists no relief, because the temper of the Committee will be as fiercely hostile to them as that of the Government of India.

But why should I canvass the manner of putting down obstruction? The point of importance is that the Swarajists want the Congress and the country to go back to constitutionalism; but they would not openly state that the need has arisen because non-cooperation has failed. There are Swaraj extremists who are outspoken enough—and the line of distinction between them and the extreme wing of Moderates is nearly invisible. But the orthodox Swarajist position is that obstruction is a step in non-cooperation—the thing I am not able to understand. The utmost in the way of intelligibility is this—rule by certification and veto will rouse the electorate to such a pitch of fury as to drive it into civil disobedience and thus re-establish contact with Gandhism. But here it is a matter of individual judgment; I am clear that the consummation will leave the electorate cold, not a whit more excited than in the little affair of the Salt Tax. Obstruction failing, obstructionists will be absorbed into the Governmental system as the neo-Moderates; time and suggestion effecting the transformation.

N-C-O and Constitutionalism

The alternatives are clear:—Non-cooperation and constitutionalism. I said in the beginning that non-cooperation was a violent departure from constitutionalism; it is true, but it was also unavoidable. Constitutionalism had left us exhausted and impotent after forty years; and the new policy was inevitable. That Mahatmaji came when our need and disillusionment were greatest is a mystery or an accident. What is more, is there any observant Indian who lived in 1920-22 but did not feel that non-cooperation succeeded, but was thrilled by the fact of his birth and upbringing? Swaraj did not come; but did the forty years in the wilderness of talk ever fill us with the wondering conviction that Swaraj was just round the corner? Did not the revolutionary mood, the sense of vast forces seem to be all about us? Were we not then, something more than strangers and slaves in our own land? The life of those days is surely worth re-capturing again. It was not the Councils or obstruction in the Councils

that gave us strength. We defied the Government and all its rules. Constitutions were nothing to us. The millions whom Mr. Gandhi roused to action, and by whose sign and strength we nearly conquered, are not the old constitutionalists, but a new creation, non-cooperationists to the innermost heart. We are tired; but they are not; may be because suffering has not visited them. They are however bewildered. The reason is clear. Failing in stamina, the horror of suffering and bondage sitting on our spirit, we have denied the faith and started quarrelling amongst ourselves. A little more persistence, and that day will be back with us. After 1921, two struggles in the practice of non-violence have taken place—Guna-ka-Bagh and Nagpur. Both succeeded. On the other hand, constitutionalism has failed. The exact situation sought to be brought about in the Councils by the Swarajist, (certification), has been created but the corresponding reaction in the country is absent.

Plea of Compromise

But it may be said that the choice is not between constitutionalism and non-cooperation; but whether there should be propaganda against the Councils or not. I disagree. It is only because obstruction is represented to us as a form of non-cooperation, that the restraint from anti-Council propaganda becomes an even arguable proposition. In 1921, the Moderates were the constitutionalists; but the Congress did not hesitate to fight them. Even today it is only because the Swarajists claim to be non-cooperators that they are able to ask for indulgence from the majority. The distinguishing mark of the Moderates is constitutionalism; and I do not see that the Swarajists are any the less constitutionalists or can ask for any other treatment at our hands. The affiliation with Moderates and constitutionalists is resented, because the Moderates hold office. The distinction is illusory. Irish nationalists never held office. Mr. Parrell refused the Irish Secretaryship; so also did Mr. Redmond; but they were constitutionalists all the same. If the claim of the Council party to be non-cooperationist is repudiated and exposed, the demand for compromise can be dismissed easily. If the country and Congress are non-cooperationists and the Swaraj party is constitutionalist, the Party will have to submit. Submission will involve its disappearance. But, if it refuses to submit, public opinion should be mobilised against it. There is only one consideration which can soften or modify the inevitable result:—recent political friendship and the regard due to great servants of the public. But I would not attach much importance to either consideration. Worthy personal loyalties and affections will survive judgment about public affairs; on the other hand, the path of politics is strewn with the broken remnants of ancient alliances and it would be idle to waste a tear on them. If on the other hand, the country finding the burden of non-cooperation too heavy, elects to go back to constitutionalism, I shall be equally cold-blooded. I shall not waste a tear on the repudiation of Mr. Gandhi. If Mr. Gandhi is as great as I believe he is, he will be strong enough to hide his pain behind a smile; if on the other hand, any follower of his cries out before he is hurt, the country will detect the impostor in him. India has survived wisdoms and

charlatanism innumerable. One mountbank, more or less, is nothing to her.

If Congress turns Swarajist

The Special Congress has thus to choose between Non-cooperation and Constitutionalism. The situation is the same as it was in Calcutta, just before the last official elections. If the delegates decide in favour of constitutionalism, the sequel would be clear. The Congress will become an all-India electioneering agency, settling policies and putting forward candidates pledged to support such policies. The general scheme following on such a decision was worked out in detail by Mr. S. E. Stokes in a paper circulated among the members of the All India Committee at Lucknow in June last year. It was as a party Caucus—the Congress and Khilafat associations cooperating together for the purpose, that he conceived the future of the all India and Provincial bodies. I believe it could be done—the frame-work of the organisation is there. If I were a constitutionalist, I should regard the proposals of Mr. Stokes as an admirable basis for discussion.

If Congress is N. C. O.

If on the other hand, the Special Congress elects to adhere to non-cooperation, we must face the logical sequel. If I may say so without impertinence, the Gaya resolution was weak and defective in one respect. The resolution no doubt affirmed that the Council elections should be boycotted, but did not say how the boycott was to be effected. There was an instruction to the All India Committee to determine how the boycott was to be signified. Till this moment, the All India Committee has failed to carry out the instruction. The 1920 method of effecting the boycott was simple enough and was remarkably successful. But it was not sufficiently drastic. We were then at the beginning of things. There was no discipline, no organisation of volunteers and the risk of violence was never remote. All that we were justified in employing was verbal propaganda carried out till the day previous to polling. But what was the result? The fact of abstention from polling was clear; but the interpretation was ambiguous:—we claimed that it amounted to repudiation of the representatives, the Government and co-operators inferring apathy and indifference. It seems to me that the prophecies of the failure of the boycott at the next election—by Swarajist and Moderate, are due to the failure of the non-cooperator to suggest how to carry out the boycott and to leave its meaning in no manner of doubt. There was a certain suggestion of inconclusiveness about the last boycott. The talk of anti-council propaganda, in 1923 leaves even the non-cooperator cold, because he is not content with ambiguity. He wants a certain and assured result. He wants boycott; but he does not want to be put to the necessity of arguing at last that it was an active boycott, not an index of democratic incompetence. Absence of practical expedients leads to paralysis in action; fear of paralysis breeds confusion of thought, weakening of conviction.

I would suggest three specific acts to be done to make the boycott conclusive. The three are complementary and it is a matter of extreme satisfaction that I cannot claim originality for them. The captions are: Picketting, Parallel Polling Booths, and an Instrument of Repudiation.

Picketting

(1) I would picket the polling booths of the Government. These three years, we have had sufficient experience of picketting. The picketting would be civil and would consist in requesting voters to refrain from going into the booths. Women will be singularly well-fitted for this work, because voters will be respectable people. This will be the culmination of previous propaganda requesting voters to do their duty by Congress and country. If the picketeers are ordered to disperse by the police, they will refuse and cheerfully submit themselves to arrest. The place of those arrested will be taken by men and women held in reserve. The reserve will have to be built up for this single purpose—a reserve of Boycott Volunteers. If public opinion is strongly mobilised, the voters would automatically keep away; the desire of the few intransigents to vote will hardly survive the peaceful appeals of the picketeers. But the picketeers should be of the best, responsible and respected men and women with the irresistible flame of patriotism.

Parallel Booths

(2) The idea of Parallel Booths is said to be that of a great Punjab leader. The purpose is simple and may be made to dovetail into picketting. Each Government polling booth should have erected against it a Congress Booth with machinery for polling, the strict prototype of that of the Government. Election rules are elementary, and the duty of the Congress officials would be to record the votes of the electors on the Government rolls—each vote being a protest against the constitution of the Government. The vote may be either a pure one of protest; or may be cast in favour of an individual who is not a candidate nominated before the returning officers of the Government and who under conditions of freedom will rightly represent the constituency. If deemed necessary, besides the polling booths corresponding to the officials ones, polling officers may be held in all villages for recording the Congress votes. If at length, the Congress has more votes in its ballot boxes than the candidates declared returned by the Government, the unrepresentative character of the "Elected Members" will be demonstrated beyond dispute. The results can then be challenged only on the ground that the Elections are faked; but the charge will be avoided, if there is sufficient publicity about our proceedings. Representatives of the Press should have all facilities—particularly representatives of the European and semi-official press. If our transactions are clean and above board, we need have no fear.

Instrument of Repudiation

(3) Picketting and Parallel Booths are meant for the electors. But there are the candidates also to be considered. In spite of everything we do, a certain number of gentlemen will be returned and sit as members of Councils and Assembly. Each of them should be presented with an Instrument of Repudiation: he must be told courteously but unmistakably by a majority of the electors in the constituency that he does not represent them, that they do not want him to represent them. He must be presented with an Instrument of Repudiation, a document repudiating his right to speak or

act on their behalf, signed by the majority of the electors. It is not only the electors that I have in view; I would invite every individual to join in the Instrument. As a practical measure, I see no insuperable obstacles. Once we do this, I am confident that it would be a practical and moral impossibility for the Councilors to continue in their seats. All that is required is energy and organising capacity.

Let me sum up this part of the discussion:—The Special Congress will decide on fundamental differences which admit of no valid compromise:—the choice is between non-cooperation and constitutionalism. A decision in favour of constitutionalism will reduce the Congress to a Caucus; non-cooperation will necessitate measures to effect the boycott—in fact and interpretation. I suggest three measures:—1. Picketting, 2. Parallel booths, 3. Instrument of Repudiation.

Khilafat

I shall deal with the Khilafat question shortly. As far as I understand it, the problem which first gave birth to non-cooperation had a two-fold aspect:—political and religious. The Treaty of Lausanne by securing the genuine sovereignty of Turkey after a century of bullying by the Powers, has met the political need of the case. It is a great achievement gratifying to us for two reasons:—Firstly, because the Treaty is a capital landmark in the history of European dominance under which the world is groaning; secondly the unrect in India of which non-cooperation was the notable symptom and partial cause, prevented Great Britain from assisting Greece to crush Turkey last autumn. But the religious requirement of maintaining the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* free from the Muslim control, a requirement binding on Mussalmans all the world over, is still unfulfilled. The nation will stand by Mahomedans till the end. Pan-Islamism has been the occasion for a large body of literature; but in the main, Pan-Islam is an illusion, a phrase of propaganda to scare the non-Muslim victims of European Imperialism into submission and a peaceful life. The whole world including Islam is in the grasp of Europe, being slowly crushed to death. For Europe to pretend to be in peril at the hands of one of its helpless slaves and that the slave is going to swallow up the other slaves is a far-fetched absurdity of almost Gilbertian grotesqueness.

I am not a Mussalman; but I decline to be disturbed by the threat of Muslim conquests—Pan-Islamism, the Frontier tribes, or the Afghan menace. My concern is with the existing racialism and exploitation from the West; if I can free myself from this clutch-hold, I shall be thankful. If trouble arises for want of British protection to-morrow, I know that my children would be men enough to keep it at arm's length. I also know they would be in no worse condition than myself. It is the unending task of life to keep one's hands clean and to fight injustice; I can buy my children no absolution from that. If they seek it, they will end in indolence and corruption. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. The Congress pledged itself three years ago to ensure the religious rights of Muslims. He who led the nation in the pledge, is fulfilling it in solitude and silence; and those who were touched by his spirit, will remain faithful to the uttermost. Here is what one of them said not long ago to the peril of life:—"I am not a Mussalman, yet I respect Islam as I respect all religions. It is the duty of

every follower of Hinduism as I understand it to fight for the religious liberties of the Indians, be they of any faith. It has been the tradition of this ancient land of *Bharat Varsha* to give shelter and safety and perfect liberty to any religion, be it Parsi, Christian or Muslim, in this land. It is the mission of Hindus to see every religion safe in this country."

Islam and Swaraj

But if the Muslims in India declare that their religious obligations are fulfilled, we shall rejoice with them, and thank God for our faithful execution of a task undertaken three years ago, in the audacity born of faith. But suppose the religious consciousness of Islam holds the Khilafat problem solved; what then? Is the Mohamedan to be regarded less patriotic than the Hindu? The readiness with which students and workers assume that Indian Muslims have no interest in *Swaraj*, but all in the *Khilafat*, is truly amazing. The root of it is the unexpressed postulate that Muslims are not patriotic, and that they are moved only by loyalty to the Invisible Theocracy of which God is the Ruler. That Muslims have a loyalty not of this world may be admitted; but it is not peculiar to them, and to the extent of its singularity, is a matter of pride and satisfaction. But it does not mean that Islam has not as an integral part of it the claim of national freedom and patriotic duty. Why, the very triumph of the Turk was national—the freeing of national soil from foreign domination. The long history of Islam is that of national striving to freer, fuller, richer life for lands and peoples. That they thought of God and called on His name in the stress of conflict, heat of battle, is no reproach. Why do we imagine that Indian Mussalmans have no share in the feeling that moved the Turks to cast the Greeks into the sea and to defy the embattled Allies on the continent of Europe? It is impossible to indict a whole nation, and by the same token, it is impossible to indict the adherents of a religion that count more than many nations. Courtesy among men is a virtue of civilisation, and I hold that the continued suggestion that Hindus have a monopoly of patriotism is an insult to the rest of India and a complete falsehood. The Ali Brothers are pious Muslims but they are also patriots and courageous gentlemen. I have no doubts as to the readiness of Mussalmans to co-operate in the National task.

Kenya

The British Government's decision on the Kenya controversy has in it no element of surprise. It is one of the most clarifying determinations of our time. The White paper does no more than recognize the theory of a long standing practice. I welcome the formulation in all genuine sincerity. Since Mr. Montagu's Indian Secretaryship, language had been used, and ornamental things done, intended to convey that the Empire in India had vanished; and that there had come, in its stead, a new Institution variously described as a Commonwealth, or a British League of Nations, new in outlook and radically different in political theory. It was also suggested that the Commonwealth implied India's equality and that her presence therein had in it the promise of solution of the world's biggest problem—the evolution of a political institution in which white and coloured folk might live as brothers and as equals. The propaganda was that Mr. Montagu's legislation was the first step in the evolution. The presence of Indians in

the Imperial Conference, the House of Lords, the Privy Council and the League of Nations marked picturesque incidents in the process. The glamour of these seemed to be achieving its purpose—making big folk and small believe that the creators of Empire had undergone repentance, and that a new Heaven and a new Earth had already come into being. Even cautious people came under the illusion. In Nagour, Maulana Mahomed Ali made a speech in the Subjects Committee the burden of which was that the British Empire having conveniently committed suicide, it may be possible for us some day to cooperate with the new-found, fresh-created Commonwealth. More significant still, the very form of the new creed of the Congress was settled at Nagour under the cumulative influence of the same propaganda. I do not believe there was a single man in that Sessions of the Congress who was prepared to say a good word for the Empire (excepting Mr. Gandhi himself). But in spite of it, the clear formula of Independence was avoided and the ambiguous word *Swaraj* preferred because of the promise of the Commonwealth. As for lesser men, common humanity fed on phrases, the doctrine was well established. We imagined we were living in a Commonwealth, which in its final stages would evolve into a beneficent invention and instrument of Humanity. The time for the scattering of the falsehood is ripe. It is not an accident that has brought forth the Cabinet's judgment. It is admitted that though the word "Kenya" is attached to the label, the problem and the solution are wide, Imperial. Indians had been hunted out of the self-governing Dominions. Great Britain, the guardian and Mother of Empire, had professed impotence. The rule of Kenya is in the hands of the Colonial Office and injustice can be caused only by England's lack of will, not of power. It was a true saying of Mr. Sastri's that Kenya would be the "acid test" of Empire, the choice being whether there is place in the Empire for India on a basis of honour and equality. Now the test has failed:—Indians are shut out of the Highlands; a communal Franchise is forced on them; segregation, repudiated on paper, is inevitable, in view of white opinion which will control the administration of building and sanitary regulations; eleven Members are to represent 10,000 Europeans and five to represent 23,000 Indians in the Legislative Council.

Imperialism

I welcome the decision, because it is one based on reality, not on the camouflage of Montaguism which sent Mr. Sastri careering round the globe in search of the Commonwealth. It has exhibited the truth of Empire. It has exploded the paradox on which Indian Liberalism, English Labour and Mr. Montagu built up a confusing heresy. The truth of Empire is this:—Englishmen went conquering, and they built up a goodly heritage in India and Africa. India is as much a possession as East Africa is; and the Englishman is not prepared to grant that the Indian is his equal any more than the African is. It is the plain fact, in India and Africa. The sooner we face it, the better for clear understanding and peace of mind. We may be unwilling to undergo the hard discipline of reality; but Europeans, government and people, refuse to depart from truth. No self-respecting Englishman will allow himself to be robbed of the prize which was

bought with his blood and the blood of his fathers. Phrases he is prepared to tolerate for the confusion of 'lesser breeds,' and he has an infinite gift for inventing them. But if any body imagines that phrases and facts are the same, God help him.

The reality is as I have described it; and the business of India is to bring into being a new set of facts more overwhelming than the undoubted strength of Englishmen. But the Kenya decision, its hard finger pointing to inequality, has had a gratifying effect on the Moderate Party. It has shaken their faith to the foundations. It has stunned Mr. Sastri and has brought his declarations and advice into line with Gandhiji's. He feels that words would not meet the case and has counselled action. I doubt whether he has yet managed to rightly size up the formidable forces he and we are up against; but to the extent that he goes, non-cooperators will support him, without pausing on the threshold to settle ancient differences. The Empire Exhibition should be boycotted by India; Dr. Sapru should withdraw from the Imperial Conference, the Indian Members of Government should resign—this is Mr. Sastri's programme. If he gives a clear unmistakable lead, and sets himself to the task, regardless of personal consequences, I believe he can achieve the ends he has defined. Dr. Sapru is in the Imperial Conference as a Liberal, and if the party at the instance of its leader gives a clear direction, Dr. Sapru will certainly withdraw. The non-official members of the Government of India are in nearly similar case. As for the third Member, a responsible member of the Assembly assured me that Mr. Chatterjee would be quite prepared to follow the lead of his non-official colleagues. The Exhibition also does not strike me as an overwhelming difficulty. The country would wish Mr. Sastri well in his labours.

Satyagraha

But all this will be only a gesture, a simple indication of discontent. Inequality will continue in Africa and all the other colonies. It should be destroyed; but it can be done only by fighting and suffering.

The whites in Kenya are intoxicated with a sense of power, because of their physical might. They feel that the Highlands, the cream of the country, can be perpetually reserved against Indians and Africans. The feeling would remain and rightly remain as long as their power is submitted to without a challenge. The intoxication has corrupted the whole of Europe. The whites in Kenya are honestly convinced that the Sword is the final arbiter in human affairs, and that the gift of the Sword to Europe is in fulfilment of a Divine purpose. Consequently, they hold in righteous contempt all those that are not able to stand the test of Force. All the world worships success and sees in it Divine justification. The Sword is the god enthroned in the heart of Europe and will so remain till it is broken by a greater Power. If in India, in Africa, we can prove that the human will is stronger than the Sword, we would win genuine human equality by shaking the faith of the bearer of the Sword in his weapon. I read the speech of Mr. Banks in the House of Commons. I admired it, because it expressed the genuine faith of a man, feeling pride in the power of his country and contempt for those who having failed, refused to pay the price of failure.

The problem is to snatch success out of failure. If there is strength and patience enough in us, I feel that the solution is there ready waiting for us in Kenya. If the 25 lakhs of the dispossessed African, Indian and Arabians could remain non-violent they can destroy the reservation of the Highlands. Reservation is the crux. If I could influence my fellow countrymen here and in Kenya, I would earnestly counsel them to resort to Satyagraha. They should insist on marching into the Reserved portion and squatting there till they are arrested. It may involve Martial law and shooting. Whether they offer Satyagrah or not, European colonisation will secure their expulsion or extermination one day. Better to anticipate the trouble and to offer honourable resistance now, than to be hell in everlasting contempt.

Our cause is just and Satyagraha will surely win. But in this matter, the co-operation of the Africans and the Arabs should be secured. Their presence would make the condition of non-violence difficult to observe; but it must be observed at all costs, even if the Indians have to fight alone. But I am not hopeless. Satyagraha is the one solution I can clearly envisage. But the possibility has to be explored in consultation with our people in Kenya. The re-action of the Government's decision will extend to the other Crown colonies also; resulting in the loss of privileges now enjoyed by Indians e. g. in Fiji and Mauritius. Resistance in Kenya is a duty, not only for securing equality, but also for protecting vested interests elsewhere. It is not a local but a world-wide, question.

Conclusion

The ultimate consequences of Satyagrah in domestic and international transactions are difficult to prophesy. But I cannot find my way clear, along any other route. Constitutionalism is barren. There is in it no hope, no bravery, no possibility of freedom. By the necessities of the case, by universal disarming by tradition, by culture deliberately prescribed and pursued through the ages, violence is not for us. We cannot wield the sword. The duty is inexorably cast on us of inventing a weapon, that would blunt and break the Sword, for the freeing of our people, for the rescue of our civilisation. History is the relentless task master. War is not for us; but freedom shall be ours. The solution of this seemingly insoluble problem is the unescapable necessity of this nation. The necessity has forged our will through unconscious generations. What the spirit of man resolutely wills, it achieves. The achievement is Satyagraha. We are bound to faithfully and unflinchingly follow the straight path. Europe (America her child by her side) bestrides the world like a Colossus, drunk with physical force, destroying the peoples of the earth and nearly destroying herself. It is tyranny, and the tyranny has to be wiped out both for Europe's sake and the world's. It is given to us, children and preachers of peace, men and women who turn sick at the sight of blood, to find courage and clemency vast enough to destroy the evil and to heal the evildoer. The Congress is the standard bearer of Revolt. We have claimed to represent the people; let us not convert ourselves into a party caucus. We are a brotherhood of suffering; what can we have to do with a partnership for profit?

The key then is not to be found in cooperation, not in the Councils, but in the way that the Master had shown. He knows he cannot insult Mahatmajl by seeking to release him with the help of Councils that do not represent his country—that will not represent it until we have Swaraj. He knows that the thing nearest his heart was exactly the one nearest to his own heart viz. *Kurbani*. That is his life-breath and he knows that it was Mahatmajl's life breath. In a passage of matchless vigour, Mahatmajl has revealed the miracle of *Kurbani*—

"It is the magnitude of Irish sacrifice which has been the deciding factor. The late President Kruger, when with a handful of his undisciplined countrymen hurled his ultimatum against the British Empire, said he would stagger humanity. He meant that he would sacrifice every Boer man, woman and child and leave not a single Boer heart to sulk. And England yielded when she was choked with the bloody feast that the Boers had provided for her. And even so Ireland has been staggering humanity for many a long year. And England has yielded when she is no longer able to bear the sight of blood pouring out of the thousands of Irish arteries. I know for certain that it is no legal subtleties, discussions on academic justice or resolutions of Councils and Assemblies that will give us what we want. We shall have to stagger humanity even as South Africa and Ireland have been obliged to. Only instead of repeating South African and Irish histories, non-cooperators are learning from the living examples of these two nations the art of spilling their own blood without spilling that of their opponents.

Mahadeo Desai

The Crowning Triumph

We have pleasure in publishing below the statement read by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel at a meeting in Nagpur held on the Janmashtami day to welcome the released Satyagrahis—

I take this opportunity of making a final statement with a view to dispel all doubts, to set at rest all the controversies that have been raised by the misleading, mischievous and inaccurate reports circulated by interested persons regarding the happenings of the 18th August which resulted in the successful termination of our struggle. It is well known to all that this struggle had to be commenced when under the guise of regulating processions on public roads the District Magistrate of Nagpur prohibited processions with the national flag beyond the District Court buildings in the civil lines by issuing an order on the 1st of May 1923. This order was regarded, and as later events have conclusively shown rightly regarded, as a challenge and an insult to the national flag and a denial of our elementary right to possess and exhibit the flag and to carry it in a peaceful and orderly procession on public roads. For about a month even a single person, man or woman, attempting to carry a flag into the prohibited area was arrested. The flags of the arrested persons were confiscated. When such open prostitution of law unheard of in any civilised country, that was being perpetrated in the sacred name of law and order was publicly exposed, the Government of Central Provinces had to revise its notions about

the legal definition of the term procession. A group of any two persons carrying a national flag continued however to be regarded as a procession right up to the end of the struggle. Another District Magistrate went to the length of publicly advising the people not to interest themselves in the national flag affair as their forefathers had no national flag; and later respectable persons coming to Nagpur were arrested on railway stations as vagrants or as persons not able to give satisfactory account if they happened to have a flag with them.

The campaign was thus directed not for the purpose of claiming an unrestricted use of public roads or for insulting the Union Jack, or for annoying any section of the people, but for the vindication of the honour of the national flag and against an attempt of setting up Highland's in the heart of India under the cover of police regulations. After a prolonged struggle of three months and a half the national flag procession of a hundred volunteers entered the prohibited area and passed through a large portion of the civil lines without interruption amidst a surprisingly large demonstration of force all over the route through which the procession passed on the afternoon of the 18th August, and this enabled me to publicly announce the victorious termination of the struggle that evening. I do not propose to answer all speculative surmises or to satisfy idle curiosities. But for the benefit of those of you who have come out now from seclusion and also for others that want to understand how the struggle ended so suddenly and so successfully after the issue of the police order, I desire to explain the situation. For obvious reasons I did not want to disturb the normal course of the struggle till the Government took its decision on the Council resolutions. There was no doubt in my mind that an important expression of opinion however strongly expressed if adverse was bound to provoke the official European element of the civil area and to stiffen the back of the irresponsible uncontrolled Executive. When the movement cleared clear of the Council influence, I at once issued my statement on the 16th, clearing the issue of the struggle of all misunderstandings and misrepresentations by once more repeating the position taken by the Nagpur Committee from the beginning, and next day arranged the programme of the procession of the 18th specifying the route, time and instructions regarding the conduct of the procession, taking into account the special circumstances of tension and high feelings prevailing on that particular occasion, and which were further actuated by that wordy warfare on the Council floor. The programme of the 18th was apparently so adjusted as to meet the opposite point of view as far as it was possible without giving up anything essential for which the struggle was fought. The result was that the Government thought it better to let the procession pass without interference. Immediately after the procession passed through the prohibited area and the announcement of the success of the movement was made, the whole country and particularly the Anglo-Indian press was flooded with all sorts of mischievous, misleading and inaccurate reports and the controversy about our interview with his Excellency the Governor of the Central Provinces was also raised in the press. To me, how the interview was brought about, is of little

consequence. The general impression that the non-cooperators stand on ceremonies, is unfounded. Personally I would not even wait for a formal invitation, if I felt assured of a genuine desire for mutual understanding. But I stand here today to contradict publicly in no uncertain terms all reports and rumours about the compromise or agreement. There is no truth in such reports. We have made no compromise or agreement with the Government nor have we given any undertakings. The interview took place on the 13th August. It only afforded us an opportunity of placing each others' points of view. Reports have been circulated that an application to the District Superintendent of Police to hold a procession was put in. I would have taken no notice of such reports had it not been for the fact (of which reference is made at a later stage) that a very high placed officer of Government is responsible for circulating such mischievous and inaccurate reports in the public press. If I wanted to apply for permission, the struggle could have ended long ago. It was not beyond my knowledge that a large procession passed through the prohibited area on the Turkish Peace celebration day, presumably with permission obtained from the District Magistrate. Some members of the local Council suggested repeatedly to me that they could apply and obtain permission in their name. I knew that a mere verbal request from me to the District Magistrate would have been enough. Ordinarily there would be no objection to an application for such permission. The Congress has not prohibited such action. But at that stage of the struggle I felt it was impossible for me to do so without compromising the prestige of the Congress when an application was expected to be obtained at the point of the bayonet. In fact it was the crux of the whole question. All other points were more or less matters of detail. It was easy enough for any one to see that the struggle at that stage was crystallized and was concentrated mainly on one issue, viz. the determination to put down with all the resources of the Government what they called open defiance of lawful authority on one side and an equal determination of the people to maintain their right with all the sufferings and sacrifices that it may involve to offer civil disobedience against arbitrary and unjustifiable use of authority on the other side. In the intimation given to the District Superintendent of Police of my proposed plan of action against his order on the 18th there was nothing by which it could be interpreted as an application. On the contrary the copy of the programme clearly indicated that it was intended to test the newly issued order. In any case I have no doubt I would have failed in my duty if I had not given intimation of such an unusual change in the programme in all its aspects especially when such a change was made for the first time since the commencement of the struggle. It would have been unfair to take the police by surprise immediately after the District Magistrate retired from the field. To my mind surprise attacks are not permissible in a struggle of this nature. The large concentration of police force in the prohibited area shortly after the intimation was

sent, and which it is not for me to explain, simply justifies the need of such intimation. If, however, that intimation or the details in the programme regarding the conduct of the procession were considered convenient enough for retiring from an inconvenient battle, I should be happy to think that without sacrificing anything I also relieved to some extent the embarrassment of the Government and made it possible for them to retire with honour. But I repeat that no application has been put in nor has any permission or license been obtained. I have noticed some controversy going on in the press as to the effect of the resolutions of the Council on the struggle. It is not my desire to express any opinion whether the Council proceedings have helped or hindered me, as it is likely to be misunderstood. It is enough to say that the Police order was issued after the Council resolutions and no effect was given to any of them till the end of the struggle; but as soon as the struggle ended all the under-trial prisoners were discharged. Let there be no delusion that a government that claims to know its business best and recognises nothing but force, either moral or physical, can ever understand gratuitous advice, even if such advice assumes the dignified name of a Council Resolution. All such attempts afford opportunities for unfair and sometimes even mean attacks on those who are not there to defend themselves. Such resolutions can only serve the purpose of their convenient use at a suitable time for a suitable purpose if the matter is disposed of independently of them. The Government were in honour bound to release all the prisoners in jail after the procession was allowed to pass and I thank the Government of the Central Provinces for acting honourably. I regret to find that seven out of about a thousand prisoners released here have yet been detained for some offences against jail discipline. I trust however that they will also be released soon. Even the little delay that has taken place, as I have no doubt due to circumstances beyond the Government's control, I am glad that my brother who followed me here immediately after my arrival and who closely cooperated with me in conducting the struggle almost up to the end, agrees with me entirely in this particular case, about the futility of those resolutions, though I must say, on different grounds. It is well known to all that we stand poles apart in our political convictions. But we both go back from Nagpur more or less confirmed in our individual political convictions.

I welcome you all who have returned from your self-imposed seclusion back again in our midst, where you will find ample opportunities for much higher sacrifice in a greater struggle awaiting you. With your return back amongst us today I stand on stronger grounds to reaffirm with greater emphasis what I had said on the last occasion that the Nagpur Flag Satyagraha struggle has ended in the vindication of the honour of our national flag, the restoration of our right to take peaceful and orderly processions on public roads and in the complete triumph of truth, non-violence and suffering.

But there is nothing to boast of in our achievement. Victory does not lie in what we have achieved, nor even in what we have suffered but in our readiness to suffer more and more till we achieve our final goal. Believe me when I say that the credit of our struggle is not due to me in the least degree but to all of you who have suffered and many others who were ready to suffer for the cause and also to the indefatigable energy and the admirable sense of discipline which the Nagpur Congress Committee has shown throughout the conduct of the struggle.

I cannot close this statement without placing before the public as well as Government one important fact which has come to my knowledge whilst I was trying to trace the source of all the mischievous reports that were circulated in the press about the happenings of the 18th. I came across a curious piece of evidence, which probably also accounts for the famous four letters appearing in the *Times of India* in the last week of June, after the arrest of Sbeth Jamanlal Bajaj and his co-workers, as also for the general attitude of that journal towards this movement throughout. In the issues of the *Statesman* of August 21st, there appears a telegraphic message dated 19th instant from the Commissioner of Nagpur under the headings "*Satyagraha to cease*", "*leaders submit to authority*". The report of the correspondent of the *Times of India* of the same date appearing in the issue of the 20th of August under the heading "*Government authority recognised*" happens to be a verbatim copy of the Commissioner's message appearing in the *Statesman*. Reading the two together it is difficult to make out whether the correspondent of the *Times of India* is the Commissioner of Nagpur or the Commissioner of Nagpur is the correspondent of the *Times of India*. It is possible that the inadvertence of the *Statesman* unlike its Bombay contemporary in publishing it as the message from the commissioner of Nagpur instead of "from its own correspondent", has exposed him. For sometime I did not believe that the statement was issued by him. On inquiry I found that he had done so. I have been assured however that the Commissioner of Nagpur was not authorised to issue the statement that has been wired by him to the *Statesman*. Besides I have also found that the Government of the Central Provinces are unable to control the journalistic activities of the Commissioner. On a former occasion also he had brought the Government into trouble by his activities in this direction in connection with this very movement, in spite of the orders not to meddle with the affairs of the Government. In such a manner he goes his own way. Whilst I readily acknowledge the genuine desire of the Government for an honourable end of the struggle and whilst I have no doubt that his action is regretted, I feel bound to say that the Government cannot escape the responsibility of his action in the end.

We have to thank God that at a time when personal prejudices, party politics and communal strifes subordinated mutual tolerance, wider political vision and higher common interest, and when forces of doubt and dis-

pair were getting the upper hand, He blessed us with this humble opportunity of demonstrating the undercurrents of solidity, strength and the soundness of heart of the nation and in spite of all misunderstanding of friends and misrepresentations by foes, this neat, clean and courageous display of moral warfare will in future be remembered by the nation with pride, and will inspire greater faith in the superiority of the weapons of truth, non-violence, and suffering, which alone, as Mahatma Gandhi has said, are suited to the conditions and the culture of our nation. *Bande Mataram*.

Reject the Ignoble Association

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivas Sastri has issued the following statement to the Associated Press of India:—

"I feel it a great misfortune to be put out of action when there is such an urgent call for service in the cause of the motherland, but I have been warned that I must take complete rest if I am to avoid a collapse. Before doing so I wish to say a few words to the public. I advocate without hesitation a policy of vigorous action by our country to indicate our genuine feeling. If we could imagine for a moment that we had our own Government when the Cabinet decision on Kenya was announced, they would have taken instantaneous action with the same instinct with which for example one's right hand moves to protect from injury any part of one's body.

Sometime ago the representatives of two Dominions, displeased at the comparatively trifling arrangements made by the authorities of the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, threatened non-participation and carried their point. That is the way in which serious displeasure shows itself. If our Government could take such a step no Cabinet would think of treating it as they have treated it in the case of Kenya. The withdrawal, if its possibility could be conceived, would be felt as in the nature of a blow at the Empire. Tremendous efforts should be made by influential local committees to keep back private exhibitors and semi-official agencies while the Government and statutory bodies, like Improvement Trusts must be reached by the usual channels of public opinion till the new Legislatures can take the constitutional action open to them. Nobody supposes that the withdrawal of unofficial representatives of India from the Imperial Conference will reduce it to a state of impotence or paralysis.

Those, however, who value self-respect and study its manifestations in human affairs, will look for certain prompt reactions, to use an American expression, when it is infringed. It is not easy any longer to persuade the average British politician that amongst our intelligentsia and their representatives in high circles feelings of resentment and indignation are of the same kind as in the rest of the world. The Dominion as well as the British statesmen may think that our indignation is misplaced and profess unconcern at our absence, but they cannot help being conscious, in contemplating our vacant places, that affronted human nature had found a becoming expression.

To Avoid Worse Insults

Again, who will pretend that the measures of retaliation recommended to our future legislatures will inflict injury on the offending communities at all adequate to the injury that we have received? Nevertheless, such action as we can take is fully expected and cannot be avoided except at the risk of worse indignation and insults. I well remember being told in 1921, "If we hit you why don't you hit us in return? We have accorded you full power of reciprocity." Where one is in the grip of a big bully, patient and philosophical submission is no remedy. To hit out with all one's strength may not be effective either; but it is at least a vindication of one's manhood. A poet has said that an imprisoned cobra strikes not so much to punish the tormentor as out of wounded pride. The prosecution of these measures provoked by the denial of equality in the Empire will be necessarily obstructed and rendered nugatory by the Government of India in taking such attitude. The Viceroy and his Councillors will only be increasing their own difficulties and goading the Assembly into a fixed and implacable hostility which can only hasten the day of responsible Government in the country. That would be a gain not less great for its being indirect. These developments which the immediate future holds in store must be made clear to the constituencies at the general election. Their political education will thus receive an impetus which nothing else can give and candidates must regard it as their primary duty to obtain mandates in this behalf besides canvassing votes in the usual way.

Are they Our Providence?

One is sometimes amused, and sometimes irritated, by the unscrupulous use to which the existence of caste in this country is put by our enemies. Subdued and chastened, we bow to the penalties inflicted on us by the law of national Karma, but how can they admonish us who profit by the divided condition and in not a few cases torment it? Are they our Providence? Do they set up themselves as our teachers? If so let them show us the better way by their example and not quote our social strata as the justification for their unworthy practice. We are hungering, through our renovated religion and revived philosophy for opportunities of teaching the world some spirited truths. While these opportunities seem slow in coming here is a degenerate Western world copying our cast system, our practice of segregation, our social iniquities and also even our diarchy, our communal elections and our disproportionate representation of minorities. We are endeavouring to get out of these unhealthy institutions. Reactionaries and obscurantists in the country can wish for no better support for their outworn systems than their adoption by civilised nations of the West in express imitation.

Far be it from me to ignore or even to underrate the enormous benefits of British rule in India. I have often spoken and written of these and of the glorious mission of the British Commonwealth and I hope to live to do so again in better times when British Imperialism shall have shed its power and assumed its higher character. But I am sad to contemplate

people with a high destiny within their reach and calling themselves the lesser League of Nations settling up, after mature deliberation, a colour bar after the Boer pattern. Hard as flint and dry as Sahara must be the Indian heart which can survey without emotion the long tale of wrongs and indignities to which our people have been subjected within an Empire that talks all the time of human brotherhood and even-handed justice!

Refinement of Ingratitude and Tyranny

I cannot stop now to tell the tale. Let us look at Kenya. We have gone there for some centuries now. The British Government came there only to safeguard our interests. Not only did we furnish the occasion but we exerted our influence to establish the British Protectorate. The earliest British officers thought that the new territory could be a suitable outlet for the congested districts in India. Our cooly labour built the railway. In fact today not only railways but Government offices are run by our clerical labour. The currency system was ours till it was supplanted recently to the ruin of Indian wealth. Indian Penal Code was introduced, our armies fought on the soil of Kenya more than once to keep the Union Jack flying. We are the only people now that do anything to teach and train the native in the art of civilised life. Great numbers of Indians were born and bred there after many years during which we were invited, employed and encouraged, to be now told at the bidding of a few narrow-minded Whites that we are a danger to the native, that we are a moral and physical infection and that our future immigration must be controlled and finally stopped. This is the refinement of ingratitude and tyranny, the thought of which still lacerates my heart though it has been my constant companion night and day during some months. It may not be pleasing to Government but it is good for them to know that there is hardly an intelligent or patriotic Indian who does not consider the settlement as setting aside a long succession of righteous pledges in the direction of human brotherhood in favour of an unrighteous pledge made by incompetent authorities and in the face of earnest protests.

Party Shibboleths Irrelevant

The Kenya settlement is a grave national humiliation. It shakes the foundations of our public life. Party interests and party shibboleths seem now irrelevant as well as a heavy handicap. I am happy to believe that members of the Servants of India Society are unanimous in their desire, while remaining true to their Liberal creed and that of its founder, to co-operate with men and women of all parties in the country in trying to get their grievous wrongs righted and in the speedy achievement of Swaraj which is the sovereign need of the hour.

Appeals

1. The National College Vaniambudi will be grateful for presents of books from people who have read and can spare them for being added to the library of a useful national institution.

C. R.

Young India

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Notes

Mahatmaj

Gandhiji was interviewed in Yeravada jail on Monday. He has been keeping fairly good health since his last illness three months ago. He is still given milk, bread and fruit, and the diet has been quite agreeable to him so far. Though he looks pettily bright and healthy, time and deep religious study have not failed to tell in his general appearance. His weight now is 101 lbs. i. e. 13 lbs. less than his original weight when he was arrested. He spends his time, besides spinning, mainly in a study of the Vedas and Upanishads and Urdu in which he gets the assistance of Mr. Manzoori Sokhata.

Mahatmaj was perfectly amused when told of the speculation in the country about the rumours of his release, and said laughing he would deplore his early release, for it would interrupt his studies.

Of Rumours of Mahatmaj's Release

Rumours started by silly brains, serve only to confuse the simple-minded. It is not possible that Mahatmaj can be released by Government out of its grace so long as there is any fighting power in the nation. The Government knows that it is against its own interests to help us by giving us the leader we want. We should deem it an unfortunate day if we have become so weak that the Government thinks it can safely release Mahatmaj. Government can be expected to release Mahatmaj when constitutionalism in the narrow sense completely triumphs over Gandhism. We must make up our minds once for all that the release of the Mahatma can be only a bye-product of decisive success. We shall not have to wait for rumours when Mahatmaj is to be released. Our sufferings and our labours which alone can release him will have told us of the approaching victory long before any rumour.

Who Won at Nagpur?

It is waste of energy to be arguing the question who has won a battle. The Nagpur battle was not fought for any party to gain prestige or to put any one else in the wrong. If the Satyagrahis have won a victory, and to the extent that they have won one, no one can rob them of it by newspaper articles or communiques or pronouncements. Neither can any one construct success out of defeat by mere argumentation. The nation feels its added strength, and the Government its loss of ground. The man who has been beaten knows and feels the blows even though the onlookers may shout that he

is not beaten. When the latter is serious and is not a mere prize fight the verdict of the spectators does not matter. One thing may be made clear. It is quite an erroneous idea to think that in our struggles with the Government all negotiations are to be excluded as savouring of surrender. In non-violent struggles as in violent revolutions and wars there is an honourable place for armistices, conversations, negotiations and settlements. They by no means amount to renunciation of the creed of non-cooperation. What the terms in a settlement are to be depend on the mutual strength of the parties, and decide who has had victory and not who formally or actually initiated conversations. It is hoped that the controversy over the question of success will cease and that everyone will help to consolidate the popular gains in the struggle.

The Earthquake

The fate of the many Indian merchants, political refugees and students in Japan is yet unknown. It seems that we should be prepared for the worst. The awful catastrophe that has overtaken Japan is too terrible for contemplation. The active sympathy of the whole world has gone forth to the stricken people. If India had been free and prosperous, she too would have promptly stretched out her hand to wipe the tears of her stricken sister and to help and comfort her instead of contemplating her own poverty and impotence to render material help.

To ambitious men and ambitious nations the fate of Japan has a useful lesson. It reminds us of our dependence on the mercy of God and that the greatest power can be wiped out in one month with all her armies, ships and every other weapon of war and civilisation. It may be noted that great as the Japanese disaster has been, the havoc wrought by man of wicked purpose and through engines of destruction made by him, has been far greater. The cold-blooded slaughter and misery of the wars are greater than even this great destruction wrought by the elements of nature.

The Exhibition

It is consistent with the proved character of the present administration that Government officers are still on duty buying and collecting exhibits for the Wembley Show. Whatever else may or may not be done over the Kenya Decision, that India cannot participate in the coming Empire Exhibition is settled. The people of India do not want any share in the

Exhibition even though the Government may hurry on with the buying of exhibits out of our money and trying to deceive India into taking part in the humiliating show. The Government still claims that it is with the people by the matter of the overseas problems and that it submits to the Imperial Government's decision only as in duty bound. But is there any compulsion to submit to the Exhibition? Much money has been wasted already. But it is an oft-repeated and true maxim of prudence that one should not throw good money after bad.

No Empire

Mr. Chintamani has contributed a noteworthy article to the Journal of the Servants of India Society. "We Indians", writes Mr. Chintamani, "have made our choice. Disagree in political methods as we may, we will not willingly remain in an Empire where we are neglected and condemned". This is clear and conclusive.

As Incompatible as Fire and Water

Mr. Zacharias of the Servants of India Society writes in the same official organ of the Society in equally frank and clear language that "good or bad, the British Empire has proved a dream." He holds that the British and the Indian Empires are "as incompatible as fire and water. If they are to thrive they can only do so in separation, not in conjunction". Let there be no more pretence, says he, that Empire membership is possible for India. This may be sedition both under the law and according to the creed of the Servants of India Society; but it is none the less absolute truth.

The Will to Suffer

It does not appear that even in methods there can any longer be difference. No orthodox non-cooperator can express the fundamentals of our method better than in the following words of Mr. Chintamani. In answer to the British Imperialists' challenge as to what Indians can do beyond indulging in impotent wordy protests, Mr. Chintamani says, the people of India will develop a will to suffer. They will no longer be disposed to submit. Mr. Chintamani rightly points out that the people of India with a religion and a philosophy that has given them an irremovable belief in the transience of this world and the reality of the next, have an advantage over other people. In such a non-violent struggle the final result, whenever it may come, will be, says Mr. Chintamani, either the disappearance of the people of India, or the disappearance of India as a part of the British Empire. The Indian programme of resistance by suffering cannot be better expressed. Let us hasten the converging convictions of all parties into speedy action. C. R.

Propaganda

We think it was Sir John Hamilton who said propaganda was polysyllabic Italian for the monosyllabic Anglo-saxon word lie. It is a true saying and the truth is not obscured by the substitution of the word publicity for propaganda. We can afford to allow the comments of Pandit Motilal Nehru to be answered by Pandit Jawaharlal. But the propaganda of the Government leaves us gasping. The facts in question are clear and speak for themselves. We do not intend to recount them. The Government's

attempt to confuse issues in so simple a surrender, is a masterpiece of misapplied zeal. We are almost beginning to wonder whether the German Government, which is as clever as the British, has not managed to persuade its people that Germany was the winner in the late war; or whether it is not the British propagandists who have persuaded us that the Germans had lost it. One almost wishes one knew German; it would be so interesting to know. But the moral of it is obvious. As politicians, we have no right to expect that the Government will ever confess itself beaten. Was it not of the British army that it was said, "It did not know when it was beaten." Apparently the British Government goes one better; not only does it not know when it was beaten, but it claims that a defeat is victory. We are bound to meet and fight and beat this Government on a hundred occasions in the future. Whenever it happens we would counsel our negotiators and leaders to make one condition, the vital one of all settlements:—a joint statement as to the actual facts of each case before the final deal in the game. It is not merely Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who has had to struggle with official propaganda. Mahatmaj had trouble with General Smuts long ago; and with Lord Reading later in the affair of the All Brothers.

Retaliation

The Kenya decision has brought into being many political recipes,—retaliation amongst them. The *Indian Social Reformer* has criticised the suggestion. We are not sure we have quite grasped its meaning, but to the extent of its intelligibility we agree with our contemporary nearly completely. But there is one observation in it purporting to state a fact to which we object, because the allegation does not happen to be true. Our contemporary says that the advocacy of retaliation by non-cooperators attests their sad descent from the standard of political ethics prescribed by Mahatmaj. If, as a matter of fact, the advocacy of retaliation by non-cooperator is as common as the *Reformer* suggests, it will indeed be sad. But as far as we know, no non-cooperator has put forward retaliation as a means of putting an end to the Kenya wrong. The mistake is, perhaps, due to the confusion that has crept into the political terminology of the day. To our mind the distinguishing mark between the 'constitutionalist' and the non-cooperator is final and clear. We say this despite the claim advanced by certain types of constitutionalists to be non-cooperators—the Swarajists amongst them. We know that the Swarajists are playing with the notion of retaliation, the boycott of British goods being the favourite in Bombay. But we desire to stand clear of unsought repudiated affiliations. With a certain modesty, we do claim to be non-cooperators and we are decisively against retaliation. There are a number of reasons, but two should do for the present. The pragmatic consideration is that it is not in our power to retaliate.

The efficiency of nearly all the types suggested depends on the pleasure of the Government. South African coal, or instance, cannot be penalised in the country without the approval of the Government. Discrimination against Colonials in the public service is in a similar case. To talk of retaliation therefore is to go the full pace in cooperation. But there is a deeper ground. Retaliation is inconsistent with non-cooperation. The trouble with us in India is lack of strength. Retaliation

in adequate circumstances is the weapon of the noisy. The concept of retaliation by the weak is self-justifying if not self-contradictory. As for the notion that retaliation will itself build up strength, it is putting the cart before the horse. If by some means—magic or the gift of the gods—we step into strength, out of it will issue strange and wonderful products lovely in city and village fit for offering on the altars for beautifying the ways of life. One of the most precious pearls amongst them will be Swaraj. Another will be the positive dynamic impossibility of a decision, such as in the case of Kenya. Swaraj and the honourable possibility of freedom for Indians everywhere in the world including the British Empire can be secured only by courage, faithfulness and an outgoing readiness to suffer. It is a mischievous illusion to imagine that the weakness, whose fruit is slavery at home and insult abroad, can be removed by attempting to wield a weapon which rightly or wrongly can be handled only by the brave and stout of heart.

Shame!

Mr. Andrews is in sick-bed at Benares stricken with fever. The strain on his physical frame has recently been so great that it is no wonder that it has fallen a prey to fever. Nature tries to secure for itself that rest by sickness which the man has been refusing to give himself as long as he could work. There is not among us a purer soul, a truer friend of the oppressed—another heart so brimming with unalloyed goodness and love. One feels disinclined to write or speak about such men so long as they are alive. Their sensitive natures would shrink as if hurt to hear words of praise. Beautiful flowers would be hurt by smelling too closely. Mr. Andrews is ill but pain of heart is greater than bodily sickness. I received a letter this morning from him which has caused me the most excruciating sorrow. None will read it without similar pain. Here it is and let every Indian hang his head in shame for the folly and sin of Mr. Mangaldas:—

"There comes a time in every national movement,—whenever the forces of the enemy are overwhelmingly strong and the spirit of subjection has not yet been shaken off,—during which an epidemic of panic and distrust and suspicion seems to run through a whole people. Those who at ordinary times are sane and reasonable men and women begin to suspect their nearest and dearest friends. The enemy plays upon this fear and aggravates the disease by sending real spies into the midst of the camp. So the fever gets worse. This is a well-known psychological feature in a time of war, but sometimes it is not realised that a moral war against evil, when passions are roused and excited, often carries with it the same fatal symptoms of disease.

"There was a very strange outbreak of this disease among the somewhat phlegmatic people of Southern England in the early days of the late war. Everyone who came as a stranger into a village was suspected of being a German spy. In Terence Mac Swiney's writings concerning the Irish Revolution there is a pathetic chapter in which he speaks of the same phenomenon appearing among the Irish republicans.

"In the national movement in India I had often wondered that my own name had so remarkably escaped; for, the place I have held as a peace-maker is the most open of all to suspicion and the fact that

I am an Englishman has always made the suspicion natural among those who do not know me. Yet, in the public press, up till quite recently, I had had the singular good fortune to escape. The abuse that I had received had been quite consistently only from the Anglo-Indian Press, and that I had always expected. Yet now the time has come for me, and from a most unexpected quarter. The following has just been published by the *Democrat*, the only Indian paper in Nairobi, under the name of Mr. Mangaldas, a leading Indian, who accompanied me as a friend and treated me as a friend while I was in East Africa. He writes thus:—

"We have our local opponents, true sons of Britain, who want all the world to themselves. But we must admit that they are the cleanest enemies we have; they tell us exactly what they think and what they are going to do. Dealing with such men is actually a pleasure. You know where you are, and provided we were able to match the same amount of energy and strength as possessed by the settlers, there would in all probability be no fight at all.

"But we have another kind of enemy,—the insidious, bowing, cringing, khaddar-wearing, bare-footed, white sadhus, who take our side to help us lose the game. Now there is no question of finding a scape-goat. On the other hand, it is time that we put our own house in order, because until we can discriminate between friends and foes, we shall be considerably handicapped in the next fight for our rights." He then goes on to mention me by name and to accuse me of being all the while a spy and a deceiver.

"The thing was so horrible at first, to read in solid naked print, that it almost stunned me. I confess to being peculiarly sensitive to this kind of attack. It is not a question of wanting to hit back. I have not that instinct. But it makes me at once wish to retire into obscurity and find shelter with my God, who knows how false such things are. I cannot be the same as before after such a thing has happened.

"I have hesitated much before publishing this in India, but I have decided to do so—and to do so not indirectly by asking some friend to answer for me, but directly under my own name—for one single reason. My reason is this. Is it not time, that we determined faithfully and truly to refrain from personal attacks and ascribing personal motives? The habit is so deadly, when once it is formed! Now, at the present time, when the great Kenya insult has made, for all of us, a supreme call for unity, can we not break this evil spell and throw off the fever of this new disease which is poisoning the system?"

Slavery brings in its train diseases for the mind which are worse than the crimes of the oppressor himself. Let us hope it is God's scourge for the sin of surrender to wrong. Mr. Mangaldas's insane and wicked attack on Mr. Andrews will rouse indignation throughout India. But it has caused in Mr. Andrews not anger but greater sorrow for our condition. His charity searches for the reason of Mr. Mangaldas's folly. His forgiveness goes forth even before his sorrow. He tries to find reasons and justifications for the attack. When the most unjustifiable, the most odious attack conceivable has been made upon him he says, "I am an Englishman, I am bound to be suspected. As a peace-maker it is natural I arouse discontent." Mr. Mangaldas and the *Democrat* which has given space to such poisonous folly have both a

a heavy load of crime to exonerate for. It is hoped that obstinacy or pride will not blind them, but both will at once cleanse their hearts by genuine sorrow.

In the midst of pain mark the spirit of service which even when the arrow is still in the wound enables Mr. Andrews to forget his own sorrow and make a useful lesson for us out of his own anguish of heart. "Do not hurt another like this", says Mr. Andrews; "it is too painful to bear, and it hurts your cause. Trust your friends, unite and work."

"I cannot be the same as before after such a thing has happened. It makes me at once wish to retire into obscurity and find shelter with my God who knows how false such things are." These words are like liquid lava to those who know Mr. Andrews. We can realise the anguish of heart from which the words have burst forth. Let us pray, that such folly as Mr. Mangaldas's may not leave lasting injury.

C. R.

Young India

13-9-23

A Common Programme

Retaliation is a word that has been freely used in connection with Kenya. It is a formula that is likely to mislead. To do to the Colonials as they have done to us may serve to demonstrate our feelings. It is a natural and an honourable reaction proving that our feelings are alive, but it is no remedy in itself. If a programme of retaliation serves as an excuse for not taking any other action, it becomes a dangerous epistle. Let us remember that the Kenya decision is not a decision of any Colonial Government. That Empire membership is not possible for India has been decided not by any Colony but by the British Government. Retaliation against the Colonies is thus not even adequate from the point of view of retaliation itself.

Demonstration of retaliation against the Colonies would be useful if we still hoped to share opinion and to get justice by voluntary grant, following up on persuasion. Retaliation can be useful only if it is constructive in character. A struggle with the Government of Britain and its powerful agent the Government of India, would be constructive. It would be a retaliation that would simultaneously prepare us to fill the vacuum as soon as God gives us victory. A programme of retaliation against Colonials would serve no constructive purpose. The issue is whether we hope to reverse the Imperial decision by persuasion or by achieving Swaraj. If the former is in the back of our minds then retaliation against the offending Colonies is understandable. But if we have truly got out of that delusion, then the sovereign need of the hour is Swaraj, and our programmes should be directed towards the immediate and urgent need. What is the good of planning retaliation against the Colonies while at the same time we participate in the business of the Government of India and maintain its strength by voluntary cooperation in its Councils? It would be criminal self-deception to apply the salve of retaliation to our conscience while following the beaten path of

surrender. After what has been said and done the nation expects something more from the disillusioned. The wrongs done have been so great that the wrongdoer expected armed insurrection and made military dispositions to meet the contingency.

I would not have written thus to hustle any one into a policy to which every one is surely and spontaneously, though slowly, converging, had there not been urgent need to decide swiftly and act at once unitedly. Any united programme placed before the nation to meet the present situation should be capable of being put into force at once and should also be swift in its results. Nothing can be swifter in results politically than the complete withdrawal from the coming general elections. It would be the easiest common programme for all parties. It would be the promptest and most natural reaction for the crowning indignity and humiliation inflicted on us by the British Government. Nothing can be easier to effectuate if the Liberals agree. And the Liberals must agree if Mr. Shastri decides that the Government of India is not a thing apart from but is the agent and working representative of the spear-head of the evil we are fighting against. A strata below the Moderates, the ultra-loyalists may participate, but the Government cannot do anything with them for over a few weeks. Participation in the elections with whatever formula or objective will only mean mutual competition and wasting of forces *inter se*, inconclusiveness of results and indefinite postponement of effective action. Complete boycott of the elections of this year by Moderates and Swarajists and the whole nation backing it, means immediate and telling effect admitting of no doubtful interpretation.

As for extra political fields of action, much has been said and written, but every one comes back to the one and only thing viz. boycott of foreign cloth. To substitute the imported piece-goods and yarn, to save the hackneyed but none the less true sixty crores per year, there is nothing that can help so swiftly, so surely and so effectively, as Khaddar. There can be no more effective means than home-spun, cottage-made Khaddar to control the price of Indian mill cloth and keep it within reach of the poor after we remove the competition of British piece-goods. Undertakings to keep prices within limits are good, but are likely to become broken reeds when once we are at the mercy of capitalism. To associate factories and mills with business and practicality and the charkha with sentiment and idealism, is a fallacy of preoccupied minds. The development of mills apart from all the points against it cannot meet the demand for immediate and swift action. The cottage is our ready made mill, the two hands and the charkha are ready or can be ready at a few hours notice, while machinery and skilled labour are not. If thirty crore indignant souls determine on a boycott of foreign cloth, a crore of spindles can hum within a week without the slightest dependence on others. The propaganda, the advertisements, all things are done and ready. If but all the classes that set the example for the nation, Liberals, Moderates and Swarajists, all who feel that we should save India from the Empire and its humiliations and wrongs, now unite and work with a supreme effort for Khaddar, we can bring proud England to her knees. And the Kenya wrong may yet prove to be a blessing in disguise. C. R.]

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Problems of Indian Agriculture-I

Woes of the Peasant

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It used to be a trite criticism against the Indian publicists of an earlier generation that they were all professional men, who were representatives. If at all, of the comfortable classes, and to whom the weal and woe of the dumb millions of their countrymen was not of the slightest concern. The criticism was as cruel as it was apparently correct. The early leaders in any community, awakening to the consciousness of a common national purpose and suffering from a sense of unmerited wrongs, must necessarily spring from those classes who have at once the leisure and the intelligence to think of some thing beyond and above the daily problem of the bread and butter for themselves and family. But strong as is the virus of class sympathies, it is utterly untrue to say of the Indian publicists of an earlier generation that they were wanting in any real perception of the misfortunes of the bulk of the country or that the foreign English civilian, unfamiliar with their customs and unacquainted with their ways and feelings, was the only friend of the dumb millions of India. It was Romesh Dutt, an Indian and a Civilian representing the comfortable classes, who first raised the cry of the peasant's woes. As generation has succeeded generation the perception of the wrongs of the Indian peasantry has become so acute that there is now not an Indian publicist of note who could venture to disregard or treat lightly of the hardships of the Indian agricultural classes. The message of the Spinning Wheel preached by the latest Saint and Saviour of India is but one indication among thousands that the modern nationalist Indian is acutely anxious to redress the wrongs that were previously not unnoticed, but perhaps not so strongly emphasised as they latterly have come to be. There are, indeed, even now men,—and intelligent, educated men, at that, who consider it possible to keep politics and economics apart in India, of all countries in the world. But the recognition of the dominant force of economic considerations in national as well as international politics is now so universal that we can afford to ignore this microscopic minority of misguided persons, whom self-interest or a want of intelligence compels to swallow and reproduce the shibboleth that other interested parties have circulated in their own benefit.

And in the nature of things, it was impossible for the Indian leaders to avoid thinking of the woes of the Indian peasant. These are too gigantic to be overlooked. The following table of the occupations of Indian peoples tells its own tale. Two out of every three men in India are engaged in the production of raw materials, principally from the surface of the earth. How can the third afford to overlook the hardships of his two other brothers, particularly if, as is the case, his own prosperity depends upon that of the other two?

Occupations of the Indian Peoples

INDIA	...	...	...	...	...	...	818,470,014
A--PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS ... 227,080,093							
<i>I--Exploitation of the Surface of the Earth</i> ... 226,850,483							
Pasture and agriculture...	...	...	...	...	...	...	224,69,900
(a) Ordinary cultivation...	...	...	...	...	...	...	216,787,137
(b) Growing of special products and market gardening	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,012,503
(c) Forestry	...	...	...	...	...	...	672,055
(d) Raising of farm stock	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,176,104
(e) Raising of small animals	...	...	...	...	...	...	46,063
Fishing and hunting	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,854,582
<i>II--Extraction of Minerals</i> ... 529,609							
Mines	...	...	...	...	...	...	376,927
Quarries of hard rocks	...	...	...	...	...	...	75,424
Salt etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	78,258
B--PREPARATION & SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES 58,101,121							
<i>III--Industry</i> ... 85,333,641							
Textiles	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,306,501
Hides, skins & hard materials from the animal Kingdom	...	...	...	...	...	...	698,741
Wood	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,799,802
Metals	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,561,448
Ceramics	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,240,310
Chemical products properly so called, and analogous	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,241,87
Food industries	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,711,675
Industries of dress and the toilet	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,760,609
Furniture industries	...	...	...	...	...	...	39,268
Building industries	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,064,498
Construction of means of transport	...	...	...	...	...	...	66,056
Production and transmission of physical forces (heat light, electricity, motive power etc. ... 14,384							
Industries of industry and those pertaining to literature and to arts and sciences. ... 3,141,668							
Industries concerned with refuse matter ... 1,059,516							

IV—Transport	5,028,900
Transport by water	982,766
Transport by road	2,781,938
Transport by rail	1,062,488
Post Office, telegraph and telephone services	201,781
V—Trade	17,839,102
Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	1,220,187
Brokerage, commission and export	240,851
Trade in textiles	1,977,469
Trade in skins, leather and furs	289,719
Trade in wood	224,888
Trade in metals	59,766
Trade in pottery	101,081
Trade in chemical products	171,927
Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	710,052
Other trade in food stuffs	9,478,868
Trade in clothing and toilet articles	806,701
Trade in furniture	178,418
Trade in building materials	84,618
Trade in means of transport	269,396
Trade in fuel	524,963
Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences	522,130
Trade in refuse matter	2,698
Trade of other sorts	2,192,884
C—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIONS & LIBERAL ARTS	10,912,128
VI—Public Force	2,304,586
Army	685,278
Navy	4,640
Police	1,728,668
VII—Public Administration	2,648,005
VIII—Professions and Liberal Arts	5,825,857
Religion	2,769,489
Law	808,408
Medicine	626,900
Instruction	674,398
Letters and arts and sciences	961,167
IX—Persons living principally on their Income	540,178
D—MISCELLANEOUS	17,286,678
X—Domestic Service	4,599,880

XI—Insufficiently described Occupations	2,226,210
XII—Unproductives	2,461,381
Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals	132,610
Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	3,318,77

Important as the foregoing figures are, they do not tell the whole tale. For the population engaged in

Transport	5,028,900
Trade	17,839,102
Public Administration	10,912,128
Miscellaneous	17,286,678

or over 3 crores, or some 16 per cent of the total Indian population is pursuing occupations which can at most be regarded as not directly productive, but essentially parasitical; which are maintained in a state of relative affluence simply on account of the fundamental wrongs of our commercial civilisation to-day. The real purpose of society having been lost sight of, the scale of values has been inverted, until the actual, real producer, upon whom depends in toto the material well-being of the community, is the last person considered as at all of any importance in determining the policy of the community. We would not suggest that this is absolutely and exclusively an Indian peculiarity. It obtains wherever commercialism has taken root so deep that the entire purpose of Society is perverted out of all recognition. We only seek to emphasise by these figures the disproportionate importance in India, with nearly five-sixths of its population directly or indirectly dependant upon the bounty of Mother Earth, of the agrarian question.

If the foregoing does not sufficiently impress upon the reader the importance of the questions relating to agrarian life in this country, let us view the same from another stand-point. In a recent estimate of the national wealth of India, confined only to the relatively more advanced regions of British India, the figures at the bottom of the page are significant.

The total agricultural produce—gross valuation at wholesale rates is thus about 711 crores in 1913-14 and between 1300 to 1150 crores in 1920 and 1922 respectively. The remaining good crops and other farm produce may be thus estimated in quantity and value from the authorities already quoted:—

Articles	Average 1910-11 to 1914-15		Average 1915-16 to 1919-20		1921-22	
	Quantity Tons	Value Rupees	Quantity Tons	Value Rupees	Quantity Tons	Value Rupees
Rice	28,389,000	3,860,904,000	32,031,100	739,91,84,100	33,028,000	550,84,86,000
Wheat	9,653,000	995,289,000	9,288,000	186,11,28,000	9,817,000	189,94,13,000
Sugar-cane	2,411,000	32,78,96,000	2,867,000	104,93,22,000	2,590,000	88,97,30,000
Linseed	508,000	8,12,80,000	434,000	13,28,91,000	434,000	11,50,10,000
Rape & Mustard	1,225,000	19,37,08,000	1,072,000	29,15,81,000	1,146,000	27,31,48,000
Sesamum	471,000	12,81,12,000	421,000	16,62,95,000	515,000	16,11,95,000
Groundnut	693,000	12,16,25,000	952,000	35,89,04,000	920,000	25,21,00,000
Indigo	1,950	76,05,000	3,700	3,00,00,000	3,015	2,55,52,000
Tea	129,491	14,50,30,000	167,82	18,71,32,000	122,429	5,42,73,000
Coffee	...	...	9,520	1,19,95,200	9,217	1,39,08,000
Rubber	...	...	6,078	1,82,34,000	4,043	1,05,11,800
Cotton	780,357	60,32,27,000	787,357	102,42,14,000	797,143	79,71,43,000
Jute	1,619,464	64,77,78,000	1,427,143	59,52,21,000	711,607	24,90,62,000
		711,24,54,000		1293,61,07,000		1135,039,000

Article	1913-14 Quantity Tons	Value Rs.	Quantity Tons	1920-21 Value Rs.
Berley	2,635,000	20,13,75,000	3,128,100	37,53,60,000
Bowar	4,044,000	22,30,80,000	4,966,000	64,42,80,000
Jajra	1,815,000	13,61,23,000	1,03,000	33,76,20,000
Maise	2,084,000	15,63,00,000	2,406,000	28,87,20,000
Gram	1,338,000	17,44,20,000	4,333,000	69,80,00,000
Total		98,13,00,000.		2,33,5,80,000

The total agricultural produce is thus valued at 894 crores in 1913-14 and 1368 crores in 1921-22. Add to this 100 crores of gross produce in industry and mining* in 1921-22 and we get a total gross income or production of the people of India in 1913-14 at 830 crores, in round figures, and 1470 crores, also in round figures, for 1921-22. If we may regard prices in 1921-22 to be 50 per cent above 1913-14 level, the real value of the production in India cannot be taken at more than 1000 crores per annum at the present time. Even at the inflated figure we get an income per head of Rs. 46 per annum in the whole of the Indian Empire.

According to this mode of reckoning practically 90% of not the whole of the annual wealth produced in India, is due to the agricultural classes. It is absurd to argue, even if we had not such incontestable proofs, that the sympathetic and reasonable leaders of the

*The gross production in industry and mining is thus given in the *Statistics of British India*, Vol. P, 2:—
1919-20 (in crores)

	Rs
Cotton goods	57.31
Coal	10.12
Iron	4.5
Magnesia	1.44
Paper	2.69
Wollen goods	1.63
Sa	1.63
Gold	2.25
Petroleum	1.88
Miscellaneous	.63

This makes a total of 86.82 crores. But it does not give the values of cotton yarn and twist, nor of silk goods, nor jute goods, for which we may add a round figure in gross of 61.65 crores to make the total of 148 crores. This is at the values of 1919-20, which ought therefore to be reduced by 1/3 at least to get the figure for 1921-22 and by 2/3 to get those of 1913-14. We have not included, in these figures, the income from house property or the net profits of commercial undertakings like Banks, insurance companies, Transport Services and the gains of small tradesmen all over the country, as these do not make real additional material production, but are rather in the nature of a tax upon production. Altogether they cannot exceed 100 crores per annum all told. On the other hand we have also omitted the debt account, as the inclusion of the internal debt at least will simply involve the error of committing the same thing twice over. The agricultural classes are, for instance, suffering from a debt load estimated at anything like 600 crores or upwards; but in so far as the charge for the maintenance of this debt is a deduction from the agriculturists' produce, it is a corresponding gain to the other sections of the people; and so it need not be counted separately. This logic does not apply, of course, to the Indian debt held outside India—which requires now some 20 crores by way of an annual charge. A good deal of this is unproductive; but a portion of it is taken as a productive charge, and as we have not specifically counted the assets against which the charge is debited, we need not include the charge either. In any case even the representative debt of India and its annual charge if debited would make a very fractional deduction from the wealth account as given above.

*"Bank, Trade and Transport in India" by K. T. Shah

Indian people could ever afford to neglect or overlook this mighty interest and its problems. It has been the fashion with the *Sis-diant* champions of the Indian peasantry to measure the prosperity of the classes they champion in appearance by the amount with which their resources are drained,—i. e. by the growth of the volume of public revenues, or of the Foreign, and particularly the Export Trade of India, which neither of them indicate the real prosperity of the people. If anything, they must be taken to be the canker which eateth away the vitals of the people and no measure could be too strong which seeks to limit the activity of these mischievous factors. The entire national economy of India is being insidiously, imperceptibly organised on a false basis, which would make this mighty land of ours serve the purpose only of foreign industrialists and exploiters. And so great is the force of an initial fallacy, that many of our own people have come to measure the prosperity of the country by the most unreliable of all measures:—the magnitude of the export trade in raw materials. They forget, however, that such a ceaseless drain of the raw materials only means an intensification of the poverty of our own people, and notably of the agricultural producer of these very same materials. For had these materials remained at home, had the economic life of the nation been organised so as to consume, by our own efforts and in our own labour, the raw material we produce, we would not have to pay the tribute we now annually, but imperceptibly, pay—not merely to the foreign manufacturer of this very same raw material which we afterward import in the shape of finished goods, but all the thousand little incidental charges of a host of middlemen in the shape of allowances and commissions and insurance premia and transport dues and bankers' commissions and what not, the sum total of which has never been accurately estimated, but the entire amount of which might have remained in the country, as it for centuries in the past, until the advent of the present form of our national economy, did remain in the country. India never produced gold within her own natural frontiers; and yet the description of the loot of every one of the conquerors from a cross the frontiers leaves us aghast at the stories of the amount of gold that must have somehow come into the country and accumulated by ages of painstaking producers and thrifty consumers. There is no other explanation possible for these stories except that the gold of the world found its way into India owing to the favourable trade balance maintained by India, thanks to an industrial position unrivalled among her competitors. That industrial supremacy is a dream of the past,—a mighty source of valuereverts. Our commerce, feeling a thriving industry in the country itself, is uncertain, parasitical, and mainly at the mercy of foreign elements, who naturally shape it in their own interests. The decay of industries and the decline of the commerce of the country has unavoidably affected the agriculture of the country. For, however much it might produce, however much the agriculturist classes might starve themselves, the surplus is not enough to pay a steadily accumulating adverse balance of accounts, in which invisible items play a far greater role than the visible and objective statistics of trade returns. It would suffice

to indicate the height of misapprehension we have arrived at to mention only a single illustration. The advocates of an industrial restoration of India, if need be, by every effort in the power of the combined might of the community as represented by the State, are regarded as the natural enemies of the agricultural classes. As though there was a necessary and unavoidable antithesis between the agricultural classes and the industrialists, both of whom are *producers*! The agricultural class cannot suffer; it would on the contrary benefit naturally and necessarily by a wise extension of the industries of the country, which would make an ever increasing demand for the raw materials that agriculture alone can produce; which would afford a constantly increasing variety of certain profitable employment that cannot but be welcome to the agricultural classes, not only as affording a natural and efficient insurance against the periodical scourge of a failure of rains, but also as relieving the overburdened soil of that extra pressure, which the growth of numbers, unbalanced by any increase in employment, must naturally involve. And still they think the agriculturists would oppose a regime of intensive protection to new industries suitable to the natural conditions of the country! There is a great force in hypnotism; and the constant repetition of an antithesis of interest even though in reality there is no such antithesis, cannot but mislead the unsophisticated agriculturist into believing in such an opposition to his own undoing.

The woes of the peasant do not end merely in a fundamental misconception of the requirements of our national economy, which has been foisted upon us for interested motives by interested parties. The agriculturist is the most cruelly burdened among the tax-payers of India. He pays, of course, the whole of the Land Revenue,—the fundamental injustice of which we shall have occasion to expose more in detail later on in this series,—(35 crores), and the bulk of the Customs and Excise Revenue, as well as the Salt Duty of the central and local governments, say 80 crores, as the peasant's share under these three heads. He bears no inconsiderable share of the Stamp Duties, at least on the Judicial side,—and has almost a monopoly of the Forest burdens, another total of ten crores, in round figures, as representing the peasant's contribution for the privilege of belonging to the British Indian Empire. Of the Railway dues and Post Office services the peasant takes his humble share, even though these so-called earning assets may really mean a loss to the Government. In fact, barring the Income tax and the Opium revenue, we know of not a single item in the tax-system of India, which does not directly or indirectly, ultimately or immediately, fall upon the peasant and add to his burdens. And yet, in common generalisa-

tions, it is glibly assumed that the peasant's only burden is in the form of the Land Revenue!

We have already indicated that the source of the peasant's misfortune springs from a fundamental misconception of the needs and basis of national economy. As a queer illustration of this dictum, let us consider the fact, that under the present organisation, even out of the admitted misfortunes of the peasant, the established regime seeks to make money for the governmental machine. Does the peasant drink? Let us tax his drink, and salve our national or public conscience by the belief that the tax would act as a brake on the drinking propensity. Does the tax fail to arrest the havoc of intoxicants? Well, let us tax still more. What matters it, that the taxation of this nature becomes an immoral association of the Government,—that is, of the entire community,—in intensifying the misery of its most important section? We are civilised enough to fling up our hands in holy horror at the suggestion that the still persistent traffic in human beings conducted by the brothel-keepers and their auxiliaries in great cities should be struck at the very root by the institution of public municipal brothels that would, if not evade the main evil, at least guarantee the elementary rights of miserable humanity to the poor benighted inmates of such human slaughter houses. The community as such should, we would be told, have nothing to do with such an immoral, inhuman traffic even though this very aloofness of the community only results in a complete immunity to the brothel land-lord and the brothel proprietor, with his aides-de-camp of pimps and bullies and seducers or ravishers. Has no one ever considered that the association, by taxation of intoxicants, of the community in the drink traffic is equally sinful, and materially far more mischievous than the suggested regulation of brothels would ever be? It is the unavoidable consequence of the original sin of our modern capitalistic society, that for maintaining a small parasitic class in luxurious idleness, every available surplus, real or imaginary, must be forced out of the really producing classes and converted to the purpose of perpetrating still more profoundly the initial injustice of that arrangement. The vices as well as the miseries of the poor will not only not be treated with a view to their extinction, but will be utilised to be a source of profit to their natural protagonists. The instance of the taxation of drink traffic is too common and too patent to be ignored. But there are scores of others, equally injurious though less visible and tangible, and therefore less easily amenable to correction. And all these add to a tale of woe already heavy beyond endurance or even belief. We shall examine in the following supplements a few of the most outstanding and specific grievances of the Indian agriculturist classes.

K.

Mr. Vallabhbhai's Rejoinder

The following is the text of the statement issued by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in reply to the *communiqué* of the Chief Secretary of the C. P. Government:

Whilst I was travelling to Delhi, my attention was drawn to two statements, one issued by Mr. Vitthalbhai Patel in concurrence with the Home Member of the C. P. Government, and another by the Chief Secretary of that Government, each referring to the various stages of negotiations about the Nagpur struggle. Having read both these statements, I feel bound to explain to the public the real facts as they happened in connection with the so-called negotiations. Unfortunately the whole correspondence which passed between my brother and the Home Member and also between myself and the Home Member is lying at Ahmedabad, and I shall publish the whole of it at a later stage if the C. P. Government challenges any of the statements I am going to make hereunder. I do not desire to controvert all points referred to in the statement of the Chief Secretary, but will confine myself to two or three more important of them. I may say at once that I have no quarrel with the statement issued by Mr. Vitthalbhai Patel in concurrence with the Home Member. If matters had stood there, probably I should have said nothing. But I cannot allow the statement of the Chief Secretary to stand uncontradicted. Both Mr. Patel and the Home Member very rightly say in their joint statement that neither party would publish any account of any of the interviews. The Chief Secretary has however freed me from this obligation and if the Government chooses to deny any of the statements I will make hereunder I propose to publish not only the whole correspondence but also the full account, as far as I remember, of the interviews. That no Government, least of all Government in India, is expected to admit their mistake or confess defeat is understandable. But in this case the C. P. Government has gone further and is guilty of breach of confidence by publishing an account of the interviews that they themselves promised to treat as confidential and asked us to treat as such. One might conceive circumstances in which such disclosure may be pardonable. But I least expected that in doing so facts would be distorted and grossly misrepresented. I am sorry for the C. P. Government about whom I had carried a somewhat favourable impression. I repeat that I take no exception to the joint statement, but I desire to state my version on two or three points in the statement of the Chief Secretary and would wait to see what the C. P. Government has got to say about it.

Firstly, as for the interview with the Governor, Mr. Vitthalbhai Patel got a letter from the Chief Secretary requesting us to see him and discuss the situation with him. We did so and during our conversation it was suggested that we should interview the Governor. We were not called upon to make any reply to this suggestion, and we made none. Next day Mr. Vitthalbhai Patel got a letter from the Chief Secretary intimating to us that if we desired to see His Excellency he would be glad to see us at 11 A. M. next day at the residency. We accordingly interviewed His Excellency and discussed the whole

situation for nearly three hours. We had never made any oral or written request for an interview, but the circumstances under which the interview came about are as mentioned by me above.

Secondly, as for permission for procession, the statement suggests as if we applied for permission. Nothing of the kind. My letter to the District Superintendent of Police speaks for itself. It is nothing more or less than a notice or intimation of what we were going to do. In our opinion there is nothing inherently wrong in applying for taking permission for a procession, but in this struggle the whole issue was absolutely unwarranted and illegal and any application for permission on our part would be construed, and rightly so, by the Government as well as by the people, as a sort of surrender on our part. In fact that was all that the Government wanted us to do, and we refused to yield. When Mr. Vitthalbhai had his first interview with the Home Member before the Council sitting, the Home Member after consulting his other colleagues went to Mr. Vitthalbhai that the Government had no objection to the passing of processions if some one on behalf of the Congress Committee approached the District Magistrate in that behalf, and in that event the question of the release of prisoners would be favourably considered. There was no question as to the limit of number of processionists or the manner in which they were to proceed. I am afraid I have not the letter with me when I am writing this, but I have no doubt that the statement I make is correct. We at once wrote back to say that we could make no such application to the District Magistrate whose very order has given rise to the Satyagraha movement. Such was the anxiety of the Government to settle the matter even before the resolution of the Council. The suggestion in the statement of the Chief Secretary that we applied to the District Superintendent of Police is wholly incorrect and grossly misleading.

Thirdly, the statement that we gave an undertaking that the prisoners would not take any further part in Nagpur flag agitation except under certain conditions is baseless and appears to have been deliberately introduced for obvious reasons.

Fourthly, there was no undertaking given by the Government to us nor by us to the Government on any point. As rightly pointed out by the authors of the joint statement, as a result of interviews we understood the position of the Government and the Government understood us without giving of any undertaking by either side. I would add in conclusion that all negotiations and interviews were conducted throughout by Mr. Vitthalbhai Patel and lately by both of us when in view of the unequivocal statement amounting to an invitation for negotiations made by the Home Member in his speech in the Council the Working Committee authorised us both to do so. All these interviews and negotiations were conducted strictly on basis of mutual trust, and this fact was times without number made clear by each side to the other, and there was no question of an undertaking on either side. But for that the Chief Secretary was chosen to publish a one-sided and distorted account. We waive our objection to the publication of

(not such of them as they like) letters written by us and now in the possession of the Government, and we claim that the Government Members can have no objection to our publication of their letters in our possession.

The Dawn of Vision

Reuter's report of the attack made on Mr. Sastri by the *Morning Post* is interesting. The *Post* does not love Indian politicians and we are afraid that it is not beloved of them. All the same, we have a weak place in our heart for the great newspaper. The reason is twofold. As a journal it is one of the best and the most efficient in the world; and there is not a single man who concerns himself with our profession but should be prepared to salute the *Post*. But the second reason is deeper and farther-reaching. It is not merely competent; it is honest to the bone. Imperialism may be narrow: but it is the overflow of national vitality. The *Post* has believed in it and preached its philosophy the whole century and a half of its existence, without qualification and unashamed. What it has preached, England has always done. There have been other newspapers, but they have added to the confusion of the world. England is Imperialistic because she is strong—effect flowing inevitably out of cause. Toryism is the hard nucleus of the Empire, and the Government of England in reference to Imperial and Foreign policy has always been Tory.

There is such a thing as Liberalism in British politics; but it is a feature of domestic policy—radicalism intended to secure freedom for Englishmen, radicalism that is potentially rebellion of class and mass against King and aristocracy. In reference to the rest of the world, foreign in race, colour and culture, England has only one message—mastery and exploitation. The fundamental contradiction which intriques foreign students and victims of British policy is Liberalism. The rank and file of English Liberals themselves are under the illusion nearly as much as foreigners. Liberals, however, who are prominent enough to form governments know better, or soon learn better. The illusion is this:—that because Liberalism is interested in the freedom of Englishmen, Liberals are interested in the freedom of the strangers who have been forcibly brought within the Empire. There is a Liberal Press which partly through hypocrisy, but mainly through intellectual muddlement, uses language which is essentially false. On behalf of Indians, Irishmen and Egyptians it makes impossible demands of the British Government—demands, the grant of which will reduce England to the position of Holland or Spain and will certainly put an end to the industrial prosperity and security which are the parent of Liberalism. This species of journalism does no harm to the Liberals, because no English statesman, Liberal or Tory, takes it seriously. But it causes incalculable damage to the objects of its sympathy. Piteous victims of the wish to believe, Indians and Egyptians, get into the habit of imagining that the *Manchester Guardian* represents the mind of England in reference to them more truly than the *Post*. It is the tragedy of illusion that has bred the long agony

of Moderatism in India. Moderates persist in taking the professions of British Liberalism at their face value and seek to define a national policy for India. The Moderates are the teachers of us all. They and we alike are now under the painful necessity of recognising that it is the *Post* that speaks the genuine meaning of England. There is no divergence between the acts of English Governments and the speech of the *Post*. The first lesson of political wisdom is to respect facts and to heed speech that is in consonance with reality. Toryism preaches no falsehood; Liberalism propagates error.

In this matter our admiration is all for Toryism. We do not like Toryism, but its brutal frankness is necessary for the good of India. It invites us to no easy path for national freedom, it offers us no fatal oplate. Toryism has no use for Mr. Sastri or for us except as loyal servants of His Majesty the King; nor has England. Now that Mr. Sastri has discovered the truth that loyalty to India is inconsistent with loyalty to the King acting through Mr. Baldwin's Government, the *Post* is perfectly right in insisting on the dismissal of the Indian from the Privy Council. An Englishman has two loyalties—to King and to Empire; and their conflict was resolved for him as long ago as the seventeenth century, when Charles I was executed. An Indian has two loyalties, but they are continuously coming into conflict. Kenya has brought vision to the leader of the Indian Moderates. In thought and speech he has chosen the loyalty to country; the *Morning Post* would force on him the visible consequences of his choice. It is inevitable. It is well.

Khadi Notes

Lancashire in India!

The *Hindu* of Madras published in its issue of 26th August a cable from its special correspondent in London. It says:—

"There are many signs that British labour is becoming increasingly alarmed about the export of textile machinery from Lancashire to India and other eastern countries, while the cotton industry there is experiencing an acute crisis resulting in hundreds of thousands of operatives working short time.

"The recent declarations of huge dividends by firms engaged in making textile machinery seems to have awakened labour to what they consider a serious menace to their future well-being. They begin to see that British capitalists can save themselves by transferring their manufacturing activities to India and even make greater profits by exploiting cheap Indian labour.

"This development has caused great anxiety to the British labour leaders who say it bodes no good to India because it is certain to intensify the existing movement for exploiting India."

But in the issue of the 28th of the same paper there appears another cable promising a bright future for Lancashire. It says:—

"The Swadeshi programme has broken down completely. There will be good crops and therefore plenty of money for people who are exceedingly short

September 12, 1923

of goods to patronise Lancashire; and huge orders will follow."

At the end the cable states that it is impossible to say whether this sort of talk is meant to raise drooping spirits.

The nations of the world must indeed have a poor opinion of a country which bankers after foreign cloth while crores of rupees worth of cloth produced in the mills at home lies idle.

It is no use blaming the masses for this. Any cloth put before them is consumed by a vast number of illiterate and poor people. If the *deshi* mills had taken part in the Swadeshi movement, foreign cloth would have stopped long ago; and they could have almost, if not wholly, saved themselves from the present difficulties.

It is an established fact that practically the same quantity of cloth is produced on handlooms as in mills in India. The millowners cannot be unaware of the great proportion of foreign yarn that is consumed in handlooms in India. They have allowed the whole of that field to remain in the hands of the foreigners whether owing to unprofitableness in the trade of finer yarns or any other reason.

A well-educated Mahratta gentleman has written two long letters to us bitterly complaining against the dealings of Indian mills after having taken some personal experience as a weaver of Indian-mill yarn. He has tested mills of good fame. None was found faultless. He specially mentions some mills and records his finding that the yarn sold to the hand-weavers never proves of the standard count. Hanks which should be 840 yards long are invariably found shorter by 100 or 200 yards and sometimes even more. The customer who determines the counts by the number of hanks in a bundle, ever finds himself deceived. Again, this educated weaver avers that yarn of inferior quality unfit for use in the mills is generally palmed off to handloom weavers. Thus the *deshi* mills lose their own credit by selling inferior and fraudulent yarns. Consequently foreign yarn, even if slightly dearer, is preferred and is found to be cheaper in the end. The weaver knows that it has always its full length and is stronger.

If pure Khadi has occupied to some extent the field of the *deshi* mills, a vaster field is yet lying before them which they can control. Why not manufacture here standard yarn and such other articles as sewing-threads worth lacs of rupees which are imported here from abroad? The prices of threads for sewing-machines are very high but no mills here have, to our knowledge, contemplated the manufacturing of these things so far. A few mills have recently begun to manufacture small balls of sewing-threads, but success will depend upon the excellence of their articles.

If even a few mill-owners with a little bit of Swadeshi instinct were to resolve to use only Indian cotton and Indian commodities as far as possible and to manufacture genuine and excellent goods and to exclude use of animal fat, it would go a long way to protect the *deshi* mill industry. They have now an opportunity to put their house in order before the foreign mills transgress upon their rights.

Kamala Charkha

A Calcutta Company manufacturing *charkhas* of the above name has recently advertised an automatic *charkha* called the 'Kamala *charkha* No. 5'. That has led to inquiries regarding its capacity and utility. The advertisement says that the *charkha* turns out 7 *tolas* of yarn an hour. The number of counts has not been made mention of. The information is therefore incomplete. If the number of counts of the yarn it turns out were 6, the quantity of length would be 88 yds per hour (1 *tola* of 1 c's = 21 yds, 21 yds \times 6 c's \times 7 *tolas* = 882). It would have been proper if the "Kamala *Charkha*" advertisers had given the output in length. The highest rate of an ordinary *charkha* has been recorded upto 540 yds. of c's upto 15 per hour. No other *Charkha* having greater speed has been known so far. We are corresponding with the authorities of the Company in this connection and those who wish to buy it would do well to await the result of our inquiry.

True Self-purification

Another letter regarding the economics of Khadi, giving fewer details but in no way less important than the one published in the last bulletin, comes from a Parsee gentleman of Bombay. He says:—

"We are two members in the family. Our annual cloth expenditure before the adoption of Khadi in the family was Rs. 150. After taking to Khadi the expenditure for the first year was Rs. 100, and in subsequent years it has come down to Rs. 40."

With reference to the incidental effect on the general expenditure of the household he confesses with noble promptness:—

"Formerly Rs. 150 to 200 were spent by me only on liquor. That expenditure is now completely stopped by the simple life we have begun to lead.

Regarding the washing expenses he says:—"In Bombay the expenses are the same; but in villages and the suburbs the expenses come to nil."

These short replies carry their own significant meaning. A great deal of hypocrisy is openly ascribed of late to Khadi-dressed people in newspapers. But those who indulge in sneers hardly do justice to the numerous instances of a permanent spirit of self-denial engendered by association with Khadi, as revealed in the above letter of a Parsi friend.

We wish the esteemed writer of this letter, whose self-denial would help to support fifteen to twenty labourers, had told us how he utilised his savings or whether he used the time saved from money-earning in some useful national activity. The Parsee community is known for its charitable instincts. But charity does not pre-suppose huge earnings in the East. Huge earnings on one side must necessarily mean bitter poverty on the other, and hence a necessarily bad economic arrangement. To bring about a proper adjustment a number of individuals must combine to do productive work to the maximum of their capacity and maintain themselves on the minimum of expenses. The *charkha* is the efficient remedy to bring about this adjustment. It deserves the earnest consideration of all.

Magenlal K. Gandhi

Colonisation

Kenya has decided a big question and it is right that adequate attention should be devoted to it. The British Government has declared that India has to go out of the Empire. But however big India may be for the Empire, the Empire itself is a small thing to her. India has managed to do without the Empire in the past and she would learn to do without it in the future. The Empire would not survive the loss of India, but India is not afflicted by a corresponding disability.

In or out of Empire, India however, has to decide the question of colonisation. We have always been a colonising people. Our colonisation no doubt, differed from the European, and the difference was to our credit. Our passage into new countries was not marked by the ruin and extirpation of the indigenous races. The distinction is worthy of note because the only print urged against Indian colonisation of East Africa, its peaceful character, is not a matter for reproach but for grateful pride. The settlement of our people in Africa and elsewhere is not an accident. It was inevitable, partly because the vitality of our civilisation is persistent and brooking no final denial, and partly because our surplus population demands an outlet. Colonisation being thus posited, we may indicate two conditions which should be fulfilled. No Indian should be permitted to go to an undeveloped country as a labourer. Politically and economically emigration of labour is wrong. Such emigration is an economic wrong to the persons concerned. The peculiarity of undeveloped countries is that a monetary economy—the only possible economy—makes the capitalist the master and the labourer a bondsman. The consequence is the exploitation of the emigrants and all the economic wrong-doing for which exploitation is responsible. The political disadvantage is equally grave. It is not to the interest of this country that our people should be sent out to foreign countries to labour for others as slaves. India is today being brought into disrepute all the Colonies over because of indentured labour. We must accept it as an essential part of a genuine Colonial policy that none of a lesser status than farmers should be allowed to leave India, and that in the countries to which they go lands must be available on which they might settle and thrive. We are an agricultural people and the central springs of our civilisation are in the family. If there is not land enough to receive and maintain the emigrants and their families, emigration should be prohibited altogether. This is the cardinal principle of all colonisation; wherever it was ignored the result was slavery, avowed or covert. Negroes in America and the indentured coolies from India are notable examples.

Second:—Emigration should be away from the British Empire. Paradoxical as it may seem, there is less protection for Indians within the Empire than outside. As for self-respect and the decent amenities of life, it is not surprising that existence under a foreign government, none of whose political purposes is served by our persecution, should be more tolerable than in the Empire. The clear hint to us, therefore, is that colonisation outside the Empire should be regulated and encouraged as far as it lies

in our power. As it happens, the lands with which we are connected by the great historical traditions of our colonial greatness lie near at hand, free of British control. The Islands of the East Indies, Java, Borneo, Sumatra are vast empty fertile lands where we once planted people and civilisation and where it should be possible for us to do so again. The exact methods and means of the new colonisation should not be beyond the capacity of the Congress to tackle.

Whittling Down

The process of whittling down has already commenced. The proposal that the Indian members of the Imperial Conference should withdraw has been modified at Mrs. Besant's meeting at Madras at requesting the Government of India to instruct Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to lodge a protest at the Conference and to withdraw if he be not allowed to do so. The lodging of a protest is all that is insisted on and thereafter the members may participate in the Conference. This is how our initial resolution is ever subsequently sickled over. Yet another typical resolution passed is that the principle of reciprocity be made the test question for candidates at the ensuing elections. Is there a single party or individual in India who questions this principle? Is it not sheer camouflage to put as an issue at an election what we know for certain every candidate without exception accepts? What is the meaning of putting forth as an issue that to which all competing candidates must return the same answer? The elections must necessarily turn in point of fact on other issues over which opinion is divided. The proposal therefore loses all meaning. Questions over which an assembly or parliament has jurisdiction can be made into issues for election thereto. To get men elected on a matter over which there is no controversy amongst ourselves to an assembly, admittedly incompetent to deal with it, is merely going round and round the same point without advancing forward.

Emperor Babar's will

The *Servant* has published the following from the will of Babar, the first of the great Moghul Emperors of India:—

"O my soul! People of diverse religions inhabit India; and it is a matter of thanks giving to God that the King of Kings has entrusted the Government of this country to you. It, therefore, behoves you that,—(1) You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, but administer impartial justice having due regard to the religious susceptibilities and religious customs of all sections of the people. (2) In particular, refrain from the slaughter of cows, which will help you to obtain a hold on the heart of the people of India. Thus you will bind the people of this land to yourself by ties of gratitude. (3) You should never destroy the places of worship of any community and always be justice-loving, so that the relation between the king and his subjects may remain cordial and there be peace and contentment in the land. (4) The propagation of Islam will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression. (5) Always ignore the mutual dissensions of Shias and Sunnis otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam. (6) Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year, so that the body politic may remain free from disease."

C.R.

The End

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Notes

Delhi

The decision of the Congress at Delhi was the only possible one under the circumstances. When Maulana Mahomedali who holds stronger views than myself regarding Councils, who holds in his broad chest the heart of Islam in India—when even he found it impossible to persuade and gave up the fight, it was final. I threw up the sponge at once. In reply to an urgent telegram on Saturday, when the Subjects Committee was sitting, I sent a reply advising that Maulana Mahomedali should be given complete freedom of judgment and action and that if he was keen for a compromise friends should follow his lead. I said it was clear that the nation must have the lesson of hard experience and that the usefulness of decisions was at an end. I said we had done our utmost and let us not any more stand in the way. I understand my telegram reached when Rajendrababu had just finished his speech coming to the same conclusion and that Vallabhbhai adopted and read my telegram in his own speech.

Maulana Mahomedali's reference to a message from Mahatmajl was nothing new or more than the well-known position which Mahatmajl always insisted upon: that policy should not be controlled from or be shaped to suit supposed opinions of men inside prison and that if leaders outside prisons felt convinced that any particular action was necessary in the interests of the country, they ought to take such action

without regard to his own opinion. The so-called message did not mean that in Maulana's opinion there was the slightest change in Mahatmajl's views, but on the contrary he made it clear that he was still for the entire programme.

The Peace Prize

Whether there is any truth in the rumour that the Nobel Prize for peace this year has been awarded to Mahatma Gandhi I cannot say. But this is true that since the commencement of the Christian era the man who has done the greatest practical service to the cause of peace in the world is Mahatma Gandhi. If the Prize is to be awarded not to the man who invents the most terrible explosive or the most effective engine from which to deal death and devastation or, which is the same thing, to the man who arranges the most effective ententes and combinations among governments which make war more deadly when it breaks out after being averted for some time, if on the other hand the man who has shaped, tested and given to the innocent a powerful weapon with which to guard the rights of man without shedding blood and who has thereby made a solid and permanent contribution to peace in the world should have the award, then Gandhi is the one man in the world deserving the prize.

Not for peace alone, but if a prize were to be awarded for the greatest service to religion in general or Christianity in particular, the man who showed the way of converting the theory of Christian conduct into actual practice and made it a solvent of national as well as individual wrong, that prize should go to Gandhi.

Peace is Love

Peace is the triumph of truth, not armed neutrality which is but a shell enclosing deadly war thirsting for the match to be struck. Peace is not the triumph of coercion which suppresses truth and freedom and holds down their self-expression. If that were so, the Nobel Prize should go to the Government which has secured such peace in India. Suppression of unrest is not peace. It is but the climax of war's ugly triumph. Both Christ and Gandhi brought grief and unrest into man's mind, in the family and the nation.

True peace is the triumph of love over anger, suffering over violence, innocence over crime. And this Gandhi has helped to accomplish as no man in recent times has done and as scientifically as Pasteur and Lister did in their work, discovering, practising

lasting and permanently benefitting humanity. It was Gandhi's Satyagraha that saved India from bloody revolution and murder during the Great War. It was his message from the East that saved Europe from war and revolution again when France invaded Germany this year.

The prize however for such teachings is not a Nobel Prize or a crown or a pension, but a cup of hemlock or a crown of thorns and the cross or of slow death in prison. Gandhi has had his prize this day eighteen months ago. The Nobel Prize judges would be performing a superhuman act of justice to be recorded in history if they should honour their trust by recognising the service to humanity of one whom great and powerful Britain is holding within prison walls as its greatest enemy. She would exercise all her direct and indirect influence to prevent such an exposing of her own crime unless indeed Gandhi is wanted to act as policeman in India during another European war.

Misfortune

It looks as if we must abandon now all hope of a united and effective political programme for Congressmen and Liberals. I have no hesitation in saying that the chief cause of this is Mr. Shastri's illness. The doctors have shut him up at Bangalore as effectively as Government has shut up Mahatmajl at Yeravda. He can see nobody, receive no letters nor read newspapers. This has effectively prevented the planning of strong and united action which seemed so near. Mr. Shastri's friends have proved not half as determined as they ought to have been. A great and historic opportunity seems almost lost by this accident of an individual's illness. Even the resignation of the members of the Imperial Conference which Mr. Shastri recommended so strongly in his statement has fallen a prey to omnivorous parliamentarianism. The proposal has been effectively nullified by the counter-suggestion of lodging a protest.

The Only Way

What then should we do? The supreme yet the simplest duty is spinning. Nothing can be more shameful to India than if she should fail to complete the boycott of foreign cloth even after Kenya. This is the magic key for Swaraj, for national honour, for equality among the peoples of the world, for unity among ourselves—he key that will open the gate of Yeravda jail as well. No committee will help us to boycott. The spinning wheel religiously taken up in every patriotic or self-respecting household will alone effect the boycott which everybody now wants. Not in high-roofed halls or on platforms, but in the cottage have we to win our battle. What we want is not mere benevolent toleration, not the "I have also Khaddar at home" attitude, nor the "will you get me some Khaddar?" support, but the hum of the wheel heard everywhere in answer to Britain's insult—the hum that means irresistible revolution.

Inquiry Committee Arrested

Of the many wonderful uses to which Government has put the Security Sections of the Criminal

Procedure Code the last instance is worthy of being recorded. The Committee deputed by the Shiromani Committee to enquire into police excesses in the Doaba in Punjab have been arrested as likely to cause a breach of peace. One of them is the Secretary of Central Sikh League and others are important members of the Sikh Shiromani Committee's executive. Thus his official crime been effectively protected from disclosure. C. R.

The Boycott of British Goods

The *Indian Social Reformer* valvly suggests that the current rumours about the release of Mahatmajl, current in Bombay and Delhi, may be founded on the fear of the Government that the boycott of British goods will be accepted by the Congress and that Gandhiji if free may be trusted to turn down any such proposal. It is well known no doubt that he is opposed to any programme of the boycott of British goods, and it is extremely likely that the advocate of the boycott will find in him a resolute and probably fatal opponent. But speculations about the necessity of his discharge from prison for this specific (though unavowed) reason are based on the assumption that the boycott has in it possibilities of success on a considerable scale. We do not for a moment grant the soundness of this assumption. Our objection to the proposed boycott is clear. We are not going to put our position on the doctrine of hatred. Not that it is not right and respectable enough, but it rouses the laughter of scoffers, and loyalty does not help serious thought or reasoning. But we do not wish to avoid the implications of personal loyalty and appeal. The fact that Mahatmajl threw the whole weight of his authority against the disposal, is a consideration that cannot be lightly dismissed. When all is said and done, his word and direction are of sweeping worth. It was his appeal that brought to political birth millions in this country. To them his opposition counts vitally and none of them thinks any the worse of him (in fact it is a matter of virtue) because he said it was an evil thing to breed hatred. But let that pass. We are prepared to put our opposition on sound practical grounds. Dismiss the motive, what is it that is left? A demand for boycott casts on the Congress and its officials a stupendous work to which we think they are not reasonably equal. The Khaddar Resolution was framed as necessitating the boycott of a specific article of import, yarn and cloth. The conception included the import from all foreign countries, but as practical proposition the vast bulk of textile imports is from Great Britain.

We do not deny the spread of Khaddar, but we have to confess in all frankness that we failed in our attempts to secure a rigid boycott of foreign, mainly British textiles. If we stick to it there may be a chance some day of making the boycott of cloth complete. But we have not succeeded so far. What we however fail to see is: with what justification we who failed in the smaller adventure can undertake the bigger? It is a mere impotent threat without the substance of reality.

The Future

The Special Congress leaves the political future of the country in a state of obscurity and bewilderment. The problem of Hindu-Moslem unity gives grave reason for anxiety, but it is hardly a political question; it is the very foundation of all political programmes. All that we can predict is on the assumption that a formula of healing is found satisfying the two great communities. The absence of goodwill will leave us not with a prospect but with chaos. At the time of writing we are not quite out of the woods, but a few broad lines of emergence and salvation are barely visible.

The policy of the Congress towards the Government has assumed two different shapes. Officially it is going to have nothing to do with the Councils; but the permission granted to a section of Congressmen for contesting the elections and taking their seats in the Councils, with the knowledge that the permission will be availed of to the uttermost limit, cannot absolve the Congress from a genuine responsibility in the matter. On the other hand, the resolution on Civil Disobedience has committed the great national institution to a positive programme or the possibility of a programme in Civil Revolution, much farther and much radical than any defined by Mahatmaji himself. As the background of both Council entry and Civil Disobedience, the Constructive Programme has been affirmed with a suggestion of greater faith and virility than at any time after Bardoli.

The protagonists of Civil Revolt and Council entry have embraced one another publicly and we are willing to hope that the friendship thus established will leave the psychological atmosphere free from the taint of bitterness. The principles, however, of the two policies—one: Civil Disobedience immediately and *simpliciter*, and two: Civil Disobedience, the atmosphere for which has to be worked up through the Councils, remain interlocked in a life and death struggle. Maulana Mahomedali is a man of action, an elemental force with a fine disregard for formulae, and his genius may yet resolve the conflict in a perfectly unexpected manner, by a method that he could not define to-day, but on which he might stumble by the sheer force of circumstances.

Councils and Civil Disobedience are irreconcilable; but both of them are intelligible. Of Councils we have spoken often enough. Whatever the Swaraj party's programme, the Extremists of that school, the men who through the triumphant months of Non-cooperation nursed their faith in secret and refused to despair, are pointing their fingers to Constitutionalism. In one way or another they would return to the attack again and again till they succeed in infecting the country with their own zeal and in capturing the Congress and making it into a political caucus. We do not believe for a minute that the last word was said at Delhi in the dealings between Constitutionalists and the Congress. Now that they have been permitted to enter the Councils, though in their own right, they are sure to assemble together at Coconada and ask

what they should do. They would submit themselves to the authority of the Congress and pray for directions, and who can blame them for doing so. Whether Maulana Mahomedali would permit the Congress to issue the instructions asked for, we do not know. He may refuse to have anything more to do with the "accursed thing" feeling that he had gone far enough. The logic of the course would, however, be in favour of the petitioners, and it is quite likely that political expediency may once more be permitted to triumph over the demand of rigid principle.

But we confess that it is the policy of immediate Civil Disobedience that fills us with a certain degree of anxiety. We refuse to counteract the cynical plea that the resolution on that question was intended as an eye-wash meant for the consolation of discontented No-changers. If the Committee appointed by the Congress fails to act there will be no Civil Disobedience and the Congress will have no policy of its own. The worst that would happen will be the continuation of the political malaise that has characterised the months after Gaya. But in our humble judgment the presence of Maulana Mahomedali in the Committee is a sufficient guarantee against inaction and the utter lack of an exciting fighting programme. From a personal as well as a public point of view he cannot afford to be content with the *mantram* of paralysis. In all frankness it is just his speed and volcanic energy that have to be reckoned with in the future of Civil Disobedience. In the general atmosphere of riots and bloodshed, to which Hindu-Moslem troubles have given birth, it would be useful to remind ourselves that our policy is *non-violent* Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience. Mahatmaji preached *Ahimsa* during many years. His words and action, fasts and penances, personal sacrifice and sufferings, the whole dislocation of his programme on the least show of violence had convinced the popular mind that violence was not only bad policy and a crime but also made his programme impossible. His refusal to traffic with it on any terms for any purpose had gripped the popular imagination. The lesson of Bardoli was that however high the chance of success, however dear the price, he would not hesitate to sacrifice the apparent success of a whole campaign for his one condition of *Ahimsa*. The lesson was truly learnt in 1922. The silence, the very apathy with which the news of his arrest was received by India, was proof positive that the moral of Bardoli was perceived at its true and terrible worth. But let no one commit the mistake of imagining that the lesson of non-violence is easy to learn or being once learnt may not be forgotten with fatal ease. Revolutions in human nature do not come that way. Guru-ka-Bagh and Nagpur indicate that the lesson of Gandhism is not altogether forgotten. But it would be dangerous to infer that the self-control of a set battle will be present amid the convulsions of mass Civil Disobedience. It becomes, therefore, the duty of men with final authority to assert once more the supreme need of non-violence. We do not say that a programme of Civil Disobedience should be postponed indefinitely because

of the possible outbreak of violence. But we are clear that no such campaign can succeed amidst riots and bloodshed. Whoever has ultimate control should have courage, determination and ability enough to stop it on the slightest manifestation of force.

Young India

20-9-23

Sudarshan

Our follies, our sorrows and our humiliations have been many. Doubt and distraction threatened to bring national feeling to the verge of despair. In the midst of this darkness, God's scourge came in the shape of Kenya. The chastisement has served to make the scales drop from off our eyes. The light which is now but a ray of hope will presently break forth into dawn, and soon shine like the noon-day sun—if but we remain true to the Master who brought courage and hope to us in the hour of our greatest misery.

We have thrown off belief in aught but our own self-exertion. A rigorous examination of all the weapons available and plans of action possible has been made by leaders of all shades of opinion. The immediate thing to which every kind of examination has so far led is Khaddar, and only Khaddar. All other is mere demonstration of but little avail. I am aware that many leaders and newspapers have been urging not Khaddar but boycott of British goods. Call it by any name you like, the sovereign remedy is Khaddar. Anger may give it other names; but the substance of it, when it comes to action as distinguished from words, is Khaddar. It is impractical to talk of boycott of all foreign or even of all British goods. Situated as we are, it is futile to think of anything but cloth when seeking to deal a swift and effective blow. The one industry which we can organise by ourselves and at once and with which we can hit without depending on others, is cloth. It is at the same time the largest British interest in India. The attack will be irresistible.

Swadeshi is not Retaliation any more than cleaning one's own house is retaliation against the flies and other pests that swarm on account of the dirt. But let it be Retaliation if you like—for there is no need to fight about words—retaliation of any other kind would be fruitless. On the other hand, Swadeshi would not only have all the advantages claimed for retaliation but be the firm foundation for permanent freedom and national prosperity.

There is no need to dilute the national programme in order to meet the case of cloth made in Indian mills. This is the real difference between Khaddar as preached by Mahatmaji and the Swadeshi meant by some others. The advantages of inclusion of mill cloth would be more than balanced by disadvantages. Mill cloth means mostly consumption of foreign yarn, and this is going back to Lancashire. The supply of genuine Indian mill-spun and India-woven cloth would be within the reach of the poor of our country

only under the stress of adequate competition. The exclusion of foreign piece-goods will leave the poor at the mercy of the mills unless another check is found. The adequate production of charkha yarn and cottage-woven cloth is such a check. This can be stimulated only if we give Khaddar the national and religious importance which Mahatmaji and the Congress have sought to give it.

The scope for cottage-spinning and cottage-weaving is in our country practically unlimited. It can easily replace a great part at once and soon the whole of the foreign imports that have been supplying our wants. The substitution of imports by cottage labour is possible of immediate and swift accomplishment, if only we all, realising the supreme potency of Khaddar now, direct our united energies to it.

It will save national honour. It will "hit" England while it will also make the lives of the poor in India fuller and happier. Let us not be misled by false analogies of other countries of the West where machinery is more easy of handling than cottage labour. India is different from those countries. Western countries do not export "coolies": India does. In the West the masses are never idle: here millions are without work during seasons. In the West leisure time is utilised in many ways in the home: in our present plight it had best be used to wring justice from England.

Let us all unite over the charkha, not only the so-called Congress parties, but even the extra-Congress parties; for every one now asks for boycott, and if one excludes foreign yarn as well as foreign weaving labour, Khaddar is the only way to boycott. In Khaddar, then, we should give form and colour to the unity born of Kenya.

The sovereign talisman for Hindu-Muslim unity is united and strenuous work, and in Khaddar there is scope for the united and strenuous work of all communities as in nothing else. The settling of disputes is a remedial measure; defensive strengthening may help an armed neutrality and prevent loot and outrage; but strenuous work in a common programme of production will bring about true unity.

Take then the charkhas out. Let them hum. It is the need of the hour, the sovereign elixir. It will bring peace where there has been turmoil, it will bring unity where there has been division, cooperation where there has been suspicion and hatred. It will wring justice from the unjust. The hum of the spinning-wheel everywhere is the most effective and the noblest agitation we can organise against the ignoble and wicked anti-Indian spirit of this Empire.

We all want Mahatmaji out of prison. But is there a shadow of doubt that if he came out now and moved amidst rejoicings and demonstrations from Peshawar to Rameshwar, from Karachi to Gauhati, the one insistent word on his lips, the one clarion call would be to spin, to spin?

C. R.

Young India

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Problems of Indian Agriculture-II

The Incubus on Indian Agriculture

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One of the greatest handicaps on Indian agriculture to-day is the Land-Revenue policy of the Indian Government, over and above the general attitude of unconcerned aloofness that the present Government is unavoidably obliged to maintain, thanks to its composition and tradition, in all questions pertaining to social reform in this country. Land is the foundation of economic life in India; and without a whole-hearted attempt at facing the agrarian problems of the day, there can be no hope of social reform in this country. The time is indeed past, happily, when Indian protagonists of Land Revenue Reform had to waste their energy in arguing the simple proposition: that the land belongs to the people who live upon it. There may, possibly, be surviving still in some remote backwaters of officialism some fossils of the Governmental museums, who still believe that the land in India belongs to the Government, that the right to cultivate conceded to the peasant is a matter of official grace, that the State, viz., the present British Government in India, is entitled at pinch to take up the whole produce of the land for the need of the Government and that consequently the claim of land revenue is not in the nature of taxation so much as a demand for dividends in a proprietary concern, which is let out to the actual operatives for the sake of convenience in cultivation. But the fact that governments have come and gone for ages past, while the land has remained in the hands of those who live upon it and work for it, that the most rigorous policy of land revenue assessment has had yet to recognise the cultivator's proprietary rights in land so far at least as to permit him a free, unfettered right to sell, or will, or bequeath, or mortgage, or partition, or in any other way deal with the land according to his need and convenience, not to mention the absolute discretion in the method and season and crop for cultivation which the cultivator has enjoyed and must always enjoy if the land is to be at all productive; that the claim of exclusive or even joint proprietorship in land by government would suggest an intensity of land revenue demand which not the most bigoted champions of the governmental proprietorship dare advance without condemning the land to perpetual and

premature barrenness—must all show that the idea of any proprietary rights in the land by the government of the day as an excuse for collecting the land revenue as the rent due to the land-lord, is as much an anachronism in history as it is injurious in national economy. We do not, indeed, refuse the sovereign claim of the community collectively over all the possessions of the community and its individual members. We do not deny the basis of taxation in all modern civilised community, wherein the conception of the State has not yet been made coterminous with the consciousness of corporate life and activities of the community, and where accordingly, instead of the government, as representing the organised State, becoming the promoter and manager of all communal activities on a collectivist basis, must so far retain the semblance of the State being ultimately founded on brute-force as to obtain the wherewithal for its activities by a species of predatory activities called compulsory contributions or taxes. But to admit the sovereign authority of the State for purposes of taxation of individual wealth is quite different from conceding the proprietary rights of the government in the most important asset of a community, whether jointly or exclusively. For, in the former case taxes are a manifest species of brigandage, which the growing consciousness of the community would try naturally to restrict as far as possible, and thereby limit its radius of utility (the substitutes for taxation, and the basis for those substitutes we are not in this place concerned with). In a moment of supreme necessity, recognised as such by the community, it may quite possibly be that the degree of tax-burdens is suffered to increase till it becomes difficult to distinguish between taxation and proprietary claims. But even so, there is always a limit beyond which the screwing up of tax-burdens cannot proceed; and, if the need still continues, taxes would have to be reinforced by substitutes like loans which would aim at transferring a part of the present burden to posterity. In the fundamental justice or justice of this procedure we have no interest for the moment. All we must note is that tax-burdens at their highest point, being frankly admitted to be brigandage politely disguised, every effort will normally be made to

reduce them as soon as the compelling and overriding need has passed. Proprietary claims, on the other hand, are necessarily permanent. They are increased with every increase in the prosperity of the property, and never diminished, no matter how deep the adversity, if the claim is to a share or whole of the net profit conventionally agreed to. Had the land revenue demand been in the nature of proprietor's rent it would leave nothing for the cultivator or any one connected in any capacity with the land, except the bare charges of cultivation. Because it is a tax, no matter however high, it has to recognise the ownership of the immediate cultivator, and fashion its demand according to and conditioned by this central fact of individual ownership.

But while the dispute as to whether the land revenue in India is a tax or a species of economic rent, claimed in virtue of proprietary right vested in the government, is of no material importance to-day, its bare influence is even now visible in the general policy affecting the Land Revenue. The late Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, who first raised this question, bestowed a lot of learning and labour upon considering the question whether the best solution for the evils of modern Indian agriculture would be on the Bengal Zamindari model, or on the Bombay and Madras Ryotwari model. Land Revenue assessors or Settlement officers had, indeed, before then, discussed the general question from a variety of standpoints, when the first settlement of every province, as it came under the British dominion, was taken in hand. But such a consideration, though instructive from the point of view of the student of history, is now antiquated, as the real impoverishment of the cultivating classes proper, is almost equal under either system, and needs to be remedied by more radical measures than a mere recasting of the form. The split of the land revenue demand must alter. When the first permanent settlement was made by Lord Cornwallis with the Bengal zemindars,—a settlement which is now the object of almost insane veneration by those who have benefitted under it,—the decisive motive was not to secure the abiding prosperity of the agricultural classes, and through them of the country at large, but rather a measure of stability and permanency and reliability in the finances of the East India Company, which had been brought into a state of chronic deficit—thanks to the greed and infidelity of its principal servants—as also to the increasing lust for conquest and annexation. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, fixed the demand for the State at 90% of the total collections by the zemindar, leaving the latter only ten per cent to indemnify him for the expenses of collections and the risks of failure. The zemindars agreed to the unconscionable demand because they had no alternative, and partly also because the demand was promised to be unalterably fixed for all time to come. They thus discounted in a measure the future prosperity of the land in agreeing to a present excessive demand, whose very excess was a fatal objection to its being made a standard for other provinces. This great measure, therefore, was, in its inception, not quite so liberal as it has subsequently proved to be

for no fault of the authors of that measure. A double current of opposition to its ground principles led to innovations in other settlements, which could be summarised as under:—

(a) The percentage of the initial demand was reduced to five-sixth, two-thirds and eventually to one-half the net produce of the estate, thus tacitly admitting the fundamental injustice of the first settlement which has proved a boon merely by an accident.

(b) The discounting of future prosperity in favour of the land-lord or the cultivator was to be stopped by direct dealings with the cultivator in respect of each individual field as far as possible, and settling the State demand only for a term of years. The liability to revision and enhancement which was thus postulated, became the strongest constituent of the incubus which now rests upon the land of India in many parts of the country.

As regards the extent of the share that the government representative, the State is entitled to take, a good deal of argument has been expended in the past, and is liable to be wasted even to-day. The question was in the last generation needlessly complicated by reference to the previous practice under the Hindu and the Muhammedan rulers—needlessly, we say, because the conditions of the past have no counterpart in modern India. In the past Land Revenue was practically the only form of public receipts, while public expenditure in a variety of useful forms had to be constantly maintained at a high level directly or indirectly to enrich the country. Land was not in those days barren of the industry which is now only a memory of the past, and thus was not the only employment of the people, who must face starvation if but a single season failed to bring its quota of rainfall. And the commerce of the country was not then a species of imperceptible and insidious drain that only resulted in intensifying the poverty of the country by sending away all the resources of a profitable industry and making the country dependant even for the most elementary requirements of civilised life upon foreign imports, what time the country had within itself every reasonable facility for producing in their finished stage those very imports. And above all, the upper classes and the governing caste was not then, as now unfortunately it is, a total stranger to the country, intent only upon its allotted form of immediate duty. The upper classes and governmental representatives in those days necessarily spent whatever they raised from the country within the country itself. Their vices as well as virtues helped to return the stream of wealth back to the pockets of the people from whom it was then as now derived. But to-day, unfortunately, a substantial portion of the stream is either diverted in its entirety to an outside country in the shape of the Home Charges, never again to return, or is spent on unnational purposes, like the maintenance of a colossal military machine, of which the people of India stand in no need. Finally, in the total revenue resources of the Indian Government to-day, Land Revenue, though still an important form of public income, is by no means the most considerable single item; and if the trend of modern developments

continues unbroken, may quite possibly cease to be even of second-rate importance in the budgets of the Indian Government. The analogy, therefore, between the practice in regard to the land revenue demand of the previous administrations and the present day government is utterly unacceptable.

The chief reason, however, why the discussions on land revenue of the past generation are not so overwhelmingly important to-day is the absence in those discussions of any sufficient attention to the standpoint of the cultivator, to the needs of the general agrarian economy, to the demands of the total economic life of the country at large viewed in gross. Whether or not the present day practice corresponds to that under the Mauryas or the Moghuls is immaterial, so long as we think of only the need of the State. To the people at large, the more important question is: how does the demand of the State affect the earning or productive capacity of the land on which it falls, what staying power it leaves and fosters in the class that must meet this demand, in what degree does the assessment and collection of the demand encourage the main industry and occupation of the people, and what guarantees does it anomalously afford for the promotion of that industry and its prosperity in the future. The soil of India is by no means so poor or exhausted, in spite of five thousand years of continued cultivation; the agricultural science of the people and their practices are by no means so ill-informed or unsuitable, unscientific or wasteful; the rest of the natural environment, including climate and drainage, is by no means so unfavourable, but that the unit productivity of the land in India could with diligence be brought to the same high pitch as is the case in other less favoured but more energetic and economic countries. Why then should India lag behind agriculturally? Why should its productive capacity per acre be one-fifth of that common in Britain or America or Germany? Why should the total produce per annum of three hundred millions of God's creatures in this country, endowed in all outward respects with the same organs and intelligence as their semblances in other countries, should only amount to less than 50 rupees per head—an income insufficient to afford even one full rich meal per twenty-four hours, let alone adequate clothing and decent human house-room—when the corresponding earning capacity in some other countries is five, ten, twenty, and even hundred times as much? There is, to our mind, no other explanation, but that the basic principles of taxing this one great industry of India have been utterly lost sight of, till the Land Revenue policy of the Indian Government is a welter of unsuitable, anachronistic, anomalous requirements and ideals.

For, let us consider the basis of land taxation. Postulating the existence of private property in land, which, indeed, under the present commercial organisation of society all the world over is impossible to avoid—we must observe that any tax which falls on anything but the clearest net product must prove unfair. You may call this net product the "Economic

Rent" with the English classical economists, or the "Produit Net" with the French Philosophers of the pre-revolutionary era, or the "Net Assets of the Estate" with some of the pundits of the Indian Land Revenue Settlement in certain provinces. But the basic fact is common all over. The tax must be based on the Net Income from land. And the definition of the Net Income will make allowance, not merely for the usual expenses of cultivation that being visible are easy to calculate, such as the cost of seed, the wages of labour if any, the maintenance of cattle, the cost of manure and water, the interest on capital borrowed for any implements or improvements; it must also make allowance for a liberal measure of the necessities of the life and efficiency for the agriculturist himself and his family, before a really reliable Net Income can be calculated. A field to field settlement is thus necessarily defective and injurious, since it must unavoidably rest upon calculations of gross produce, with rough, empiric, *ad hoc* allowance for the more visible channels of the expenses of cultivation. A Land Revenue Assessment, which fails to take into account the subjective side of the question; which fails to view the operation as it appears from the stand-point of the agriculturist, is bound to prove injurious. And that is precisely what the Indian system of Land Revenue assessment does in all those provinces where the Permanent Settlement was refused, and where the periodical revisions, to be facilitated, have unavoidably to view the operations from the false standpoint of the field, in preference to that of the owner and his condition. To the credit of some Anglo-Indian statesmen let it be recorded, that the inherent injustice of the existing principles of the Land Revenue demand has not gone altogether unperceived even in official quarters. Mr. Samuel Laing, an early Finance Minister of India wrote in a minute dated April 7th, 1862:—

"We do not exist as a government merely to get the largest revenue we can out of the country, or even to keep the mass of the country in a uniform dead level, though it should be a tolerably happy and contented one as a peasant tenantry under a paternal government. If we give a permanent settlement,..... we lay foundations of a state of society, not perhaps so easily managed, but far more varied and richer in the elements of civilisation and progress..... Nor do I see any reason to fear the effects on revenue. It may be true that we shall not get so much revenue as if we had kept the increase or rent in our own hands, at any rate for the next twenty or thirty years when it is sure to be rapidly increasing. But I have no fear of our being able to get revenue enough, provided certain conditions are observed in our land settlement; and I am by no means sure that it is desirable for a government to appropriate a larger share of the income of the country, or get money more easily, than is really essential to meet the proper objects of the government."

It may be disputed what precisely Mr. Laing meant by revenue adequate to meet the proper objects of government. But there can be no dispute on the categorical pronouncement of the Secretary of State, on the general question of fixing the Land

Revenue Demand permanently once for all, made in the same year, in the first flush of British Liberalism, after the trying experiences of the last Indian War of Independence.

"After the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may be reasonably expected to accrue, not only to those immediately connected with land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them; and that a settlement in perpetuity in all districts in which the conditions absolutely required as preliminary to such measure are, or may hereafter be fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to develop the resources of India." (Despatch dated July 9, 1862.)

Unfortunately this measure of sound policy became unacceptable in course of time, as the official world in India came to consider more and more fully the advantages of having a dead level of unredeemed poverty from the standpoint of convenience to an alien ruler. And so in 1883 the idea was finally interred by an official fiat of the "Home Authorities"—ironically enough under the otherwise sympathetic administration of Lord Ripon. We are not here concerned with the relative merits of the Permanent and the Temporary Settlements of Land Revenue, and all the natural offshoots of either system, except only in this regard: that however erroneously a permanent settlement of Land Revenue may have been originally conceived the healing force of time is on its side, and smooths away the initial defects and injustice by the growth of subsequent prosperity; whereas in a settlement which permits of periodical revision, however liberally the revision may be made, the initial injustice and the fundamental vice of modern governments, intent upon getting the most

considerable revenues, cannot but assert themselves and be intensified in spite of the best wishes to befriend the agricultural classes on the part of the settlement and other Land Revenue officers. We shall examine, in a separate supplement some of the basic ideas of the permanent and temporary settlements, as well as consider the offshoots already developed as characteristic under either settlement. In the present instance it is enough to observe, that the demand for land revenue reform, which in our judgment is unpardonably overdue, will have missed all its significance if it loses sight of the cardinal principles: viz.

(1) That the actual form of settlement, permanent or temporary, is immaterial so long as the entire process of settlement does not turn on the fundamental idea of considering the settlement subjectively from the standpoint of the agriculturist rather than objectively from the standpoint of the unit or holding of cultivation;

(2) That the Land Revenue like any other form of taxation must remember the other essential requirements of distributive justice in allocating tax-burdens, and consider the effect of that tax, not merely by itself but in its proper perspective as one of a body of several taxes, ultimately payable by the same community;

(3) That in this connection the consideration of the effect of the Land Tax upon the general wealth or earning capacity of the tax-payer must be equally considered, and no demand, which reduces that ability of the tax-payer directly by compelling him to give up cultivation as an unprofitable occupation or indirectly by so weakening his resources as to incapacitate him from the usual normal recompense an improvement of his holding, should be permitted. K.

The End

The raising of the ban on the entry into the Councils marks the end of a great experiment. The Calcutta Special Congress decided that the British Government in India should be paralysed by the voluntary refusal by Indians to keep it going. As a method of political action it was magnificent. Read what Mr. W. H. Roberts says in the *Political Science Quarterly* :—

"I wish to insist upon the overwhelming grandeur of the ideal. Gandhi's vision of a revolution to liberate three hundred million people, achieved not through war or violence but primarily through a moral regeneration, is surely one of the most magnificent that was ever open to human aspiration. And it could not have been resisted by the most stupendous accumulations of materials of war.

"Had his people been capable spiritually of such a programme as Gandhi demanded they would have been irresistible and no one could have denied their spiritual leadership of the world."

The programme was not merely magnificent but the understanding of it is possible only against the broad background of recent Indian history.

For, consider:—Gandhism, though familiar to the world since the days of South Africa, arrived in India as a political force late in the second decade of the twentieth century. It was the Rowlatt Act which brought Mahatmaji and the Government of India into serious conflict for the first time. The passing of that Act was a national wrong to prevent which all lawful and constitutional methods were exhausted. Force was no remedy. The suggestion was made by Mahatmaji that where force was not available, non-violent resistance may do. The object was to paralyse the Government. With that point of departure it was proposed that the administration should be attacked in the sphere of law and justice. Civil Disobedience was really a positive aggressive attack on law. Disobedience to the Rowlatt Act was refused straight away, but that was not all. A force was organised with the avowed purpose of breaking laws. The very preparation for the campaign brought about disaster. Violence broke out on a large scale. Mahatmaji stopped the movement.

Then came the Khilafat movement. Mahatmaji refused to have anything to do with Civil Disobedience. Refusal to help was substituted for attack. Instead of breaking laws the country was called upon to withhold the voluntary assistance without which the machinery of Government could not go on for a moment. The difference was not only in the manner of paralysing the Government but also in the number engaged. In Civil Disobedience a selected number of people offered themselves, the individual sacrifice being big. They were soldiers and the risk which they ran was their own, but the benefit of their sacrifice would accrue to the whole nation. In non-cooperation the whole nation was called upon to undergo sacrifice whose individual incidence was small. Withdrawing children from schools was a sacrifice, but it was less than that offered by a man going to prison for six months. The programme was conceived in stages, but the response to it was comparatively negligible. It

was small but its smallness did not prevent its developing forces of gigantic power and magnitude. The few lawyers and students who joined the movement were consumed by a crusading zeal and the authority of the Government began visibly to crumble. The programme failed, but the principle brought into being giants in strength, bravery and revolt. According to our mind the last great act of non-cooperation came early in 1921 when the students of Bengal came out. After that the day's specific programme changed from time to time, but there was never again a concentrated drive to make men give up titles, lawyers their practice, students their colleges or Government servants their occupation. These things happened all along, but they were the eddies in the vast current. The main flow went its way—organisation (Bezwa-da Programme), Khaddar and good deal besides. The spirit of the nation was in full flood, but it is careful to note that no effort was made to paralyse the Government by organising a strike amongst Government servants. The Fatwa declaring as *haram* service of the Government in its military and civil aspects was only an incident.

When Mahatmaji announced that he was going to prepare for Civil Disobedience in Bardoli, a new prospect was opened out. Though the word was that of 1919, the fact was altogether new. It was an amalgam of the 1919 Satyagraha and the non-cooperation of 1920. He selected an area for there were heroic and obscure features of the great repression; but we wish to fasten upon one fact. The manner of the fight had nothing to do either with non-cooperation or with the Civil Disobedience contemplated at Bardoli. The nation went back to the simpler weapon forged to fight the Rowlatt Act. The notification of the Government penalising volunteers was defied establishing *Swaraj* within it by non-violent coercion. He proposed to isolate it from the British Empire. He said that he would get the local agents of the Government to transfer their loyalty to him and he intended to go on with the administration prepared to face everything.

But it never came to pass. The adventure of the Criminal Law Amendment Act prevented the great consummation. But Chauri Chaura proved once again the danger of Civil Disobedience to the maintenance of peace. The question once more came up: can the nation be ever educated in Gandhian non-violence?

The Bardoli Programme was Mahatmaji's answer. It went deeper and further than any that he himself had so far imagined. The Constructive Programme is the essential condition of Civil Disobedience.

Non-cooperation may be possible without the Constructive Programme, but not Civil Disobedience. What has happened now is that the programme suspended in March 1922 is formally if not finally repudiated. We have no illusion about it, whatever resolutions may say.

It is the end of a noble, world-defying effort and tears are no sign of weakness in them who, remembering the hope of the dawn and the power of the day, are now fated to watch the last dipping of the sun in

sad and confused light-parade of our sorrows and lapse into paralysis! A thousand times no. Whether we go forward or not, the country cannot remain where she is. But it is a time of anxiety. There are two courses open:—Constitutionalism or Civil Disobedience. But the fate of the country is in Maulana Mahomedali's hands. We would confidently leave it there praying and trembling.

Notes

(Continued)

Torture in India

Mr. Shivam, the indefatigable Secretary of Bombay City G. Ward District Congress Committee, who himself served his term as prisoner in the C. P., sends for publication a statement from another Satyagrahi prisoner regarding prison treatment in that province. The deponent is a Studhi volunteer who was incarcerated in Chanda jail. I give the statement without any correction whatever:—

"The Chanda jail is to C. P. what notorious Visapur jail is to Bombay. The Jailor was calling the Satyagrahi Volunteers by all sorts of names. The Penal Diet given as punishment was made by dropping *Jowari Atta* and salt into hot water. The Jailor had instructed the convict warder to report against short-working men something or other every half an hour. There was no privacy in the latrine. Two had to sit close together without partition in the middle. Those who failed to eat the full quantity of meal given were given punishment. Also those who picked out any dirt or mire from the 'Boli' or 'Dhal' and threw it out without eating same were punished. There was no privacy arrangements whatsoever in the Barracks during night. If uncontrollable persons used to ease themselves with the pant on in the sleeping position and keep holding the soiled portion aloof by one hand throughout the night. Standing hand cuffs were attached high on the wall and persons had to stand in the leaning posture all day. If during the day they wanted water to drink long delays were deliberately made in supplying same. Further they should ask for it only once and if they asked a second time owing to the delay they were punished for it. Half an hour's delay used to generally occur. Hand cuffs behind the back for two or three weeks night and day at a stretch (except during meal, W. C. and privy) used to be administered. Night and pot used to be kept near the heads of persons during night to force persons to apologise. If wounded during work, treatment not allowed till the work is finished even in serious cases. Cross-bar-fetters were from 2 to 2½ feet long, even though according to rules they must not exceed 18 inches. With cross-bar fetters, persons were forced to bring stones from a furlong distance, break them into 'chilli' and carry them back again at that distance for throwing them out. Parawallas used to wake up sleeping persons during night and induce them to apologise and go away, lest they will have to die there. Convict warders and overseers used to eat specially prepared food in the barracks. The Jailor used to abuse persons publicly saying that he was the King there, was none else over him. The Superintendent used to approve of whatever the Jailor did."

"Short work" is the offence which political prisoners who are generally unused to manual labour commit when they fail to do as much of the task as is prescribed as the full quota for able-bodied convicts of the moral turpitude class. This is 'punished' in the name of civilisation with 'penal diet'.

"Penal Diet" is diet unfit for consumption by ordinary men. It is bad food even for the able-bodied labourer. It is therefore poison for the political prisoner

who has been used all his life to well cooked food. Flour merely soaked in hot water and salt, is one instance of 'penal diet'.

"Standing Hand-cuffs" is another punishment which men who wish to fight for the political emancipation of their people must be prepared to undergo in India. The hands are fettered to the wall, and the position of the attachment decides whether the victim should keep standing all day on his toes or bending or at normal standing posture. Some idea of the old Jewish crucifixion can be had by the sufferer of this British Indian punishment. As the victim is educated and has probably read the life of Christ, the punishment leaves effects quite other than what the jail officials intend.

"Back Hand Cuffs" is another punishment for politicals for being not as hardy or as cowardly or as dishonest as the thieves and robbers that the jail official takes as his standard good prisoner. The hands are manacled behind the back and you have to spend the days and nights in this position "for two or three weeks night and day at a stretch" says the statement. I do not know if all readers have the imagination to realise in full the horror of this torture. You may try keeping both the hands behind your back one night and see what it feels like after a few minutes. This is a recognised means by which this Government hopes to make good citizens, and to convert erring political prisoners into men fit for progressive freedom.

Privacy in latrines can hardly be subject matter for discussion after the above. Torture raises the soul above ordinary level. In such a condition there is nothing like indecency possible. It is no disgrace if some weak men do not stand imprisonment under such conditions. What is a disgrace is that Indian officials agree to serve as instruments in such a system.

Jasper Abraham of Kenya

Jasper Abraham is the name of the white Kenya citizen who killed Kitosh a native boy in his service. The story of the crime is told in the report of his trial appearing elsewhere, taken from an East African newspaper.

Kitosh rode his master's mare without permission. The master learnt of this before 2 p.m. from a white neighbour of his. In the evening when the boy was going home to cook his food, he was summoned for the offence. "Who gave you permission to ride the mare?" asked Jasper Abraham.

The boy did not reply. The question was repeated several times till at last the boy answered that he was no thief.

Then began the flogging. Five men held the boy down while Abraham was administering the punishment. At intervals during the flogging, the question 'who gave you permission?' was repeated, but the boy gave no answer. When Jasper Abraham got tired on account of the exertion of administering the blows, he ordered a servant to keep up the flogging.

Finding that it was not up to the desired severity, he put another servant on to it. Then the boy, according to the murderer's sworn evidence, pretended to faint; water was thrown over the boy—not to relieve, so admitted Jasper Abraham in Court, but as another form of punishment—and the question was repeated, still without answer.

He was then lifted and put into a store-room and tied up to a log. Jasper Abraham had supper and went into the room and found Kitosh not tied as wanted, but lying still on the ground. So he called up servants and had the boy tied tightly with his hands behind his back and his right leg bound to the post in front of him. Thus beaten, starved and crucified at 4 a. m. the boy yielded up the ghost. We do not know whether Kitosh regained consciousness and strength to cry with a loud voice to his God asking why He had forsaken him. But indeed Kitosh and his tribe are forsaken. Kitosh was on "contract" in Abraham's service. He ran away once eighteen months before the event as he had been flogged. He was "brought back" last April. Mr. Andrews has described in his articles the nature of these contracts. Relief from the contract however came in the manner related above.

The judge sentenced Jasper Abraham to two year's rigorous imprisonment, for the Crown had withdrawn the charge of murder!

We know what little discomfort is involved in imprisonment in the case of such white offenders. A local paper remarks with dry humour that the coloured clerk, store keeper, and half a dozen native convicts must be busy preparing the room, bedding, curtains, washstands etc. for the white prisoner. C. R.

The Case of Jasper Abraham who Killed Kitosh

After William James Poulton, a Melo farmer and a neighbour of Abraham, had given his evidence of encountering the boy, now dead, riding Abraham's mare and telling Abraham about it. He said in answer to the jury that there was no indication of the mare having been ridden violently, and when the witness retired Jasper Abraham elected to go into the witness box in his own defence, and, beginning, he detailed the day till toward evening, when he saw the boy now dead pass along the ridge in front of him going to his house with fire. He called the boy and he came and stood about three yards away.

Witness took great pains to explain to him what Mr. Poulton had told him, about having seen him riding the mare, eventually ending up with the question: "Who gave you permission to ride the mare?"

The boy did not reply and witness said he must have asked him about 20 or 30 times, until his first answer "came in the most impudent manner, that he was not a thief."

This did annoy witness who got up, got hold of him, opened a door in the long building and pushed the boy in. The action hurt him (Abraham) and he knew that if the boy offered resistance he would not be able to handle him; so he called two moran who were alongside and told them to get hold of the boy and put him down. Witness brought a soft eland rein and began to beat him.

The two moran were unable to throw him down and witness had to call three more and they put him down. When witness started to beat the boy; the boy "kicked up an enormous row".

The object of the beating (Abraham continued) from start to finish was to give the boy one or two strokes and then ask him the question, at times throwing down the rein. No answer was forthcoming and the whole time that witness was beating the boy he (witness) was in pain, and none of the lashes, according to his impression, "had much beef" behind them.

Later he "realised that it was not worth it", and told one of the natives accused to beat the boy because he (Abraham) was naturally fagged and sat down on his stick.

Accused No. 2 "was not putting anything into his strokes", so witness called one of the other accused to take hold of the rein. He "was worse than useless" and witness put the third accused on to it. It was while the latter was beating him that the boy "played possum", Abraham declared: "he had not fainted". He stopped the flogging and sent one of the others for water, which he threw over the boy in small quantities, and after each asking him the same question. He still "refused to reply", and witness sent for more water and repeated the operation without success.

Abraham further said it was quite obvious to him by this time that he would get nothing out of deceased. He therefore told him to get up, having previously handed two more reins to the other boys, who attached one to his wrists and right ankle. The boy did not get up and was raised by the other boys.

On arrival at the house store, witness unlocked the door and told the boys to take deceased in on the right side where he intended to tie him to a log to prevent his escape during the night.

Just after supper witness saw the cook at the store window, told him to remain there while he went inside, deceased lying some two or three yards from where he was put and with the reins off him. So he called the cook and the toto and tied the boy up as before, but tighter, with his hands behind his back and his right leg tied to the post in front of him.

The next thing he remembers was at 1 a. m. when the toto awoke him and said the boy was dying. When he arrived at the store he found the boy dead.

Cross-examined by Mr. Law, Abraham said he had an opportunity for asking the boy Kitosh at 2 p. m. as to "who gave him permission to ride the mare?" But there was a guest present, and he "did not want the possibility of a row" in front of a guest.

Deceased was on contract and had worked for witness 18 months before. He had run away and had been brought back last April. His reason for running away then was that he said he had been beaten by witness. Abraham admitted that he had beaten the boy.

Abraham admitted flogging the boy for fifteen minutes. He had now pleaded guilty to "hurt" and "had chastised the boy to teach him a lesson for impertinence."

He had meant to hurt the boy but not severely. If the boy had admitted his error in riding the mare, no single stroke would have been given.

One of the native intimated to witness that deceased had had enough. He said the boy was dying.

By the Jury: The reason why he fetched water, when he believed the boy had not fainted, was "simply another method of attack, as having been beaten for 20 minutes he still refused to answer the question."

Mr. Hopley then put in written statements by the native accused, which were read over. Each pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Mr. Hopley called Dr. Arthur John Jex-Blake M. A., M. D., F. R. C. P., (Lond.) of Nairobi.

In his opinion, in a case of this sort, where a body had been subjected to violence, post-mortem stainings are very easily interpreted as evidence of violence and a mistake has often been made. He was surprised to see no mention made in the post-mortem report. He quoted from Prof. Glaister's Medical Jurisprudence that the effusion of blood in the small of the back and thighs of the deceased's body would be due to post-mortem stainings and not to the beating.

The fact that the boy died 10 hours after the flogging, the doctor continued, showed that 10 hours were available for bodily repair. Repair set in very soon after the receipt of the injury—under the microscope witness had seen it do so in a few seconds.

The factors of post-mortem stainings and process of repair, had, therefore, in his opinion gone towards increasing the apparent severity of the beating.

The injuries actually due to the beating were not sufficient in the ordinary course of nature to cause death, said Dr. Jer-Blake. In his opinion the cause of death was, in one factor, the emptiness of the stomach.

The Verdict

The jury retired and remained in consultation for over an hour, after which they returned a verdict of "guilty of grievous hurt".

They also gave it as their verdict that the death of the boy was caused by the injuries inflicted by the accused, and aggravated by the want of nourishment and that there had been no provocation.

The same verdict applied to the native accused.

Judgment

In giving judgment, His Honour said: Abraham had been convicted of a charge of a serious nature. He was glad to say and it was fortunate that cases of this type were rare, but he mentioned certain other cases of a like nature which had been dealt with, and said it was clear that the lesson of the Courts had not been learned by accused.

As regards the native accused, they were equally guilty, but had acted under the orders of their master, a European, and therefore he considered that it would be an act of injustice if he imprisoned them.

He imposed a sentence of two years' R. I. upon Abraham, and one day each upon the natives.

the cause of a man who is able to evoke willing sacrifice of the brave Akalis cannot be altogether unjust. Either in himself or symbolically he represents a principle that is every day being sanctified by unstinted suffering. Secondly, the incident of Jaitore signifies that the measure of strength which will be demanded of true Satyagrahis will be beyond anything that we can yet conceive of. The assessment will be settled by the height of sacrifice and nothing else. We have reckoned on imprisonment, loss of property, and death. Now it is starvation. To-morrow it will be some other ingenuity of evil.

Invention of 'Satan'

News from the State of Nabha reveals an anxious situation. The 9th September was declared Nabha Day by the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee. The instructions were that wherever there were Sikhs there should be bare-footed procession of members belonging to the community and that the day should end with a *diwan*. The day was observed with due solemnity everywhere and without interference from the authorities except in the State itself. The administrator interfered with a view to suppress the agitation. He prevented the celebration, and a number of Akalis were arrested, but with the exception of a few they were released after a short detention.

The Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee countered this move against the *diwans* by decreeing a continuous *diwan* in front of the Gurudwara in Jaitore. A continuous *diwan* is kept up by relays of speakers and preachers all the twenty-four hours of the day and night. In other words, once begun a continuous *diwan* is to be kept up till its dispersal is ordered by the Prabandhak Committee. A *diwan* is a perfectly lawful thing and political *diwans* were authorised apparently since the time of the predecessor of the Prince whose suspension from office has caused all this trouble. The *diwan* in Jaitore was intended to attract Sikh liberties anxious to hear about the wrongs of Maharaja Rupdaman Singh. The administrator sought to defeat this object by posting a military picket all round the place where the *diwan* was being held and prohibiting every form of communication between the members of the *diwan* and the outside public. To put it more simply, the *diwan* was besieged and food supplies were also cut off. The instructions to the soldiers were apparently to starve the Akalis in case they persisted in carrying out the instructions of the Prabandhak Committee. The siege began on the 13th inst. and was kept up for four or five days. For a little while it seemed as if the torture of starvation to death will be inflicted with a view to suppress a Satyagraha campaign in India. In Guna-ka-Bagh beating to unconsciousness was selected by the Government as the weapon with which to break the will of the Satyagrahis. In Nagpur was used the easier device of imprisonment and refined cruelty within the four walls of the jail. In our simplicity we had imagined that recourse would be had to the soldier's bullet and the hangman's noose for terrorising out of the world the possibility of Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience. We had not thought of starvation, but we have learnt now to reckon with it. But though somebody thought of the wickedness a wiser and more humane Government has overruled the suggestion. The latest information is that the members of the *diwan* have been dispersed by force and that a certain number have been arrested.

We do not want to judge on the merits of the controversy between the Maharaja of Nabha and the Government of India. We are bound, however, to state that

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Notes

Personal

Owing partly to the need for rest, mainly for reasons that are well-known to our readers, but into which it would be profitless now to enter, Mr. Rajagopalachariar has decided to temporarily withdraw from the editorship of *Young India*. He has asked me to take his place; and I do not quite see how I can refuse a demand from him. He expects to be able to write nearly as regularly as before; but he wants to be relieved of the continuous strain of responsibility. The burden will be on me; but those who have learnt to look to Rajagopalachariar for cool and pellucid wisdom, may be sure that his guidance will not be withheld. But let me say this:—Neither of us is under any illusion as to the heavy task laid upon us. It is no less than to conduct worthily the journal through which Mahatmajī chose to speak to the world in the midst of the revolution he created and led, whose burning columns were themselves part of the resplendent flame at which men were tried and nations purified. Our business is simply to carry on.

George Joseph

Committees

One of the remarkable results of the Special Sessions of the Congress is the large number of committees it has set up. Their relation with the Working Committee and the All-India Committee of the Congress is a little difficult, and perhaps anomalous. As it happens, there is a committee on the Constitution also; we dare say, it will be able to say what is or ought to be the conventions that should govern the case. We have a strong suspicion that the Working Committee is in peril of eclipse; but we hope it is only a temporary phase. The settlement of a proper order of precedence amongst the several committees is a business of some concern. If serious business is meant, if it is to be a committee for solution and not for shelving, Dr. Kitchlew's is far and away the most important. But the graduation of vitality is a small matter. The thing of consequence is that the committees should seek after practical decisions of statesmanship. Take for example the Committee on Unity. It is right that they should visit the stricken places. But it will be a grave mistake if the burden of the past is permitted to paralyse action in the future. The Committee should be able to issue specific directions for the days before us. Digging into dead horrors may be a necessary operation, but the process must be made to serve, not dominate, the main end. The end is peace and friendship—a thing without price.

If the Committee enters into its task in a spirit of bargain, all will be lost. There should be no competition except in the giving—then shall we be able to get at the secret of Mahatmajī's strength. The main thing to get hold of is that the committees are charged with the task of stating the positive policy for the country's adoption at Cocanada.

Pilgrimage of Women

According to the Gregorian Calendar, the anniversary of Mahatmajī's birthday falls on October 2. Last year, the day was observed in a peculiar manner by a group of ladies. Over two hundred of them marched up to Yeravada and offered flowers in homage. A glimpse of the great prisoner was denied them, but that was not what they went for. The observance is to be repeated during the course of next week. One of the devoted women who went to Yeravada and proposes to do so again, feeling rather hurt by something that was said in the *Navajivan* about the matter defends herself eloquently in a letter which we have had the privilege of seeing. She probably did not realise that she was preaching to the converted; but for the sake of the hard-hearted, we venture to transcribe a portion of the letter. The writer is giving an account of her interview with an official:—

"I tried to explain from the first that we were not going, because we hoped to have our desire fulfilled, or be rewarded with a sight of him for even a moment. I said: 'We are not going to see him; but we are going to the jail as to a shrine. Knowing full well that we would not see him, we go all this way, because we feel it our sacred duty to show the world, and to our rulers particularly, that the women no less than the men realise the gift of high spiritual ideals that he has placed before the country. By the unique direction he has given to an inevitable struggle, he has saved the millions of women of this country from the most horrible fate of their sex in other struggling nations; and at the same time he has made it possible for the women to work absolutely equally with men (if only they will) in this tremendous struggle.'"

"Let the Government hide him from our gaze; but the place where he is, will be a place of pilgrimage for us. I would like to ask those ladies (the critical ones):—What is it that leads them to their temples with their offerings year after year, on certain days? Do they reap immediate rewards for their little act of worship? Can they not believe that one more day in the year is a sacred day; have they no energy to add one more day to the days of their pilgrimage?"

"I do not want you to think that I believe it is a great thing to go one day to Yeravada. I know it is a very small thing; but if only we were fit for greater things I would not attach so much importance to this. The irregularity of our women, their ignorance of the mental attitude of the women of different communities, their aversion to eating or drinking with other women, and above all, their utter lack of working or acting together in mass at least for one day are overcome. You can't imagine the difference between a half-frightened, more or less helpless and silent being

who takes her seat in the train in the morning and the bright, self-reliant, mutually helpful women that returns at 9-30 p. m. to Bombay after a tiring railway journey. Women who would not touch a morsel in our houses sit and eat together in the train. The essence of, having to manage their own affairs, going away from their homes on an errand of their own choosing, all that has a stimulating effect on their minds. And they must realise, if nothing else, that one day's break from their routine, one day's hardship in the travelling and sitting on hard wooden benches, is the best they can do to show the love that they really feel for one another as Mahatmas."

True and moving words!

Delhi Congress

(By a Non-Ohanger)

The Delhi Congress was an epoch-making transaction, for it marked the end of Non-cooperation. I doubt very much whether the political terminology current before the 'compromise' is of any validity now. Though I suspect that the word "non-changer" is void of present content, I prefer to call myself one, perhaps for the last time. As it happened, I was at the heart of the counsel of the Non-cooperators, or very near it. The centre of decision shifted so violently between the 11th September and the 15th that nothing like mathematical accuracy was possible. But the general course of development was not difficult to trace. I shall put down my observations as objectively as I can... Our reporters may contribute complementary elements; especially the strength and direction of the current amongst the Swarajists. I am intensely curious about the exact significance of the manifesto issued by them on the 15th September, and what came over Maulana Mahomed Ali between then and the evening... These are details which I shall probably never know.

I

It was a struggle of personality. There were wild rumours of the mustering of voters from the United Provinces and the predetermined issue of the Bengal Elections. But my judgment is that the body of the delegates was inherently plastic, a vast mass of men, a patriotic mob ready to throb to the prevailing note. Rajagopalachari's absence was a capital mistake, and I shall always continue to believe that if he had been with us, there would have been no "compromise", that Non-cooperation would have survived Delhi. With him out, there were three groups—there were Vallabhbhai Patel, Deshpande and Seth Jannalal Bajaj; after them Rajendra Prasad, Joseph and Mahadeo Desai; third, the group of the distinctly young men, the true-blue, the whole-hoggers-till-the-end, who found their strength in Ramnathan and Ramaswami Nair and their voice in Varadachari. Vallabhbhai and Sethji were frankly tired of the long fight. They knew compromise would be surrender and the end of Non-cooperation; but they had not the heart to make themselves any longer responsible for division in the country. Taking Deshpande into counsel, they decided that whatever Maulana Mahomed Ali decided should be the decision of the Congress. Intellectually there was no difference between the second and the third groups; hard, rigid and partisan in the right sense, they stood and fought together all

through. The further session came at the last moment in the Subj's Committee when it became clear that the Maulana had finally made up his mind, and by making up his mind had, settled the fate of the Congress. When the crisis arrived, it became obvious to everybody that the Non-changers had not the ghost of a chance with Mahomed Ali also against them. The second group recognising that the bitter pill had to be swallowed decided to do so with grace and like gentlemen; the younger people protested that the pill was bitter and kicked about with a heroic disregard of consequences—but they finally swallowed it. As for the Maulana himself some people say that he was a person of deep design, had come to Delhi having made up his mind to do what he finally did and that the story I am going to relate was, to use a homely phrase, a put-up job. I do not think so for a minute. I believe that he is patriotic, fearless, frank and loyal to Gandhiji. But I do not think he is a Non-cooperator by conviction. I doubt whether he has understood it; I don't think that he respects it, except as a method and a programme which very nearly brought the Government to ruin in 1921. He has no permanent grasp of principle, no deep philosophy of Indian politics to keep him steady amidst storms. His roots are based in religion, but he is not capable of framing formulae which will bring piety into living contact with the current detail of controversy. But he is an elemental force, brilliant, perpetually on the verge of laughter and tears. He has a genuine political sense, is an improviser living from moment to moment. He is not merely a rebel against the British Government; he and his brother (he perhaps more than Shaukat) are true outlaws. Theirs is the voice against which no one can prevail in the world of Indian Islam.

II

The abortive meeting of the All-India Committee at Vizagapatam was not altogether without result. When we left Vizagapatam two things were clear as daylight:—the change of the venue of the Congress from Bombay to Delhi meant the overthrow of the Non-cooperators (as a matter of definition, Non-cooperators are those who are hostile to Councils and compromise); secondly that none could win against Mahomed Ali, in all the hosts. When we got to Delhi, therefore, it was clear to us that the battle was over him—none and naught else.

III

At an early stage, Maulana Azad Sobhani asked a question which no one was willing to answer, because it was regarded as practically idle:—"What will you do, if Mahomed Ali decides on a compromise?" The futility was due to two reasons. First:—we refused to countenance the notion that Mahomed Ali would favour compromise. This was a species of cowardice, for which we had to pay dearly later. Secondly:—the notion of fighting him was dismissed. This was honest, and a frank recognition of hard facts. It was in this atmosphere that the struggle began. There were three formal conferences, and conversations innumerable. Mahomed Ali was present at two of the former. The first was held on the night of the

12th September; and we did not disperse till the early hours of the morning. Mahomed Ali declared himself against the Councils and then put forward two alternatives:—fight to the last ditch or compromise. His speech was practically the one he made in the Subjects Committee later. He said things against the Councilwallas which none of us had so far permitted ourselves to say; but the counsel of moderation was pure confusion. His formula of compromise was the one finally accepted by the Congress. There were alternatives of suggestion. But they did not come to much. The final conclusion—after alarms and excitements, to which some of the younger Swarajists present (disciples of the Maulana in the old days) contributed, was in favour of fight. Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru, anxious for peace and action, confessed himself unable to detect a path. We were jubilant when we went to bed that morning—but Vallabhai Patel, cautious, a cynic and a Gujarati, warned us not to halloo till we were out of the woods.

IV

The night was not peaceful for Mahomed Ali. In spite of the declaration of war, he was on the rack. Whispers were about, of a message from Shankar, counselling moderation and unity. Mahomed was force and brilliance; but the wisdom and persuasiveness of the Big Brother could not be lightly dismissed. Nor was it only Shankar—the whole of Delhi was clamouring for unity, and an intellect so responsive to the current atmosphere as the Maulana's could hardly be expected to persist in rigid, hard decision. The Non-cooperators, shaken to the depths, were summoned again. There was a first class debate which yielded a new suggestion. The Maulana restated the case for compromise; for a short while, we were threatened with a repetition of the previous night. The barrenness of speech was swept away by a declaration from Seth Jammalal Bajaj. He said he was against all compromise. But he understood that compromise was intended to secure the friendship of Mr. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru. Their friendship was certainly valuable and he felt it was worth purchasing at any price. He suggested that it should be secured by the Non-cooperators surrendering to them completely, without any reservation whatever. The Congress machinery and funds would pass into their hands. If, by any chance, Mr. Das and his friends were right in their policy, they must be given all the help in the world. Sethji would be willing to assist them all he could. That was a position he favoured more than "Compromise". "Compromise" would satisfy neither and paralyse both. He made it clear that the suggestion did not arise out of petulance or baffled anger. As far as he could see, that was the only straight and clear course. It must be confessed that this suggestion relieved the tension and brought an element of reality to an atmosphere of illusion. Rajendra Babu supported the suggestion. So did all the hard No-changers—Vallabhai, Joseph, the younger men who were the core of Gandhism as a faith and dogma to hold on to and die by. But the Maulana resisted the suggestion, and there was a sense of hardness like rock in the resistance. Votes were taken on the various alternatives:—surrender, fight, compromise—

this was the order of preference. But it is worth noting that there was electricity in the air, when the assembly broke up.

V

Another avenue was then explored—the programme of unity, constantly favoured by Mr. Das and which was seriously fancied by Mr. Rajagopalachar early in the year about the time the Truce came to an end. The notion can be stated in a few words:—There are various programmes and policies open to the country. Some believe in the Constructive Programme, some in the Councils, some in Civil Disobedience—the whole series working upto Non-cooperation-in-principle—divorced-from-any-specific-programme. Unity amongst all these is essential, and the unity can be secured by the creation of several departments within the Congress, the departmental grouping to be governed by faith and temperament. The objection to the scheme is obvious:—it is impractical and unjust to run in harness men who are pursuing different methods. It is humanly impossible to establish comradeship between men who pursue the path of suffering and men who run no visible risk of suffering whatever. But even this unsatisfactory formula of unity was canvassed; but this also broke down, because the Maulana refused to countenance it. I am glad that the proposal was turned down.

VI

Having narrated the story to this point, there is little more to be told. It dawned on us that Mahomed Ali had made up his mind conclusively and that we were faced with the problem originally propounded by Maulana Azad Sobhan—"Were we prepared to fight Maulana Mahomed Ali?" Nearly all of us came to the conclusion that it would be inexpedient and unwise to do so. We knew that the Maulana's policy was putting Non-cooperation in peril; but we reconciled ourselves to the situation for two reasons. As a political programme, Non-cooperation in its extreme, which was the only true, form, was exhausted; our persistence in Mahomed Ali's despite was likely to turn it, in the popular view, into a lifeless dogma, the rallying cry of the purely cantankerous. The country's devotion to the fetish of unity may be a bye-product of the long years of slavery. But one of the elements of political decision in our country is the appeal of this particular fetish. The destruction of the fetish is not a politician's job, but a prophet's; and none of us felt the prophet's mantle wrapping him about. But this was a subjective reason. The second consideration went nearer the heart of things. There is a limit beyond which reason and argument cannot go. Some conclusions are in the nature of action, and they go beyond the pale of pure rationality. Where reason fails to persuade, experience becomes the hard task-master. We realised that we had arrived at such a crisis. One year of argument and paralysis was tending to harden men in their Pharisaism and self-complacency. The testing time had come not only on the Swarajists, not only on the Centrists, not only on Mahomed Ali, but on us also, the No-changers. We have to submit ourselves to the discipline of facts. Since the days of the Calcutta

Special Congress, Gandhism had won all along the line; and we, the Gandhites have been in continuous peril of loose thinking and draggled effort. It is good for everybody to be beaten. If there is truth in us, the very castigation of defeat will lead us to examine ourselves anew and find strength. If, on the contrary, Gandhism has become in our hands, a plea for lethargy and refusal to rethink the implications of fast-developing reality, we are not the true followers of our Chief, we are not worthy to be the custodians of his message to the world.

VII.

Reality—that is the ultimate touchstone. What will survive the effort and the tears of the months before Cocanada? A deeper scepticism asks:—will there be tears? will there be labour? Is there strength enough for either? The cynic may be justified temporarily; but the final, the devastating gift of truth will be beyond his capacity to receive or transmit

Young India

27-9-23

The Nabha Arrests

It is curious how Dr. Kitchlew's Committee on Satyagraha should within a bare week of its appointment be presented with a first class problem for solution—a problem which it did not go hunting for, but which has been forced on it by the Government. The arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Principal Gidwani and Mr. Santanam for defying executive irresponsibility is an outrage, which it is the clear business of the Satyagraha Committee and the Working Committee to handle speedily and firmly. The weak souls who plead that the country is not ready for Satyagraha, and that preparedness can be brought about only by a process which is intellectually kin to the Montaguian operation of training the country for self-government, will find their lesson in this incident. The Government of India is built on such weak and shifting foundations, that it is caught in the closed labyrinth of perpetual injustice. It reels from blunder to blunder, unwisdom to unwisdom by an inherent necessity. The only question of importance is whether there is strength, guidance and statesmanship enough amongst us, to regulate and draw the maximum of effect from the popular reaction to recurring iniquity. For, consider the short period that has elapsed since Mahatmaj's arrest. See how the Government has blundered in major cases:—the appointment of the Public Service Commission, the Salt Tax and Kenya. The popular verdict on these measures was unmistakable; and if there was leadership in the country, battle could have been offered on each of these issues. But tragically enough, the energy, emotion and popular passion bound up with these challenges were permitted to run to waste. By a singular inversion, smaller things yielded truer results. We do not mean any disrespect; but we are convinced that the possibilities of the Salt Tax and Kenya for Satyagraha were (an obituary mood

is justifiable) infinitely greater than Guru-ka-Bagh and the Flag. But the Akalis and the Nagpur Satyagrahis were found willing to pay the price for religious freedom and national dignity.

Now the Government has gone and blundered again in the matter of Nabha. The Nabha affair is greater than that at Guru-ka-Bagh or at Nagpur. The relations between the Government of India and the Indian Princes have been regarded as a political mystery from which the Congress and Indian publicists were warned off. The case of Maharajah Ripudamana Singh makes it clear that even in such matters, Government and Princes cannot afford to ignore the force of public opinion. Foreign and political relations were settled by the Viceroy and Secretary without even a possibility of appeal. Now the Government is being made slowly to learn that Indian States are what they are, because of vast national and religious forces, which had been operating for a long time and which claim the right to go through their appointed evolutionary processes. The ageold controversies between Church and State, the conflict of divided loyalties, have a setting and a history of their own in India. They refuse to adjust themselves unquestioningly to the formula of autocratic Imperial necessity. We have seen the Khilafat question cutting right across the complacencies of nationalism and the Sovereign State; on that issue, this nation was found willing to stake its future. Similarly, the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee claims that Sikh Princes are the servants of Panth, and that it is beyond the right of any earthly power to interfere with that allegiance. The principle of the controversy is certainly big enough for them that have eyes to see. But the arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his friends raises a much bigger question—the right of publicity in political affairs. We hold that the matter cannot be allowed to rest where it is. All the materials are present for working out the programme of Civil Disobedience on a small and limited scale. We congratulate the Satyagraha Committee on the action of the Government. It gives them a chance for intensive systematic work; and the conditions are nearly ideal for a clear demonstration of the power of active suffering.

Prisoners

All prisons are hell, because they are meant to be so. Indian prisons are worse than their parallels in other countries in some respects, and better in others. But on the whole they are instruments of torture. The relation of Civil Resisters to these institutions is anomalous and fraught with great difficulty.

Civil Resisters on a nation-wide scale, pledged to great international purposes, are a new phenomenon in history. Governments and society have to adjust themselves to the novel fact, if falsehood and torture are to be avoided.

The current assumption of governments is that Civil Resisters are criminals. The assumption is wrong; out of the mistake has come forth an enormous brood of evil. Civil Resisters of the type with which the Indian Government has been made familiar are not criminals at all. Crime is essentially anti-social.

Young India

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17

Problems of Indian Agriculture-III

Permanent and Temporary Settlements

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The gist of the previous, present and subsequent supplements on the subject would have been grievously misunderstood if it is concluded that taxation of land is a baneful peculiarity of the Indian administrative system only. All taxation is bad in principle. It is organised robbery in the sense that the State forcibly demands a share of private wealth for its own purposes. Until the very conception of the State is so radically altered as to make it the embodiment of the sum total of a community's activities, and consequently transform it into a productive, not a parasitical organism, its taxes must necessarily appear as so much deduction from private wealth, in no way differing essentially from the highwayman's demand of your purse or your life. In this sense, of course, land tax is as bad as any other tax. But without involving ourselves, for the moment, into any disquisition about the origins and functions of the State, let us take the existing State as it is; there we shall find the taxation of land, in one form or another, to have been practised in every civilised community, since land is the commonest, the most obvious, the most easily accessible and assessable form of property. The excuse for such taxation, generally admitted, is that the establishment of public security and the construction of roads and canals benefit landed property more directly and more permanently than any other form of property or wealth. This is an argument rather of expediency than either of ethics or even of economics. For works of public utility, like roads and communications, are constructed and the sense of public security is created for the general benefit of the community at large, for the very existence of civilised, social life at all in which the special benefit to any specific section of society is an afterthought or accident rather than the result of set purpose or deliberate intention. Land taxation, thus, is impossible to defend on the other plea as a representation of the *Quid pro quo* argument. On the other hand, from an economic standpoint, as distinguished from the ethical consideration above noted, taxation of land can only be permitted on the surplus production that cannot be credited specially to any single factor of capital invested or labour employed.

In so far as the yield from land is a return merely to the use of these agents, and the return is accordingly a remuneration for these agents, any taxation of the produce, directly or indirectly, must unavoidably trench upon the productivity of land, and so reduce the ultimate yield from land to the no small loss to the community as a whole. Land taxation, to be at all economically unobjectionable, must exclusively fall upon the surplus product which the classical economists have described as *Rent*. Briefly stated, the rent of land is the return due to the original and indestructible powers of the soil itself, as distinguished from the special capital invested upon it, or special labour employed on it to increase the yield. This surplus produce results from the fact that the demand upon land is constantly increasing owing to the steady geometric increase in population; so that recourse had to be had to the lower and lower type of agricultural land for purposes of obtaining the necessary food resources. The result is that the yield from the lower qualities of land, in response to the same amount of labour and capital employed thereon, is much lower. The margin thus created between the superior land and the inferior land is called *Rent*. As this surplus is the result of forces inherent in the superior land, and manifested by equally uncontrollable forces of our present social organisation. The tax-burden falling upon such a net surplus will not affect the yield from land, will not therefore touch the general price level, and will not accordingly injure the general level of public prosperity. It may, indeed, be readily admitted at this stage that the exact determination of this Economic Rent, or natural surplus from land, is almost impossible. So many factors interact upon one another that it is absurd to pretend to find out the exact equivalent of a single factor, the original capacities of the soil. But difficult as this determination of Rent may be admitted to be, the insistence in land taxation of always taxing the Rent or the surplus product only cannot be exaggerated.

Translating this maxim in actual practice of land taxation, we find the simplest method of such taxation consisting in a uniform charge per unit of cultivation, an acre or a bigha or a hectare. In countries

which are practically new, with large territories of almost virgin capacity, such a uniform charge may not prove objectionable or unreasonable. But in countries where all available land has been occupied, and where there has consequently been a considerable investment of capital in land with a view to more intensive cultivation, such a method of taxation would be singularly unjust. In such cases the alternative is frequently adopted of basing the tax on some obvious indication of the value of the landed wealth. Thus, for instance, the practice of demanding a fixed proportion of the yield in kind is a considerable improvement ethically as well as economically. But even here the disadvantage remains that in countries particularly of backward civilisation, such a method of land taxation would discourage the further investment of capital in land and so deter the further improvement of the land itself. For this tax necessarily falls upon the gross produce including the expenses of cultivation. As the expenses of cultivation grow under a system of intensive cultivation, the proportion of the net to the gross produce would fall, with the result that the tax based on the gross produce alone would act injuriously against any one desiring to invest still more capital in land. The ultimate outcome of all our experiments in land taxation has confirmed the principle above outlined that the tax, to be least injurious, must fall on the surplus produce, whether the actual form of the tax is a unit charge per unit of cultivation, or a share of the produce, or a levy upon the net income, or a duty on the sale value of land. The last is irregular, uncertain and impossible to be equitably adjusted. And so the third method of taxing the net income from land, subject to the proviso that the tax should in no case be such as to discourage the further increase in cultivation or the productivity of land by every device that man can employ. On this basis of the net taxation of the surplus or rent only, there is indeed no theoretical limit to the extent of the tax. It may be, according to J. S. Mill the full confiscation, if need be, of the entire rent from land without any effect upon the total volume of production, upon the general level of prices or the happiness of mankind.

This summary of the general principles that ought to govern the taxation of agricultural land may now be applied to the case of India.

The British Government in India has accepted the principle of cash assessment by contract, the contract being either perpetual, as in the case of Bengal, or for a number of years only, as in the case of Bombay. The Revenue is assessed either on individual fields as in the Southern Provinces, or on the larger estates or entire villages, as in the North. Fluctuations in these cash contractual assessments are to be found rarely in the backward provinces like Lower Burma; but the Government of India would not as a rule depart willingly from the principle of a fixed cash Revenue demand, as they fully realise the advantages of fixity of demand to the State as well as to the tax-payer. Extension and improvement of agriculture would be impossible in the absence of

fixity of demand, while petty, vexatious, official oppression would be immensely multiplied. The one disadvantage of a fixed demand is that it would press heavily upon small men, and in bad years particularly. It is this system of indiscriminating fixity which exposes the Land Revenue Settlements of the two Southern Presidencies notoriously open to adverse criticism. The principle of apportioning demand to the volume of production requires for its just operation that the officials told off for the task be above suspicion as to their ability and honesty. The fixed demand of the Government in the Royatwari tracts is levied on each field as demarcated by the cadastral records in the form of revenue rates for different classes of land settled for a term of years. The earliest cash assessment were equivalent to fractional shares of the gross produce; but at the present time, except in Bombay where the assessment is not fixed in the terms of produce at all, the Land Revenue throughout India is fixed so as to represent a share not of the gross, but of the "Net Produce" or "Net Assets" as they are called in the zamindari provinces. The meaning of this phrase "Net Produce" or "Net Assets" varies in the different provinces of India.* In Northern and Central Provinces it represents "Rent" wherever rent is paid, or that portion of the gross produce which would, if the land were rented, be taken by the landlord. In Madras and Lower Burma, on the other hand, where Government deals as a rule direct with the cultivator, the "Net Produce" is the difference between the assumed value of the gross produce and the expenses, estimated on a liberal basis of raising and disposing off the produce. Speaking generally, the "Net Assets" represent a larger share of the produce in Burma and Madras, where no middleman intervenes between the peasant and the Government, than they do in Northern India. There is no hard and fast rule as to the proportion of the "Net Produce" which should be taken as Land Revenue; but approximate standards, differing from province to province, are laid down in the instructions to Settlement Officers. For India as a whole it may be said that the average share of the net produce taken by the Government is about one half. Apart, however, from the fact that the net produce is usually calculated on very modest lines, the share actually taken may often be below, rather than above, the average. In the application of standard rates to individual cases considerable allowance is made for local conditions on the discretion of the assessing officer. The general principle throughout the country is that revenue should be based on facts or calculations representing not the gross but the net production of land to the cultivator; and it is in the correct estimate of this "Net Produce" that the crucial feature of the assessment from a statistical standpoint lies. It will be observed that out of the three common basis for the assessment of Land Revenue: its sale value, its

* "Nothing indeed, can be more clear that while the net produce rule itself calls for, and is habitually subject to modification in the interests of the cultivator, the gross produce standard recommended by the memorialists would, if systematically applied, lead to an increase of assessment all round." [Land Revenue Resolution of Lord Curzon of Jan. 16, 1902, para 17.]

rent value and the value of its net produce,—the Government of India seem to combine the second and the third. To avoid misapprehension it may be as well to note at this stage that the apportionment of Revenue is not on the principle of what is called "Repartition" in France. The Assessing Officers do not fix a lump sum for the whole province and then proceed to distribute periodically over the Districts, composing the province according to local valuation. In Northern India it is true, the long term settlements on Zamindari Estates proceed on the basis of first fixing the lump sum of the crops of a Taluk which would subsequently be distributed over the estates and holdings comprised in the Taluk. This process may at first sight seem similar to the "Impôt de Repartition" in France. In reality, however, the object of the process being to assess each unit whether a Survey No. Field or an Estate,—at a certain proportion of its value, the Indian revenue from land is more akin to a "Rated Tax," although for the sake of convenience the data are considered by groups and districts.

We may now summarise a few of the criticisms against the Indian Land Revenue Policy in general. The late Mr. R. C. Dutt was a persistent and convinced critic of the Temporary Settlements, believing the Permanent Settlement of Bengal to be the ideal for ensuring the happiness of the agricultural classes in general. To him the intensity and frequency of the famines at the end of the last century were inseparably connected with the Temporary Settlement. Under the Permanent Settlement the land may receive back a part of what it yields. But the investment of additional capital in land is conditional upon not merely the expectation of proportionate return, but also upon the degree of interest taken by the cultivator in his holding. Where, however, the two roles of Land-Lord and cultivator are separate, where the capitalist has no interest in cultivation beyond getting a fixed rent, the evils of Absenteeism, of management of estates by rapacious and unsympathetic agents, unhappy relations between land-lords and tenants, multiplication of intermediaries, are all bound to crop up. The security of the tenant in such cases cannot be left to the land-lord. Permanent Settlement to be successful must be permanent all round, and not merely in the interests of the capitalist on the zamindar class only. Series of land tenure legislation, inevitable as they would be, would result in deepening class antagonism.* But neither the Government of India nor its critics seem to emphasise what in our opinion is the chief offence of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. Anxious

* But consider. As of the total Land area in India 47 o/o is held by small peasant proprietors and 53 by zamindar, of latter rather more than a third or 40 o/o is permanently settled while the remaining 60 o/o is temporary. Assuming for the sake of simplicity that the revenue is contributed in equal proportions by the permanent and the temporary tax-payers according to the table on p. 171 of the Decennial Statement of the Progress and Condition of India, issued on 22 July 1913, the revenues would have to be exempted from taxation as noted below in the different provinces. The entire revenue in the Ryotwari districts need not be expropriated. But assuming that it is wholly remitted the Land Revenue would be reduced by Rs. 16 crores or nearly 50 o/o. If the charge in the Zamindari area is doubled the loss would be made up.

to secure an element of certainty, so sadly lacking in their budgets, the Government of Lord Cordwallis was led to surrender all the rights of sovereignty in land to the Zamindar, and the present Government has to maintain the class in order not to alienate the sympathies of such an important section. An alien government like the British in India must, for its own safety, necessarily pander to the unyielding selfishness of a wealthy class of land monopolists. Because the landed class in Bengal is lightly taxed to-day, though heavy on the standards of 1793, the rest of India has to bear proportionately a much heavier burden, all the more unjust since there is no corresponding ability to bear the increased burden. Excluding Irrigation Receipts credited to Land Revenue, the following table shows the receipts in different provinces, and the incidence per head of population in 1913-14, the last normal year before the War.

		Rs.	
India, General	... ..	20,62,489	
N. W. Frontier	... ..	21,93,786	
Madras.	... ..	5,74 88,337	1-14-0
Bombay	... ..	5,11,50,614	2-8-0
Bengal	... ..	2,82,67,973	0-11-0
United Provinces	... ..	5,21,88,235	1-4-0
Punjab	... ..	2,84,56,089	
Burma	... ..	4,16,07,407	1-13-0
Bihar and Orissa	... ..	1,56,22,352	0-8-0
Central Provinces	... ..	1,88,20,430	
East Bengal and Assam	... ..	74,55,876	

The perception of a growing loss to the State from the Permanent Settlement combined with the depression of the rupee after 1873, led to a change of opinion which ultimately culminated in the final rejection of the proposals for a Permanent Settlement in other provinces. (Despatch of March 28, 1883). Except, therefore, in the provinces which were settled in the early years of the last century, the Land Revenue Settlements of British India are on a temporary basis admitting of a periodical revision and enhancement of the State demand when desirable.

The existence of the Permanent Settlement in some parts gives rise to inequalities which are all the more objectionable as the burden of the Land Revenue seems to have nothing to do with the fairness in distribution. The mere fact that a share of the produce of land has been a customary, ancient source of public income in India, will not by itself justify this inequality. Any radical reform in the tax-system of India must commence with the rearrangement of the Land-Revenue policy, and must be based upon the principle that as in the case of the Income Tax, an abatement must be granted to all those owner cultivators whose total net produce from the soil, after paying all the expenses of cultivation, does not exceed, say, Rs 1000 per annum. A system of taxation in which the State takes nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the net income of some agriculturists, though their average individual income may be miserably small, and hesitates to adopt a $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ tax on other incomes while it leaves free the greater number of agricultural incomes with an average much larger than in the former case, cannot possibly be defended.

If the Indian Government regrade their Land Revenue legislation on this proper principle, they may have to abandon a considerable proportion of their present revenue under this head; but the loss need not be absolute. What they lose in the remissions granted to the small cultivator of Bombay and Madras and Burma and Central Provinces, they might make up by increased taxation of incomes in the United Provinces, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Punjab. The problem of redistribution among the Provinces will no doubt cause internal jealousies; but it is to be hoped that in the interests of equality in taxation and justice the new consciousness of Indian solidarity will minimise the force of these jealousies and allow the redistribution to be effected by reducing the Provincial Contributions from the provinces affected in proportion.

The problems connected with the Land Revenue do not stop here. The modern civilised State cannot consider its duty accomplished merely by bringing about a greater degree of distributive justice in its tax-burdens. It must make it its first concern that the wealth of the people increases. The agricultural wealth of India cannot increase so long as the Indian cultivator is tilling small, unprofitable holdings, with the perpetual risk of their being still further reduced. Legislation must simultaneously be undertaken to reduce the *morcellement* of the agricultural land in

India, by some system of preemption or some other guarantees against sub-division of an uneconomic kind. Perhaps the best method to accomplish a standard economic holding would be to consider the entire land of a village as belonging to the village, and permit its cultivation and enjoyment to the village collectively.* At the same time steps must be taken to reduce agricultural indebtedness, which, as already pointed out has not been appreciably affected by the Co-operative Banks after fifteen years of steady encouragement. The agriculturists' debts of a more than thirty years' standing must be taken as cancelled, and no court must entertain any suit on such claims even if the debtor should himself admit these debts. In the case of more recent debts unless registered and admitting a specified rate of interest at the maximum, no court should be allowed to enforce such claims against agriculturists. To accomplish a total, wholesale redistribution of land, and to destroy agrarian indebtedness the governments concerned may have to borrow large sums, and enter into complicated financial operations, but the consciousness of social injustice in the existing dispensation will help to simplify a problem which would otherwise run the risk of being shelved *sine die* on the pretext of insufficiency of funds. K.

* We shall, however, consider this question more fully when we discuss the specific evils of a given Ryotwari settlement i. e. the Bombay system of Land Revenue.

a violation of cultivated public opinion. Physical restraint of the thief, the murderer and the moral reprobate by the State is permitted in society, because public opinion is definitely hostile to such persons. Political offenders are in a different case. In a state of society such as ours, public opinion is with the Civil Resisters. Civil Resisters are not criminals, because there is in them none of the elements of criminality. Breach of the law does not constitute criminality, but the consensus of the public mind in grave matters of social welfare and goodwill.

If Civil Resisters are not criminals, what are they? It is not pedantry, but the hard truth to say that Civil Resisters are just Civil Resisters, no more, no less. They are *sui generis*, a category by themselves, who have to be recognised and treated in a peculiar manner. But the modern State is a rigid, wooden institution, which deserves to be assisted in the crisis of new experience. The true approach to the understanding of Civil Disobedience is furnished not by crime, but by war. Non-violent resistance is neither crime nor war, but in fundamentals,—spirit, motive, purpose and meaning, it is far nearer war than crime. Crime is personal, selfish, individual. War is public, patriotic and waged in the fulfilment of a discipline imposed from outside. Civil Disobedience (at least the kind we have in India) is offered for public reasons, under the direction of the Congress. Crime is generally secretive; war and Civil Disobedience are openly declared and openly waged. The sound proposition, then, is that Civil Resisters are more prisoners of war than criminals.

The position has become acute. The Government is determined to work out the theory of crime to the uttermost and not to pause at the logic of the situation anywhere. Visapur, the jails of the Central Provinces and the stories that come in whispers from dungeons far and near, cast a fresh duty on the Congress. Volunteers practise Civil Resistance, with a view to carry out the policy of the Congress. They have the right to ask for protection from the Congress. Protection failing, they have the right to specific orders. One order is this:—submit yourselves to the whole of the Jail Manual. But we are against it. Our volunteers are not criminals and it would be *duragrahic* to impose on just and non-violent men the discipline of terror. On the other hand, the Congress should insist upon the true treatment of Civil Resisters as prisoners of war. The very fact of Government's readiness to discharge political prisoners on "apologies" demonstrates the Government's purpose:—detention as distinguished from punishment. The Government has no right to punish, but only to detain such men as are deemed to be dangerous to the continuance of tyranny. We should like to have laid down the following conditions to govern Civil Resisters in captivity:—

- (1) There should be no punishment for Civil Resisters; they should be detained.
- (2) Civil resisters should be allowed to have their own clothes.
- (3) Civil Resisters should be permitted reasonable opportunities for meeting relatives and friends and for transacting private business.

(4) Civil prisoners should be permitted the use of their own newspapers.

(5) Civil Resisters should be allowed to use furniture belonging to them, provided it can be conveniently accommodated in the places where they are confined.

(6) Civil Resisters are not criminals, but prisoners of war, whose restraint from public activities is deemed essential for the purposes of government.

But it may be asked:—Who are Civil Resisters? The Government professes inability to distinguish political from ordinary prisoners. How is this new category to be determined? It is a fair question; but the answer is not difficult to find. The Congress must make it its business to define the people, for whom it insists upon this manner of treatment. We have already indicated the broad lines of theory; what we are after is the discovery of the Civil Resister. We imagine that the following features should be found in a Civil Resister:—

(1) A Civil Resister should be non-violent in thought, word and deed.

(2) A Civil Resister is one who acts not for himself, but under the orders of the Congress. (The order may be one of authorisation before the law is broken or may be of ratification after the breach).

(3) A Civil Resister is one who breaks the law openly and after due notice to the magistracy from the Committee authorised for the purpose by the Congress.

(4) A Civil Resister is one who does not defend himself, but submits cheerfully to any penalty that may be imposed.

(5) A Civil Resister is one who wears Khaddar and fulfils the condition of the Ahmedabad Pledge for volunteers.

As a matter of convenience, it may be suggested, that as soon as a Civil Resister is sent to prison, the local Provincial Congress Committee should immediately notify the Government of the fact.

If the Government continues to treat volunteers as criminals, the Congress will be perfectly justified in asking all political prisoners to disregard the rules of the Jail Manual which are inconsistent with its own instructions. The task will be found heavy by a few volunteers in the beginning; but the object is just and has to be achieved at all costs.

The Unfailing Remedy

One of the distinguished visitors to the Satyagrah-ashram in recent weeks was Mr. Drew Pearson from Philadelphia University. He was, as he said, not a mere globe-trotter, nor even a newspaper correspondent. Belonging as he did to the Society of Friends, he was naturally interested to know as much about Mahatmajl as he could. He visited the Shantiniketan first, where Mr. Andrews whetted his curiosity, and after a flying visit to Lahore and Amritsar he was coming directly to the Ashram. He had set his heart on seeing Mahatmajl if by any chance he could do it. It appears that he saw H. E. the Governor on his way back from the Ashram, had an hour's conversation with him, but to no purpose, for the interview was not allowed. We propose to summarise here a most instructive talk that he gave to the members of the Ashram at prayertime in the evening.

"I have not come here to say anything to you. I have come to learn from you, and I have done so with the humility with which one should approach the disciples of Mr. Gandhi. I have been away from my home over a year now. I have come to India after having visited Australia, New Zealand, Siberia, Japan and China. Wherever I have gone, I have heard a good deal about Mahatmaji. But it is not only because I have heard so much of him that I am here. As one whose creed is non-violence I have come to meet those who have also non-violence as their principal creed. I am a member of a society whose creed is non-violence. We are known today as the Society of Friends, but we once used to be called Quakers. We put up with untold suffering and unspeakable persecution towards the close of the 18th century. The principles on which our society is founded are three—the establishment of peace, the propagation of non-violence, and the abolition of race-prejudice. When America was suffering from the curse of Negro slavery we helped a good deal towards the emancipation of the negroes. We took crowds of them to Canada by underground tunnels. During the Great War some of us refused to join the army and suffered imprisonment. Some of us, however, chose to undertake all non-violent work occasioned by War and its consequences, such as, for instance, ambulance work, service in the hospitals, relief to the maimed and other constructive work I was among those sent to Serbia for the purpose. Our work was to reconstruct houses in villages ruined by the war. I saw there that the massmind is one everywhere—that it abhors war and is inclining everyday to peace and I am going to tell you something from my experiences.

I was working in a little village some miles away from the Railway line, and high up in the mountains. There were about 200 houses there once, but there were only two left. We had to help in reconstruction. I must tell you that generally there is no love lost between the little nations that are crowded in that part of Europe. We were given some Bulgarian prisoners to help us in the work. The work being very high up in the mountains, it was not possible to get a sufficient number of Serbian guards to keep watch over the prisoners. Where we were working, there was only a widow whose husband was killed in action, and her children, who had to act as guards. The soldiers used to work under her, never so much as worrying or troubling her, not trying to escape. It was a sight to see hundreds of pairs of boots huddled in a heap before the widow, towards the close of every evening. I may tell you that the way down the hill was so bad and so uneven that it was impossible to go down without boots on. So the soldiers flung their boots in the heap every evening, just to assure the widow that they were not going to escape. Do you think it was impossible for half a dozen of these to snatch their boots from the widow and to run away? But no; they were so friendly with her, they would give her something out of their rations, take something from the widow, and gather together in the evening to dance and sing. The Serbian guards and the Bulgarian prisoners joined in the merriment. Later on,

some Albanian soldiers joined them. The Albanians have an inveterate hatred for the Serbians and the Bulgarians, but they found no difficulty in becoming friends with them. You must not forget that these very men had only a little while ago shot at one another, burnt houses, destroyed the crops and cattle of one another. But they here forgot all those things, and met and discussed all sorts of things in the friendliest manner. Can you imagine what they must be talking about? Of nothing but how to get rid of war. They did not blame themselves for it, they blamed their arbitrary, power-loving governments for it. They forgot their animosities for one another, they directed them towards their governments. They agreed that they should not have these militarist governments, they should have governments controlled by farmers, soldiers, labourers. The prisoners and the guards were equally sick of the war. The masses everywhere were sick of the war. I have seen big posters in hotels, protesting against continuance of the war. There was a cartoon in one of these posters in which the war-lords were seated in silver chariots and driving the horses of administration with all the fury they could command. In a corner of the cartoon was Jesus marvelling at them with the words:—'Can this be Christianity?' In another cartoon, the masses were represented as a huge giant who has a big broom with which he was making a clear sweep of all the paraphernalia of war—the aeroplanes, torpedoes, guns etc.

Thence I went to Siberia. There the Siberians did hate the Japanese who were occupying those territories, but they hated not so much those Japanese soldiers, as the Japanese Government, and they said so in so many words. Thence I went to Japan where I attended two or three mass meetings of the common people. As one who had seen things in Siberia I was asked to address them, and I also without mincing matters told them what the Siberians thought of them and their Government. I was astonished at the liberal spirit in which they listened to all that I said, with wrapt attention. They later protested against the Foreign Policy of the State, and it was they who were more or less responsible for the recalling of the Army of Occupation. There was hardly anything like self-government, but they are now approaching something like government by the people.

From Japan I went to China. There also I heard of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Nea, a rich Chinese Christian there is an admirer of Mr. Gandhi. When I went there, the great strike of the Chinese sailors was going on at Hongkong. They stopped the issue of railway tickets to the strikers to prevent them from going away. They marched on foot. Just where the British and the Chinese boundaries meet, there were British soldiers ready with shot and shell, who shot at the strikers. That spread a horror in the town. Every Chinaman—young or old, man, woman or child,—struck work. The Whites were flabbergasted. Their women did not know cooking, and there were no Chinese cooks to be had. The women could not take care of of their children, and there were no Chinese nurses to be had. There were no rikshawallas, no washermen. All business was at a standstill. The Whites

saw their helplessness and yielded; and the strike ended with 30 per cent increase in wages for the soldiers. An English captain of a steamship in the Yangtze told me that once his ship came in collision with some Chinese boats which capsized. As soon as the ship cast anchor, all the Chinese workmen on board struck work; no cooks, no water-carriers; all shops closed. The strike was called off only on the captain agreeing to pay an indemnity of 10000 dollars. The captain of an American steamship had under similar circumstances to pay an indemnity, seven times as much. The Chinese are thus coming to their own. You might hear a good deal about the chaos there, but I assure you that they know now that the only remedy against White exploiters is non-violent resistance, strikes. I assure you that China will in no time throw off all foreign yokes, and will soon be a progressive nation the like of which we have not yet seen.

I have described all these things in such detail just to tell you that there is a daily growing tendency towards the peace methods that you are employing here, in all the eastern nations. I am sad to confess that I have seen race prejudice wherever I have been; but I assure you that the Whites are now coming round. There are a number of people in my own country who are free from it, though I wish the number was greater. I may say, however, that I was pained to see the extent to which race prejudice had gone in Australia and New Zealand. I shall not be surprised, if we hear of a colour-war there very soon. In India I was sadder to hear of that very thing. I know the Whites are mainly responsible for it. But the master key to save the world from the coming catastrophe is not war, but non-violence, the key that you hold in the palm of your hand. I assure you that your non-violent struggle has our deepest sympathy, and I pray that we may come closer together still.

Delhi Resolutions

The following are the important resolutions of the Congress at the special session in Delhi:—

The Councils

While reaffirming its adherence to the principle of non-violent non-cooperation this Congress declares that such Congressmen as have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise their right of voting at the forthcoming elections, and this Congress, therefore, suspends all propaganda against entering the Councils. The Congress at the same time calls upon all Congressmen to redouble their efforts to carry out the constructive programme of their great leader Mahatma Gandhi by united endeavour, to achieve Swaraj at the earliest possible moment.

Kenya Betrayal

This Congress looks upon the decision of the British Government about the status of Indians in Kenya, as being in keeping with England's determination to rule India as a subject country and therefore this Congress urges on the people of India to redouble their efforts to wipe off the stigma of subjection as early as possible.

This Congress further asks the Working Committee to organise educative propaganda in the country

regarding the position of Indians in the Colonies and to help the Kenya Indians in any practical programme.

This was an amendment moved by Mr. Gidwani to and passed as a substantive proposition instead of the following original resolution moved by Sjt. Punshottamdas Tandon.

Whereas the decision of the British Government on the Kenya question has made it clear that it is impossible for the people of India to obtain equal status, fairplay and justice, whenever there is a conflict between their interests and those of white men, either of Great Britain or any of its Colonies, the Congress records its opinion that the people of India cannot honourably remain as members of the British Empire, but must now seriously consider the advisability of working for the establishment of Swaraj independently of the British Empire.

Civil Disobedience

This Congress resolves that a Committee consisting of the following members be formed to organise effective campaign of Civil Disobedience and to advise and regulate the action of the provinces for organising similar provincial or local campaign, for the speedy attainment of Swaraj which alone can guarantee the restoration of Mahatma Gandhi and the other political prisoners to liberty, as well as the freedom of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and a satisfactory settlement of the Punjab wrong."

The Committee is to be composed of Maulana Mahomed Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Desbandhu Das, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Sardar Sundarsingh, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel.

Boycott of British Goods

(a) This Congress reiterates its conviction that wide-spread production and use of Khaddar, i. e., handspun and handwoven cloth, is essential for the economic betterment of India, and, therefore, calls upon the people of India to redouble their efforts to make spinning and the use of Khaddar universal throughout the country and thus bring about a complete boycott of all foreign cloth.

(b) That this Congress further calls upon the people to encourage home manufactures by purchasing Indian made goods only, and wherever possible, avoiding the purchase and use of foreign goods.

(c) In view of the fact that India is at present carrying on a struggle for freedom and England is thwarting her and putting every impediment in her way and Indians are insulted and treated as helots in the British Colonies and Dominions, this Congress calls upon the people especially to avoid the purchase of goods produced in Great Britain, her Colonies and Dominions and thus to bring about a complete boycott of all British goods.

(d) In order to give effect to the clauses (b) and (c) of this resolution, and to determine the most feasible method of encouraging Indian manufactures and the boycott of British goods in particular, this Congress appoints the following committee and empowers it to issue the necessary direction in this behalf:—

Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Sjts. Vithalbhai Patel, J. K. Mehta, Subhash Chandra Bose, Seth Umar Sobani, Dr. Kitchlew, Sjts. N. O. Kelkar and D. Gopal Krishnayya.

Revision of Congress Constitution

A committee consisting of the following six gentlemen be appointed to revise the constitution and rules of the Indian National Congress and present their report to the session of the Congress at Cocanada:— Mr. George Joseph, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Convener) and Messrs. Subhas Chandra Bose, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, P. D. Tandon and Jitendralal Banerjee.

Communal Concord.

This Congress, while expressing its profound regret that during the last 12 months the inhabitants of certain towns and cities made attacks upon and caused injuries to persons, properties and places of worship of their neighbours in violation of the principles of religion and humanity and while believing that such attacks deserve the strongest condemnation, resolves that the following committee be formed for the purpose of visiting the places where disturbances have occurred and investigating the matters with a view to fix the responsibility for them and publicly condemn those who are found guilty of such reprehensible acts.

The Congress further resolves that the said committee be asked to recommend such measures as are calculated to prevent in future similar incidents so that all communities may practise their respective religions without wounding the feelings of each other and may cooperate in national matters, with mutual confidence and good-will.

Resolved that the committee shall consist of (1) Mr. Abbas Tyabji Saheb, (2) Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani Saheb, (3) Babu Bhagwan Das, (4) Babu Parahottam Das Tandon, (5) Master Sunder Singh (Lyalpur), (6) Sjt. George Joseph and (7) Mr. B. F. Bharncha.

Resolved that the above committee be requested to visit different places beginning with Saharanpur and report within two months to the All-India Congress Committee.

National Pact.

This Congress resolves that the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare a draft of the National Pact to circulate it for opinion among the leading representatives and influential persons of the different communities in the country and after consideration of their opinion to submit their report to the All-India Congress Committee for disposal at the Cocanada Congress: (1) Lala Lajpat Rai (in case he cannot work on the Committee on account of illness, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya); (2) Sardar Mohatab Singh and (3) Dr. M. A. Ansari (Convener).

The Nation and the Press

This Congress resolves that the Working Committee be instructed to issue a public manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian newspapers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissensions and commenting on them, and to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude that may prove detrimental to the best interests of India and may embitter the relations between different communities.

This Congress also resolves that the Working Committee be instructed to appoint in each province a small committee which should request such news-

papers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal dissensions that they should desist from such a course of action and, if in spite of their friendly advice no useful result is achieved, to proclaim such newspapers. The Congress further resolves that in case such newspapers do not even then alter their attitude, a boycott of them by Congressmen should be declared as a last resort.

Unity Committees

This Congress resolves that in the headquarters of every district mixed committees be established under the supervision of District Congress Committees in consultation with the Khilafat Committees, the Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local associations with a view to the maintenance and security throughout the districts, and in case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security, to endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for a speedy and satisfactory settlement and further to encourage people in case of any provocation to conduct themselves with restraint and refer the matter to such committees for the redress of their grievances instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures.

Nabha Abdication

This Congress strongly condemns the action of the Government of India in bringing about the forced abdication of the Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malavendra Bahadur of Nabha as being unjust and unconstitutional and establishing a very dangerous precedent for the Indian States. The Congress conveys its heartfelt sympathy to H. H. the Maharaja Saheb in the grave wrong that has befallen him.

Resolutions were also passed congratulating the Akalis, and recording a deep sense of loss at the death of Pt. Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury, a veteran Congressman and social reformer, and sympathising with the bereaved family.

Proselytising

A resolution was passed appointing a Committee consisting of Messrs. Sita Ram (Meerut), Neki Ram (Delhi), Muhammad shafi (Bihar), and Zulfiqar Ali Kadian and a Sikh gentleman to be nominated by the Gurudwara Committee to enquire on the spot into the wrong and non-religious practices observed by any party in the proselytising campaign, to recommend means for the prevention of such practices and to furnish a complete or at least an *ad interim* report by 15th December to the All-India Congress Committee and to denounce the parties found to be carrying on such corrupt practices.

Civic Guards

Another resolution instructed each local Congress Committee to establish under its supervision and control a corps of Civic Guards open to all Indians for the maintenance of peace and order and perform civic duties to promote physical culture of the members of the Corps, to make them strong to defend themselves and society. The rules regulating the constitution and work of these guards would be framed by the Working Committee; all other local bodies like the Khilafat Corps are requested to cooperate with the civic guards.

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The Choice

Making allowance for the confusion of calendars, Mahatma's birthday falls this week. It is the second of its kind in imprisonment.

The year that has elapsed between the two anniversaries has been filled with life. As for his own growth to perfection, and the manner of his days in captivity, it would be impertinence in us to venture on judgment. We may be sure that his progress in strength and wisdom is to the good of the world and to the surety of his peace.

Of all that has happened outside Yeravada, we believe that the most important incident was the decision on the Council question in Delhi. We have already stated our conviction that it was the repudiation of the Gandhian programme by the Congress. What is more, it makes the failure of the country as a whole in its loyalty to it. We shall not pretend that the Congress did not represent faithfully the tiredness and confusion that have settled on the people. This is an important fact which calls for examination.

The last three years covered a vast area of activities. It meant a remarkable uprising, the echoes of which went round the world. Now at the end of it, excitement past, it is possible for us to see the falsity and confusion of the whole affair. Non-cooperation was conceived by its author as a method for isolating the Government and by that very process, for building up national strength. He was the first politician to tell us that our slavery was the work of our own hands. Social Reformers had told us that; Loyalists had told us that—the Social Reformer and the Loyalist had made our weakness a pretext or an argument for the denial of freedom. The Social Reformer mocked at us without faith, and himself underwent denationalisation. The Loyalist exploited for his selfish purposes the strength of the Government and the weakness of the people. It was Mahatma Gandhi who first suggested that the building up of self-reliance and discipline independently of the Government will without a single act of violence secure us Swaraj. People listened to him because of his vast prestige, but they did not understand. They knew he was against the Government, and that went a long way. But neither the people nor the men who, till then had been political leaders, realised the duty cast on the country of organising itself. The only thing that they saw was the motive which inspired him—the overthrow of the Government. As for the revolutionary confession that the nation was fundamentally

weak and that on it lay the corresponding duty of making itself strong, no one paid heed to it. It went against all current assumptions and national boasts. Politicians claimed that the people in whose name they spoke were numerous as the stars and mighty as the ocean. He retorted that the people were indeed numerous, but they were weak as water. Politicians and people saw in their new leader power incarnate. Lacking strength themselves, they decided to exploit him. The crisis of 1921 was the fever of exploitation. Khaddar, national education, panchayats, the Tilak Swarajya Fund—these things were done and surprisingly well done. People even professed faith in non-violence. But these remarkable proceedings were not because the politicians were convinced of their necessity, but because they were convinced that the leadership of their Chief could be had only on these terms. As long as he was free, they followed his directions, because they could not do without him. After the Bombay riots, in Bardoli, in Delhi, they obeyed him, not because they were convinced he was right, but because they felt they would be helpless without him. Even when they disagreed on vital questions like non-violence, as they did in Delhi, they had not strength enough to oppose and defeat him. He was great enough to dominate his fellows; but he could not make them great enough to defy him.

His imprisonment relieved Indian politics from the intolerable burden of hypocrisy. His leadership was no longer available, and it was only human inertia that kept the Congress in its allegiance to Non-cooperation. After months of wrangling and painful discussion, the Special Session has taken current politics back to its ancient paths.

What we should remember on his birthday is no more than this:—The doctrine he preached, the method he indicated, is altogether different from all that has gone before. If politics is to be understood in the common fashion, Gandhism is not politics at all. But it is a force which in its full operation is more potent than politics. Politics is violence; Gandhism is non-violence. Politics is national boasting; Gandhism is national humility and purification. Politics tries to weaken Government; Gandhism strengthens the people; Politics wants excitement, an electrical atmosphere; Gandhism is content with the Constructive Programme.

To-day, we are at the cross-roads. Politics is a beaten broad path; Non-cooperation is also a wide clear road. But we have to choose. The choice, we believe is between violence and non-violence.

Notes

Maulana Hazrat Mohani

We happen to differ from Maulana Hazrat Mohani in respect of a number of things. Some of them are fundamental, and go very far towards a final philosophy of life. But, in bravery, patriotism, singleness of view about the ultimate end of Swaraj and the persistence with which he has clung to his principles all through life, there is not one of us but is prepared to stoop and take the dust of his feet. He has his own doctrine of a patriot's duty and rights in jail, and we know he is prepared to pay the penalty for practising what he believes. All the same, we are bound to note that the sentence of two and a half years' imprisonment imposed on him for the breach of regulations in jail is severe to the point of vindictiveness. The rule of force assumes many strange and unlovely forms. The sentence of two and a half years' imprisonment against a man, whose original term was two years, looks ugly and indefensible. The Maulana himself is too strong to go whimpering; the lesson of it is not, however, for him, but for us and the public. It shows that the Government can do when it is angry and will not scruple to do when it deems that the doing will perpetuate its existence.

A Letter from Jawaharlal

Here is a letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which our readers would, we are sure, thank us for sharing with them. It is short, but it is characteristic. This is the third time that Jawaharlal has come into conflict with law and order in India; and if it is not conceited to say so, we envy him his good luck. Some of us have had limited experience of the British Indian jails; he has gone one better, and he is naturally inclined to boast about it. We wish him joy and Dr. Kitchlew's Committee permitting we may yet greet our friend in Nabha. The letter is addressed to Mr. Mahadeo Desai:—

I promised you in Delhi to write letters to you occasionally. I am afraid I shall hardly be able to do so because of *force majeure* and jail rules. But I have a chance to day as an under-trial of writing and I take it to send you and Devadas my love. In December 1931, Bapu expressed a certain desire in *Young India*, I think, to see father and me march along the streets in a particular fashion. That has partly come to pass though not with father. My companion was Santanaro, Gidwani binding up the rear. It was most interesting and we thoroughly enjoyed ourselves.

Our cases are proceeding under Sec. 153 and Sec. 148 I. P. C. The latter is a most extraordinary charge but such is life in India nowadays and one must not be surprised at anything. I am looking forward to a stay in the jails in Nabha State. It will be a new experience and in this *blaze* world, it is something to have a new experience!

We have had no news of the outside world since (La 1931), when we left Delhi. This seclusion has its advantages. Don't you envy me! I hope you are not downhearted after Delhi. Cheer up and march on. Was it not Nietzsche (I am hopelessly wrong about the spelling) who said that there would be no resurrections if there were no graves?

The Issue in Nabha

We understand that Dr. Kitchlew is engaged in marshalling opinion on the Nabha question. It is a perfectly proper procedure but it strikes us that the popular view in the matter is sufficiently clear and unanimous. Every newspaper has expressed its opinion

and it is one of protest—all are agreed that the arrests are unjustified. As regards the more limited question of the manner in which the Satyagraha Committee should deal with it, public opinion, vague and discordant, can hardly offer definite or intelligible counsel. The perception of the principle for which the Congress prisoners stood, the reduction of it to the form of a demand which no just or civilised government can refuse, the presentation of the ultimatum, the method of enforcing it if the Government refuses to yield—all these call for clear thinking, infinite labour and a nerve of steel. In other words, gyrations of public excitement will avail little in a struggle of this description. What we want is leadership and long-sightedness. As for ourselves, we are fairly certain as to the nature of the specific problem raised for the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his friends were moved by the simple motive of curiosity. They are not Akalis nor are they sworn partisans of the Maharajah of Nabha. They were intensely interested in a fresh instance in the art and technique of Satyagraha. Their curiosity was no more than the motive that took many nationalists to Nagpur—a desire to watch a historic operation without a clear urge to take part in the fray. The wish to know was not morbid in any sense; but for their interest in public affairs and the readiness to make their knowledge available to the public, they would not have gone. We dismiss the case that they were part of the *Jatha*; it is beneath notice. The question then is this:—is there to be publicity or not? Should the Government be permitted to carry on its campaign against the Akalis in the dark? We say no, and we hope that the Satyagraha Committee will decide in the same sense. It is a non-violent struggle that the Akalis are involved in. Are the sources of true information to be suppressed? Is the Government to be permitted to poison the springs of public opinion? We are anxious that this fundamental aspect should not be ignored or left in confusion.

Our Share

The fundamental purpose being made clear the method also calls for a word or two. The very necessity for keeping the Maharajah's case and Pandit Jawaharlal's case clear and distinct carries with it an interesting series of consequences. Publicity would no doubt help the Akalis and to that extent it would be of use to the Maharajah also. But it is a subsidiary result; and that is sufficient to ensure co-operation between the Prabandhak Committee and the Congress. The Akalis have established a discipline of their own and the less the Congress interferes with it, the better. The Satyagraha Committee should devote itself to its business and, as far as possible, keep its organisation and command independent. We are not interested in flinging large numbers of people into jail; approximation to the Nagpur model should be kept in view. It does not matter where our civil resisters come from, but they should be offered for an object that is definite, honourable and intelligible to the whole world. The Akalis prefer operating with large numbers. The policy may be sound; and as long as the numbers are forthcoming the results will justify

the policy. The Satyagraha Committee will however be well advised in not obtruding itself in the name of the Congress or putting forward a claim to leadership. Perhaps a member of the Satyagraha Committee may advantageously come in touch with the Prabandhak Committee. That is the utmost in the way of co-operation now. His primary business will be to conduct the Publicity Campaign. But he will observe and learn valuable lessons from the Sikhs. If he is the right man, he will soon be a teacher also. Dr. Kitchlew seems to favour an extended tour. That will come in its time. Just for to-day, there is one thing to do. He will do well to summon a preliminary meeting of his Committee to Amritsar and take their advice. It would help him; not only that, the Amritsar atmosphere will probably do some of his colleagues good.

Morals

The *Swarajya* is responsible for the news that the Madras Committee of the British Empire Exhibition intend to send a group of dancing women to London next spring. We find it difficult to believe the report; but the sensation it has caused, without a word of contradiction from the Committee, compels us to accept the accuracy of the statement. We are bound to say that the affair is wicked and shocking. We hope that Philistinism and Puritanism are far removed from us; but it would be fatuous to shut our eyes to fact. Art may be excellent and dancing has in it the possibility of beauty and delight. But by a sad tragedy, the Indian exponents of the art are not merely dancers. They belong to the most humiliating profession in the world, the service of predatory lust. For over a generation, cultivated Indian opinion has pronounced definitely against dancing as a profession, because of its associations. The dispatch of Indian dancers to London would be a positive scandal for various reasons. To begin with, public opinion is against it. Secondly, the exploitation of these victims of a vicious social order by responsible leaders of the State and the community is a degradation which brands us all. Evil is evil, whether public or private; but when a pestilence is brought to the public view, not for correction but for profit, every one has the right to protest. Saint and sinner alike are caught in the common disgrace; by a sad paradox it is the purest that undergoes the severest punishment. Thirdly the exhibition of these tragic victims in a foreign country would be a national stigma. God's Providence has filled the world with good things and evil; different countries and people cannot afford to receive or return evil. If there is good in India, beauty or wisdom or wealth, with which we can help England, let us by all means send it. But it would be an unforgivable sin if we seek to corrupt another people by the overflow of our weakness or wickedness. These women, sad derelicts of human wrong, are not going as the bearers of the new message in art, in beauty of life. A nation without vitality enough to secure so simple a thing as political freedom has no right to stand forth as the herald of a novel art. The common folk of England who are likely to crowd into the Exhibition, the gross herd, will not care for Indian dancing, rigid, single-dimensional art based on settled, traditional convention. These sisters will seem to them

not the embodiment of esoteric appeal, but the vehicles of the passion of the flesh. The technique of art has no meaning for the average man; but lewdness is not hidden from him.

Civic Guards

We are to have a new institution of civic guards to keep inter-communal peace. Let us say at once that they would be infinitely better than the bodies suggested by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. No one questions the crystal purity of Panditji's intentions, but his frequent suggestion of Hindus forming themselves into youthful organisations for communal defence have struck us as unhappy and superfluous. We know he is interested in the strengthening of his co-religionists but statesmanship does not lie along that path. The essential task of nursing the strength of our people is Indian, not Hindu or Muslim. It is a competition of weakness that is distressing us and no one can say that Hindu or Muslim is so overwhelmingly strong that the superiority is adequate to overwhelm the rival and the British Government in equal ruin. Grant that Muslims are more powerful or violent or that Hindus are larger in numbers or more subtle in their ways. What then? Unless the physical might of the Muslim is large enough to wrest national freedom from the hands of the Government, it avails nothing. Similarly if the astuteness of Hindus is not competent enough to foil Englishmen from a diplomatic point of view, there will be no end to the long tale of agony and slavery. Wicked men there are and will be, in both communities, till the coming of the Millennium. The business of good men and true should be to rescue the peaceful elements of society from attack. The distribution of that public duty is not cast on communal lines. The need is of all, because the danger is of all. It does not matter whether the assailant is Hindu or Mussalman; or the victim. The true victim is not the man murdered or the woman insulted; the true victim is society, which is neither Hindu nor Mussalman, but Indian. The right solution of a difficult problem is the formation of Civic Guards of Hindus and Muslims, liable to be called up for service wherever there is trouble. That they should be clean, hard-living, well-trained, disciplined and all the rest, goes without saying. But they should be something more. Remembering that they are the servants of the Congress they should in addition understand what that great national organisation stands for, and make themselves responsible to the people in that spirit. They are not to be Policemen—they are the brave messengers of a new unity, messengers prepared to face death in the service of that unity. Khaddar, truth, non-violence, faith in unity (not merely Hindu-Muslim, but amongst the men and women of all religions who have made India their home), love for the depressed classes—all these should be in them. In one word, they should enrol themselves as Congress Volunteers. Much will be asked of them in these troubled days; but more than all, non-violence.

Conspiracy

The conspiracy case in Bengal is a portent. It is clearer proof than the Delhi Compromise of the demoralisation that has come on us. The charges in the particular case may be true or false—we have

nothing to do with it. True cause for perturbation lies in this:—There the political atmosphere is such that secret conspiracies for political violence have once again become a moral possibility. Such a situation was impossible in 1921. Political violence there was of anger, of sudden passion, even open war as in Malabar; but not this secrecy, the deadly sin. Mahatmaj had planted in us the courage of non-violence, the human courage that seemed superhuman. We had learnt to look upon secret violence as a kind of cowardice which we, as a people, had transcended. We are sure that Mr. Mazumdar's arrest is due to a mistake; but fancy the tragedy of the mere suspicion of violence against the Secretary of a Provincial Congress Committee. We are bound to go back to the fundamentals. The nation should be re-established in its faith in *Ahimsa*. Every day that passes, every fresh incident, is filled with anxiety. The Congress should be above the suspicion of violence. Else politics will be chaos.

Regulation III of 1818

But there is in this something more than the suspicion of violence. It is not only we that have undergone reversion; the Government has also reverted to the use of a measure, that is purely executive. We have never had any illusions as to the basis of the Indian Government. Even then, the assumptions and postulates of political discretion, after the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, had led us to entertain the notion that the days of internments and deportations were over. The refusal of political prisoners to defend themselves had made the course of the Government clear. That very refusal was founded on the conviction that in State trials, the courts had no genuine liberty to act independently of administrative necessity. As far as we can see, the only advantage that the Bengal Government secures by acting under the regulation rather than by resorting to the Penal Code is that it can detain the prisoners indefinitely. From one point of view, the decision to drop the face of a trial is welcome; the procedure is honest and genuinely political. The Government does not claim the sanction of a judicial judgment; the decision is founded on policy. It is conceivable that the action in this particular case will be the first of a series and in obedience to instructions from superior authority. The employment of this old weapon in the Government's armoury would not have been undertaken lightly or without examination of all the consequences. As for the detainees themselves, they have a clear duty in the matter; but the duty of offering advice is delicate. If they believe in violence, we cannot take the responsibility of suggesting what they should do. They and we differ radically, and all that we can do is to pray that they might have vision to see the futility and wickedness of their faith. If on the other hand, they are pledged genuinely to *ahimsa*, we have a responsibility in the matter. We would suggest that they should not voluntarily undertake to observe restrictions that may be imposed on their liberty. They must frankly intimate to the Government their inability to do any such thing. In other words, they should openly offer Civil Disobedience and compel the Government to imprison them for such disobedience. It would then be for the Courts to impose on them the penalty of imprisonment in

jails. The hands of the prisoners then will be absolutely clean and the whole responsibility will be that of the Government. We cannot afford to tolerate any half-way house between freedom and imprisonment.

"The Longest way round"

"Is the longest way round the shortest way home?" The *Bombay Chronicle* says it is, and makes it the text of a long and interesting defence of "non-cooperation from within;" its basis being the moral of the Sinn Fein. The argument is as follows:—The strength of that movement came from its constructive programme including the revival of Gaelic, national education, agricultural organisation. But the political method of standing for elections and then refusing to sit at Westminster was primarily intended to keep out of the House of Commons the constitutionalists, the men whose presence marked the rule of force in Ireland. We are afflicted in our turn by the Indian constitutionalists. The purpose of Non-cooperation in the Calcutta programme was to deprive the Government of the moral support of the Moderates, and compel it to declare itself before the world as a rule founded exclusively on force. The Swaraj party's programme is intended to secure that very end by preventing the entry into Councils of the Liberals professing to be the representatives of the country. Mahatmaj thought that his programme would save the people from the necessity of going through the intermediate process forced on the Irishmen. The experience of the expiring Councils has shattered the hope and now we are compelled to tackle the evil in the western way. Strength can be built up only by the constructive programme: the nakedness of militarism should be exposed. These two propositions are incontestable. But the immediate problem is the manner of keeping the Moderates out. Logically the Sinn Fein method is one, which is also the method of the Swaraj party but the price of it is violence. It is not the way of putting the Moderates at ease: it is the way of hatred, the way that ends in bombs and roadmines. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress chose another method in 1920, the method of forcing the Moderates out of the Councils by exhibiting to them the tyranny that is implicit in the present system of the Government. Mahatmaj believed that it was not only the Government that stood in need of conversion but also the Moderates. The conversion was to be brought about in both cases by the same process—the suffering of the Non-cooperators. With this difference:—less would be wanted to move the Moderates than the Government. End and means were fitted together like a compact piece of mosaic. Sinn Fein's experiment with the House of Commons and its dealings with the Black and Tans were integrally connected. The Swaraj party's method is exactly the same. The notion that peaceful Civil Disobedience will issue from an atmosphere where the Moderates and Loyalists are actively and passionately against you, nursing a legitimate grievance, should be dismissed as pure illusion. Violence is one form of energy, pursuing its own laws and we cannot drop it merely because, at a certain point we find it inconvenient or inexpedient. Active non-violence is another form, equally dynamic and infinitely more human, but it has its exacting conditions of efficiency.

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A Study in Land Revenue Settlement

The Bombay Ryotwari Land Revenue Settlement.

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In order to make more effective the general contrast between the two main classes of the Land Revenue Settlement in India, let us study a little more fully and in detail the existing, typical, temporary Land Revenue Settlement of the Bombay Presidency. The General character of the Bombay system may be taken to be well summed up, and since quite consistently maintained in Bombay Regulation No. XVII of 1827, section 3 of which says:—

"The settlement of the assessment shall be made with the occupant of the land. The cultivator, when the land is held direct from Government, is to be considered the occupant; and when it is not so held, the person having the highest right of holding, recognised by the custom of the country or resting on specific grant, which intervenes between Government and the cultivator, is to be considered."

Though cases of landlord as well as village estates do exist in this Presidency, they are exceptions; the rule rather is that the settlement of the government demand of land revenue should be made direct with the cultivator, or rather, the settlement, instead of being placed, as is the case in the provinces of Bengal, Agra and Oudh, or the Punjab, on large landlord estates or whole villages, is placed direct on the small holdings of individual cultivators. There is in other words no intermediary between the government demanding its revenue with all the might of a vast coercive power behind it, and the small cultivator, who lacks in capital as much as in the resourcefulness that springs from the consciousness of capital power. We shall discuss, however, the critical aspect of the settlement later on. Here it is enough to observe that the most important feature of the new mode was direct dealings that had its own strong and weak points.

To study the system carefully, it would be convenient to divide the subject into the three main questions of:—

- (a) Fixing the unit of assessment,
- (b) the mode of assessing that unit, and
- (c) the revenue system based thereon.

As regards the fixing of the unit of assessment, the authors of the Bombay Land Revenue system had many alternatives to select from, as much from

the practice introduced by the British settlement officers in the older British provinces as also from the indigenous systems prevailing in the four main historic or ethnic divisions.—Sindh, Gujarat, the Deccan and the Konkan—of what now makes up the administrative unit known as the Bombay Presidency. Discarding the British models in the older provinces of Bengal and the North in general, they had yet a good choice in the local systems of the Deccan and Gujarat where land revenue administration had been pretty well understood since the days of the greatest of the Moghuls, and his greatest of revenue officers. The Gujarati system of "Khatabandhi" laid the assessment on the holdings, i. e. upon the whole of the area held by the occupant, whether situated in one place or not.

The places, however, are jointly and severally liable, so that no one of the constituents of the collective holding can be abandoned separately and by itself. But as the most renowned authors of the Bombay system defined the objects of a revenue survey to be:—

"The regulation of the customary land tax so that it shall at once secure an adequate revenue to Government, the progressive development of the agricultural resources of the country, and the preservation of all proprietary and other rights in the soil."

They did not think it wise to adopt this existing system, as it might conceivably reduce the security of revenue to Government. The other available alternative was that of the so-called "Field" system, in which the assessment is placed not upon holdings but upon individual fields. For this purpose the village was divided into separate parcels of land of a convenient size, each of which being assessed on its merits as a unit independent of the holding or estate in which it may be situated. For the purpose in hand the greatest of the British settlement officers in this presidency considered the second alternative to be acceptable, of course with modifications, as in that case the occupant or cultivator was made separately responsible for each separate field, which he could under certain conditions give up or resign, thereby diminishing his holding if need be, or increasing it by taking up the vacant Government land at Government assessment.

We are not in this place concerned with the underlying theory whereby the assessee was permitted or enabled to reduce or increase his holding, in the first case by resigning his field to Government, in the second case by taking up at Government assessment the vacant land in the village limits. The implication that all land is ultimately public property is an excellent basis for an active campaign of social reform in the hands of a national or responsible government. In other and more suspected hands the theory of ultimate public ownership is likely to provoke the most inconvenient arguments in history and jurisprudence, in economics and ethics. Taking, however, for our present purpose, the system as it was elaborated before the middle of the last century, we find the principle of field assessment brought its own difficulties, no sooner the general principle was accepted. What was a field? In the early days of the British settlement, a "Field" had meant the old ancestral subdivisions as recorded in the *Kulkarni's* books. But these were based upon no principle intelligible to the British settlement officers. Their area was the result of chance, often of enormous size; while their ownership frequently lay in a number of separate occupants. It was then suggested that the most convenient course would be to constitute each field held separately a unit of assessment. But the unit known as a "Field", even with the above modification being a constantly shifting area, they decided the compromise and constituted a permanent artificial unit by dividing the village lands into areas of a reasonable size based upon some fixed principle. The only requirement they expected from the new unit thus artificially created was that it should not be too large. The ostensible excuse given is that the size should not be unduly large so as to prevent a man to cope with it single-handed; but in reality, to those familiar with the historical development of the land revenue policy, the suspicion is irresistible that considerations of policy must also have had their share in determining the Government view of the question. It was clear by 1845 even that the large and rich land-owning class had a knack of developing an inconveniently independent tone which might not suit a foreign government quite so well as it might a national system of government. It may quite possibly be, indeed we have no hesitation in admitting, that Messrs. Goldsmid and Wingate, the authors of the Bombay Land Revenue System were not aware of or did not pay undue attention to such considerations of high policy. But the fact nevertheless remains that the Bombay land revenue system is so hostile to the development of large land-owners, that the problem of agrarian life in Bombay to-day is quite the reverse of what it might be in other countries: How to prevent the ruinous morcellement or fragmentation of land so as to bring about cultivation on anything like an economic basis.

For, consider the history and the present position of agricultural holdings in this Presidency. The joint report of Goldsmid and Wingate laid down that the unit of assessment should be the area that could be conveniently cultivated by a pair of bullocks. They

were not quite utterly ignorant even in the days of what we might call the results of cultivation by agricultural improvements, even though we may grant them to have been ignorant of those latter-day labour saving devices in agriculture which are a feature of the present day, and which would not be economic unless the holding or unit of cultivation was estimated on a more liberal basis. They however were content to think only of the lower limit of convenience in cultivation, without apparently making any allowance for the possible mechanical improvements in agriculture. Even on the principle selected by them, however, they had to admit that the exact area tillable by a pair of bullocks must vary according to the climate, soil, description of cultivation and the methods of husbandry therein, comprised all the elements of agrarian economy. For the Deccan, with which the original settlement officers were primarily concerned, they laid down the standard unit on this basis to be:—

20	acres of light dry-crop soil
15	" " medium " "
12	" " heavy " "
4	" " rice-land, "

It was further laid down that in making up the new artificial units on this basis, it would be necessary to split up holdings larger than the standard size into two or more such units and to combine holdings falling short of the standard into a single survey number. The Survey Number, or the new artificial unit thus constituted was to have its boundaries fixed by means of official boundary marks, so as to prevent any subsequent trouble.

As already noted, the unit thus created was made with special reference to conditions in the Deccan only. In Gujrat and Konkan the conditions of soil, climate and cultivation were quite different, and so a new unit had to be created for those provinces. The pressure of the population upon land in these parts had resulted in a much greater degree of fragmentation. The artificial survey number of the Deccan model, if adopted in these parts as the unit of assessment would render that unit a mere conglomeration of sub-occupancies. In Gujrat accordingly the rule was made that not more than five sub-occupancies should be included in a single survey number, which means that the Deccan standard was for all practical purposes dropped. In the rice and garden lands of Konkan, where subdivision had proceeded even further than in Gujrat, the standard was lowered to 1-5 acres. The waste lands, on the other hand, the so-called "Varkas" being of enormous extent and small value, were divided off into large numbers of from 15—5000 acres. In the case, moreover, of the constituent portions of each standard survey number, a further modification had to be made in course of time, in regard to what came to be known as the "Pot" number. A holding, which, being below the prescribed standard size for constituting a full survey number by itself, was included with others in a full number, was not separately measured in the Deccan. In the revenue accounts the names of their holders were recorded as constituting so many *asnas* in the rupee of the entire survey

number. In Gujerat on the other hand the subordinate of constituent numbers were also separately measured, though roughly, and the assessment imposed upon each. But no further record was kept of these beyond calling them "Recognised Shares" or "Subordinate shares of a survey number." In Konkan, where the "Pot" number originated, that entity, besides being a "subordinate share within the survey number, was something more. In the case of the "Mixed Numbers" of that province, i. e. those containing more than one class of land, e. g. garden mixed with rice land, every separate parcel of each class held by a different occupant was made into a separate "Pot" number. Unlike the "Recognised share" the "Pot Number" was separately measured, classed, assessed and demarcated by distinct boundary marks. After a varied series of legislation, into the details of which we need not go, the existing Land Revenue Code abolishes the "Recognised share of a survey number" and its place is now taken by a statutorily recognised "Subdivision of a number".

Let us now briefly examine the benefits or advantages the authors of the system intended Government as well as the agricultural classes to derive from this arrangement. Government revenue was secured from all possible dangers, since payment of the Government dues was made the one indefeasible and sovereign condition of land-holding. If a cultivator failed to discharge the Government assessment he has to go or be subject to every process of coercion that the Government has by law thought fit to devise. Whether the tax is light or heavy, whether it is within the ability of the occupant to pay, not merely according to the objective factors bearing upon the value of the land and its produce but also upon the subjective considerations of the occupants' financial condition, was not thought to be a consideration at all material of the elaboration of the system, which was the only one calculated to secure not only a steady revenue for the Government during the term of the settlement, but its substantial increase on the expiry of that term. We shall have occasion to revert to this point from another consideration: the assessment and collection of the revenue. Here we are concerned with it only in this much that though the apologists and authors of the system claim the new survey tenure to be free from all other onerous conditions, the single condition of payment of Government dues, and forfeiture on default may in itself become a crushing condition, and has in fact occasioned considerable hardship to the poorer sections of the agriculturists in times of stringent famines like that of 1899-1900. It is also the source of a considerable amount of agricultural indebtedness, though precisely how much no one can say. Finally, it is a source of detriment to the general agricultural progress of the presidency, I think, because land can not only not be taken up by way of an experiment for fear of the assessment hanging even on uncultivated land as a sort of an incubus; but the utter absence of guarantee against any increase at the next revision of the settlement discourages that investment of capital in land, that employment of labour saving devices, that extension

of cultivation by a change in crops for instance which make the *sine qua non* of agricultural progress.

The advantages on the side of the ryot or Khatedar are enumerated as: Freedom from any interference by Government officers, and freedom from any responsibility. But the restriction of Government interference to the assessment and collection of the revenue only makes the system all but lifeless, and precludes that intelligent interest and sympathy in the cause of land reform which, if properly shown by the admittedly more intelligent and better informed officers of the Government, could not but add to the wealth of the agricultural classes. And, as for the freedom from responsibility, it is true the ryot is at liberty to resign a holding it does not pay him to cultivate. But so long as land remains the only occupation open to the vast majority of this country's people, so long in fact as there are no alternative employments in industry, it is absurd to talk of this feature as though it made a great advantage for the ryot. It may as well be said that they are free to starve; but is that an advantage?

A feature of the system as first elaborated in the so-called Joint Report of Wingate and Goldsmid remains yet to be noticed. These officers aimed, if possible, after defining and constituting the Survey Number, to restrict the future morcellament of land; for they, more far-sighted than their fellows and successors perhaps, or more sympathetic, fully perceived the wastefulness of such excessive fragmentation as under the laws of inheritance of the people of India from time immemorial, must take place if no restraint was placed upon it. Wingate accordingly laid down that the survey field must be taken to be the ultimate unit or subdivision of land beyond which no further subdivision would be recognised. To that end he suggested that the title to land must be made dependent upon entry as occupant in the Government records, the occupants being occupants of the whole survey numbers or of their recognised shares. As regards unoccupied area, not more than one person could take up any number as occupant, unless the area in question was assessed at over Rs. 20%. On this plan if Government refused to enter into their records claims to ownership except of whole survey numbers then the original subdivisions if any would be maintained and further subdivision would be stopped. This latter was aimed to be prevented by regulating their inheritance, transfer or abandonment. Thus as regards inheritance, when an occupant died, his survey number or shares were to be entered by rule 6 of Wingate in the name only of his eldest son or next heir. Similarly transfer was to be made by occupants only, and by them also of whole survey numbers. The courts of law however could not permit this system to materialise, though they were not concerned very much with the economic merits or demerits of the social revolution attempted to be introduced indirectly by forcing the system of primogeniture on the Indian society. The result has been that in practice subdivision of land has proceeded to an unlimited extent, and to-day the following statistics give but a very limited view of the havoc of this system,

Details of holdings. For the Northern (Gujarat) Division				Agriculturists			Non-agriculturists		
				Number of persons.	Area held		Num of persons	Area held	
					Khalsa	Inam.		Khalsa	Inam.
1. Up to 5 acres...	...	284,078	Acres. 397,043	Acres. 148,493	49,339	Acres. 64,711	Acres. 24,834		
2. Over 5 and up to 15 acres	...	26,660	682,701	168,007	18,882	104,522	17,810		
3. " 15 " " 25 "	...	23,414	361,469	71,348	5,021	60,825	81,788		
4. " 25 " " 100 "	...	18,098	639,924	120,820	5,471	250,947	73,980		
5. " 100 " " 500 "	...	1,660	233,547	41,935	1,087	174,075	61,823		
6. " 500 acres	...	104	102,800	8,615	158	141,417	89,552		
Total of holdings, within the districts of the Northern Division.	Agriculturists	424,007	2,317,484	549,108	79,900	790,497	872,756		
	Non-agriculturists	79,900	796,497	372,756					
	Total	503,907	3,213,981	921,864					
Add area of plural holdings within individual districts of the Division.			16,315	7,156	This gives an average holding for The Northern (or Gujarat) division of 8.25 acres.				
Gross total for the Division			3,230,296	929,020					
Total Central Division									
1. Up to 5 acres	...	321,596	656,374	172,128	28,882	68,174	22,507		
2. Over 5 and up to 15 acres	...	266,196	2,295,976	252,760	21,820	1,86,531	48,197		
3. " 15 " " 25 "	...	128,430	2,286,634	171,775	10,437	191,884	37,080		
4. " 25 " " 100 "	...	128,214	4,983,908	313,878	12,392	471,991	78,100		
5. " 100 " " 500 "	...	10,146	1,334,275	120,565	2,715	428,363	39,887		
6. Over 500 acres	...	197	104,998	53,951	27	161,141	28,491		
Total of holdings within the districts of the Central Division.	Agriculturists	854,779	11,862,165	1,085,053	76,408	1,511,089	251,237		
	Non-agriculturists	76,408	1,511,089	251,237					
Gross total for the Division			9,31,187	13,173,254	1,336,290	This gives for the central (Deccan) Division an average holding of 15.65 acres.			
Southern Divisional Abstract									
1. Up to 5 acres	...	2,64,161	4,99,725	1,52,009	20,725	36,752	3,765		
2. Over 5 and up to 15	...	1,66,631	12,17,068	3,24,339	4,952	45,273	8,835		
3. " 15 " " 25 "	...	69,874	11,48,312	2,96,976	2,046	44,101	8,674		
4. " 25 " " 100 "	...	59,817	21,73,413	6,21,699	2,022	1,01,038	13,712		
5. " 100 " " 500 "	...	6,364	7,54,930	2,91,386	451	79,344	15,032		
6. " 500 acres	...	250	1,38,452	1,47,877	82	28,795	4,394		
Total of holdings within the district	Agriculturists	5,66,797	59,31,840	18,34,136	30,235	3,35,303	50,402		
	Non-agriculturists	30,235	3,35,303	50,402					
Total for the Division			5,97,032	62,67,143	18,84,538				
Add area left out of accounts in Kanara on account of Dharwad.				301	2	Average for the Division of 18.65 acres.			
Gross total for the Division			5,97,032	62,67,444	18,84,540				

Average Holdings	
For the Presidency	13.12 acres
" " North-Div.	8.25 "
" " Central "	15.58 "
" " South "	18.65 "
(No information for Sind)	

[The above figures are taken from The Land Revenue Administration Report of the Government of Bombay for 1921-22, the latest available.

The general description is based upon the *Survey and Settlement Manual* by Mr. Gordon I. C. S.] K.

Young India

4-10-23

"Back to Your Tents"

It is time that the Non-cooperators defined their attitude to the work before the country. They hold that the Swarajists have departed from the movement. The resolution on the Boycott of British goods has committed the Congress to a policy which they dislike and distrust exceedingly. The various committees are engaged in the sketching of various policies and schemes for future work. But that leaves them with nothing till Coochabada. There is only one instruction which takes them anywhere near what they want. It is the Constructive Programme.

But we must be clear in our minds. If the adherence of Non-cooperators to the work of construction is merely because they do not like the entry into the Councils it is a fruitless loyalty. Men cannot carry through to success any effort unless they believe in it. If we do not believe positively in the Constructive Programme, we must have the courage to say so plainly, and scrap it. What is to come after the re-education is a different and a latter question. If the Constructive Programme is an illusion and a falsehood, we must say so. We fear that the paralysis after Mahatma's arrest was due to the fact, that his followers did not believe in the Programme, because they did not see the need of it.

For ourselves, we have no doubt as to its necessity. But we must be prepared to work it in patience. Mr. Gandhi had strength enough to create a quick revolution and to insist on its immediate fruits for the country. Ours would be a slower process, but quite as essential. The work is no less than the education and organization of the masses. We should organize the country as truly and as effectively as the Sinn Feiners organized Ireland, before they fought their final battle and won. Sinn Fein did its silent constructive work for over twenty years, before it found dramatic opportunity after the Easter Rebellion in 1916. Ireland solved the problem in nearly the same way, as we are asked to do. Reconstruction is more clearly necessary for us than it was for Ireland. The Bardoli Programme was framed in the shadow of Chauri Chaura. We have made up our mind to keep the movement for Swaraj free of violence. Whatever Pandit Motilal Nehru may say, we are bound to pursue peaceful methods and the creed of the Congress will remain non-violent as long as the first Article of the Constitution remains unaltered. Organization and education are the only means whereby the people can be brought into touch with our politics, peacefully and permanently. Unless this comes to pass, mass civil disobedience will be an impossibility. Limited civil disobedience on comparatively small issues may be possible, but the bigger things will always be beyond our reach.

But as we have said already, the Non-cooperators must make up their mind about it. If they believe in Gandhism as a specific political method, they must adopt it and submit to its discipline. If on the other hand, they believe that the country should revert to orthodox politics, constitutional or violent, they must make a clear departure and find salvation at the tabernacle of their choice. The minority that is left, however small it might be, should organise themselves to carry through the work that was defined at Bardoli. But they must be prepared to face temporary disaster at Coochabada.

Discipline

Maulana Mahomed Ali's extensive and interesting statement to the Press explains his policy in Delhi. There are a few things left yet obscure, but it is perhaps inevitable. It is in the main intended for the edification and mild reproof of the orthodox Non-cooperators who consented to undergo a difficult mental gymnastic for adjusting themselves to the new leadership. We are not certain that the Maulana's apologetic conveys clear intellectual persuasion; perhaps he hardly expects it. As he himself said at Delhi more than once, he has trusted more to his instinct than to reason. We are content to welcome his policy on this intelligible if slightly exasperating basis. The political future of the country apart, he makes an observation which calls for remark. The exact words do not matter; but the substance of it was criticism. The discipline of the Swaraj party seemed to him excellent, and by the same token, the discipline of their opponents was something nearly the reverse of excellent. We are not going to dispute the allegation of indiscipline just now, though at least one who was in the middle of the whole affair, believes that there was no indiscipline at all. We shall be satisfied now with an ancient legal defence—confession and avoidance.

Assume there was indiscipline, what then? One would have thought that the maintenance of discipline in a victorious army was comparatively easy; while confusion in the middle of a rout or retreat was inevitable and nothing to be ashamed of. We do not grudge Mr. Das his victory—why should we? But there is no doubt it was a victory for his party. In 1920 he lost on this issue; in 1921, there was never a mention of it; in 1922, he was beaten. He struggled hard and valiantly right through 1923 to impose his view on the country. In Delhi, he succeeded. Why should it be matter from criticism, if there was sign of demoralisation when men who had fought all the hard months of 1923, found that the Maulana also had imposed on them the formula of Babu Bhagwandas at Gaya? We concede the Maulana's right to chastise his political friends. We happened to be amongst those that counselled submission to the new development. We, therefore feel particularly happy in defending those who differed from us.

Delhi Congress

(By Mahadeo Desai)

I have read with profound interest the impressions of the Delhi Congress "by a No-Changer". As he has done me the honour of mentioning me in one connection, I feel tempted to send in my analysis only to the extent that it differs from his.

To start with, I join issue with him when he says that Mr. Rajagopalachari's absence was a capital mistake. I submit it was not. His presence in Delhi would not have altered the prospects by a single iota. His friends had written urging him to go to Delhi. It was physically impossible for him to undertake the journey—he said so in reply to them. He would have attended even at the risk of his health, but he knew it was not worth while taking the risk. He was sure that the fight would be under a braver generalship than his; indeed he felt that the general should be Moulana Mahomed Ali and no one else. He felt it an act of supererogation on his part to think that with Moulana in the fray, there was any one else needed to keep the cause from going to pieces. And he advised Vallabhbhai, Rajendra Prasad and other friends to trust every thing to Mahomed Ali. That is why these elders gave the Moulana a *carte blanche* the moment they met him. I feel quite certain that if he had been present he would have taken no time, as did Rajendrababu in throwing the responsibility on Moulana's broad shoulders of seeing that he was not helping in the extinction of Non-cooperation. At any rate he had made up his mind long before the Delhi Congress that no attempt should be made to force the Moulana's hands.

That is one thing. Another is Moulana Mahomed Ali's position in those anxious days. If I put it in a word, he was exasperated. He was in the midstream of Swastika influences—most of the Swastikists being his nearest and dearest friends, friends with whom he could never bear to part company. Another force—an equally strong one—was drawing him in the opposite direction, and that was his loyalty to Gandhiji. But to the Swastika's persuasions was added the irresistible appeal from the Bigger Brother. I have had the privilege of sharing his confidence in those days, and I think he is too generous to charge me with a breach of confidence if I say that the message from the brother was on his brain on the 13th afternoon when I saw him, that it had half decided him, and that whilst he jumped up to embrace Devdas and me he did so almost wishing that the decision he had arrived at would be in consonance with what Gandhiji might have to say. He had then on him a draft resolution which was identical with the one which he moved before the Congress. He asked Devdas if Bapu had anything to say to him, and the wireless message he peculiarly referred to in his speech, was then given him, and it was to this effect: "I can send you no message because I am in prison. I have always disapproved of people sending messages from prison. But I may say that I am deeply touched by your loyalty to me. I would however ask you not to allow your loyalty to me to weigh with you, so much as your loyalty to the

country. My views are very well known. I expressed them before I went to jail, and there has been no change in them since. I may assure you that if you choose to differ from me, it will not affect by one jot the sweetness of relations between you and me." In a second Moulana exclaimed, "quite like Bapu! I could have almost written it out before I heard of it. He is the last man to fetter any one's liberty of thought and action, and that is why he is the fittest man to be our dictator." In all humility I may say that whatever Moulana's words he has not expected anybody to be carried away by the thought that Gandhiji suggested anything like a compromise. The words like 'he commands me' came, if I may say so, out of the exuberance of his loyalty and affection for the Master. Otherwise there was absolutely nothing new about the message, there can be nothing new, as he has simply set his face against, even by the indirectest suggestion, directing the movement or any one in the movement outside. With Moulana it was a pure case of the will to believe. The wish was father to the thought. I had the privilege after this of a very long conversation with him, during which I am grateful to say that he listened to me with patient attention. 'Life is all through one second best, my friend,' he said, and left me at that. Then came the historic meeting of the 13th which has been vividly described by the "No-Changer". It lasted until the small hours of the morning. He saw that almost every one of us was for complete surrender which he disliked, or for a fight to a finish, which he resented. He left almost in a huff, these being his words as he motored away. 'Bapu would not have done like this. What lead can I give you? You have rejected my lead.'

That decided Vallabhbhai and the rest who threw up the sponge. Their hearts were full of a woe too deep for words. They decided next morning that they should not force the unwilling Moulana. That very morning I sent a telegram to Rajagopalachariar, I confess without consulting either Vallabhbhai or Rajendrababu, acquainting him with the situation, and requesting him to send his opinion. In the evening whilst the Subjects Committee was in the heart of the storm, came Rajagopalachariar's reply which I placed in Vallabhbhai's hands. It was an agreeable surprise to him. He stood up, his speech was almost tearful and all too brief. Towards the end he said: "We are all soldiers. There is no leader. But there is one man with a clear head and clear thinking who has sent this message which I will read to you. (He read the telegram.) I have nothing more to say."

I emphasise once again that it was a decision which was arrived at without consultation with Rajagopalachariar, but which entirely accorded with his. It was taken in the fullest deliberation. A friend asked Vallabhbhai, 'This is astounding. Surely the Bombay Compromise was much better than this?' Vallabhbhai coolly said: 'Quite right. But the Bombay Compromise would have us be party to a camouflage. This is surrender pure and simple. There is no humbug about it. Don't you see?'

That is, in short, my story. I do not think the end is yet. The Congress was a huge confusion of

weakness—nothing less, but nothing more either. The end might come at Cocanada, if the Congress is suffered to countenance the council-goers and to give them a mandate, and not till then. There is time enough for Maulana to see the magnitude of the catastrophe and to avert it.

[A No-Changer writes:—

Mr. Desai's letter calls for two words of comment. As for Mr. Rajagopalachari, it is a matter of personal judgment. I believe he would have influenced Maulana Mahomed Ali to the point of "no compromise". Mr. Desai thinks otherwise. I shall not quarrel with him. We shall agree to differ.

Mr. Rajagopalachari's telegram had nothing to do with the case. Things having come to a particular pass, Mr. Rajagopalachari's advice was sought. We failed to persuade the Maulana. In the face of that failure, the advice was inevitable.

As for Maulana Mahomed Ali himself, Mr. Desai suggests the 13th as the decisive date. I think it was the 15th. My supposition is borne out by the issue of the manifesto by Mr. Das on that day. The Maulana told him in the morning that no compromise was possible. Mr. Das called together his friends and read the statement to the Press. Obviously then, the Maulana's position underwent a change between morning and evening.

Mr. Desai's theory of decision on the 13th does not account for this capital fact.]

Regulation III of 1818

We print below an important letter by Mr. J. Chaudhari on the Bengal Internments. By way of comment, we would ask Mr. Chaudhari not to be surprised at anything that this Government might do. We welcome the present procedure, because it helps men of Mr. Chaudhari's school of politics to see the true springs of bureaucratic action.

When I read in the newspapers that a very large number of persons were arrested in Calcutta and outside under Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and are being detained in different jails, I could hardly believe it. But now my doubts have been dispelled by the communiqué issued by the Government of Bengal. The Government of Bengal could not have taken this course without the sanction of the Government of India. I shall show presently that the Government of India is pledged to the Indian Legislature and to the public at large not to use it against British Indian subjects except in the frontier provinces. If the persons who are being detained or deported under Regulation III of 1818 are suspected of even revolutionary conspiracy, it is the duty of the Government to produce them before a Magistrate and have a judicial enquiry and trial in the regular way. The proposal of the Government of Bengal to place such evidence as it may possess before two Judges is improper, unconstitutional, if not illegal. The procedure that the Government of Bengal proposes to adopt is the same as was provided in the Regulations under the Defence of India Act. The Government of Bengal is surely aware that the Defence of

India Act was repealed by the Indian Legislature in 1922 and all the Regulations thereunder fall with it. May I ask under what statutory authority is the Government of Bengal going to place the information or evidence, as it is called, before two Judges?

Apart from the unconstitutionality and illegality of the course, the impropriety of it is evident. If the persons arrested are put on their trial, as they, and every citizen, in vindication of the right of personal liberty, have a right to demand, would not they be most seriously prejudiced by the course that the Government is going to adopt? If two Judges express their opinion beforehand, are they not likely to be prejudiced in any enquiry that may follow before a Magistrate, Sessions Judge or the High Court? It is also contrary to the traditions of the Bench to express any opinion extra-judicially on matters in the nature of information. It is the function of the law-officers of the Crown to express such opinion, and not of the Judges. Under the Defence of India Act, their opinion used to be taken under statutory authority when the Executive was authorised by statute to detain people without trial during the war. Now that such extraordinary powers have been expunged from the statute book and every citizen has a right to claim a regular trial, it is highly improper and unconstitutional on the part of the Government to submit a case against accused persons extra-judicially for their opinion. I do not think any Judge, worthy of the name, will so far forget himself as to express any opinion in such cases.

Now I shall point out how the Government of India and necessarily the Provincial Governments are pledged not to put into operation Regulation III of 1818 against British subjects except in the North Western Frontier Provinces adjoining Afghanistan. The Repressive Laws Committee appointed by the Indian Legislature, of which Committee I was a member, came to an unanimous decision with regard to it. It was signed by Dr. (now Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir William Vincent, Mr. E. L. L. Hammond, Secretary of the Committee, Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, Mr. Samarth, Mr. Bhurgri, Dr. Gour, Mr. Shahab-ud-din and myself. Our report was accepted by the Governor-General and our recommendations have been acted upon by the Indian Legislature. Although Regulation III was not repealed for reasons stated below yet it was unanimously decided that it should be limited to its original purposes and that except in the "inflammable frontier" it would not be put into operation against British subjects. I sub-join here the recommendations of the Committee with regard to Regulation III of 1818—

"Dealing with the older Acts first, we notice that they relate generally to a state of affairs which no longer exists. We regard it as undesirable that they should be used for any purpose not contemplated by their authors. The objections to them are obvious. Some, as for example, Bengal Regulation 10 of 1804, or the forfeiture Act of 1857, are inconsistent, with modern ideas, others are clothed in somewhat archaic language and are applicable only to circumstances which are unlikely to recur. Many arm the Executive with special powers which are not subject to revision by any judicial tribunal. Their presence on the Statute book is

regarded as an offence by enlightened public opinion. The arguments for their retention are as follows. The use of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818 (Regulation III of 1818) in Bengal was necessitated by the revolutionary movement which the ordinary law failed to check. The wholesale intimidation of witnesses rendered recourse to the ordinary courts ineffective. Though we have evidence of a change in the attitude of individual leaders of the anarchical movement in Bengal, we are warned that similar symptoms of intimidation have been noticed and that should there be a recrudescence of any revolutionary movement, it would, in the absence of these old preventive Regulations, be impossible to cope with the situation, and fresh emergency legislation would be necessary. Lastly, the plea is advanced that these old Acts may be regarded as measures intermediate between the ordinary law of the land and martial law, the ultimate result in case of extreme disorder. The abolition of these special laws, it is suggested, may mean earlier recourse to martial law than might otherwise be the case.

"We recognise the force of these arguments, in particular, the difficulty of securing evidence or of preventing the intimidation of witnesses. We also appreciate the fact that the use of the ordinary law may in some cases advertise the very evil which the trial is designed to punish. But we consider that in the modern conditions of India that risk must be run. It is undesirable that any Statutes should remain in force which are regarded with deep and genuine disapproval by a majority of the Members of the Legislatures. The harm created by the retention of arbitrary powers of imprisonment by the Executive may, as history has shown, be greater even than the evil which such powers are directed to remedy. The retention of these Acts could in any case only be defended if it was proved that they were in the present circumstances essential to the maintenance of law and order. As it has not been found necessary to resort in the past to these measures save in cases of grave emergency, we advocate their immediate repeal. In the event of a recurrence of any such emergency we think that the Government must rely on the Legislature to arm them with the weapons necessary to cope with the situation.

"Our recommendation in regard to Regulation III of 1818 and the analogous Regulations in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies is subject, however, to the following reservations. It has been pointed out to us that for the protection of the frontiers of India and the fulfilment of the responsibilities of the Government of India in relation to Indian States, there must be some enactment to arm the Executive with powers to restrict the movements and activities of certain persons who, though not coming within the scope of any criminal law, have to be put under some measure of restraint. Cases in point are exiles from Foreign or Protected States who are liable to become the instigators or focus of intrigues against such States; persons disturbing the tranquility of such States who cannot suitably be tried in the Courts of the States concerned and may not be amenable to the jurisdiction of British Courts; and persons tampering with the inflammable material on our frontiers. We are in

fact satisfied of the continued necessity for providing for the original object of this Regulation, in so far as it was expressly declared to be "the due maintenance of the alliances formed by the British Government with Foreign Powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British Dominions from foreign hostility", and only in so far as the inflammable frontier is concerned, from "internal commotion".

"We desire to make it clear that the restrictions which we contemplate in this connection are not of a penal or even irksome character. We are satisfied that they have not been so, in cases of the kind referred to above in the past. Indeed in several instances they have been imposed as much in the interests of the persons concerned as in the interests of the State. The only desideratum is to remove such persons from places where they are potential sources of trouble. Within such limits as may be necessary to achieve this object they would ordinarily enjoy full personal liberty and a freedom from any kind of stigma such as would be associated with restrictions imposed by criminal law. We therefore recommend the amendment of Regulation III of 1818, limiting its application to the objects outlined above."

I invite attention to the concluding portion of our recommendation that it is only in the "inflammable frontier" that it may be put into operation for security from "internal commotion". The above report was signed on the 2nd of September 1921. It met with the Governor-General's approval. It was acted upon by the Indian Legislature in 1922. The Members of our Committee and the Members of the Indian Legislature expected that henceforth the Government of India would act within the limitations specified in the report and approved by them. H. E. Lord Lytton could not have been unaware of these limitations, for, the report was submitted to the India Office in 1921, when he was the Under-Secretary of State. So it is most extraordinary that the present Viceroy, the Ex. Chief Justice of England, and the Governor of Bengal should treat the recommendations unanimously arrived at by the Executive and the Legislature as mere scraps of paper and resort to Reg. III of 1818, and go on arresting, detaining, and deporting persons in their executive capacity and deny them a judicial trial. If there is evidence of revolutionary conspiracy against them, let there be a judicial trial and if they are found guilty let them be punished under the provisions of the law. If the Government of India and the Government of Bengal have inadvertently adopted this arbitrary and unconstitutional course, overlooking the declaration of policy to which they are pledged, and also some laws and regulations that have been respected, let me hope that they will abandon the remedy which has been admitted even by the late Law Member and the Home Member as worse than the disease. If they do not they will lay themselves open to the charge of abuse of powers and breach of good faith.

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Note

The late Mr. Pearson

The death of Mr. Pearson, which occurred in Italy as a result of some accident, is an irreparable loss to India. He had made India his home, and had long ago determined to give of his best to the adopted motherland. He devoted the period of his internment during the war to a study of educational institutions in England, simply with a view to giving the Shantiniketan the benefit of his study and experience. Ever since his visit to South Africa with Mr. Andrews, he had been drawn towards Mr. Gandhi as no one else excepting Mr. Andrews. Whilst he was in England he used to write regularly to Mr. Gandhi in appreciation of all that the latter was doing, and readers of Young India will remember a couple of articles that he sent from England two years ago. His death is a personal loss to Dr. Tagore, to Mr. Andrews, and to the sage of Shantiniketan Dwijendranath Tagore who, we are told, was inconsolably miserable on hearing the news. Mr. Gandhi will be no less deeply grieved if he happens to hear the news.

The returned Comrades

No less than four Comrades have come back to share our burden again. Mr. Jai Ramdas is one of the half a dozen that Mr. Gandhi described as those who had fully assimilated the principles of Satyagraha, and his return will infuse new life in Sind. His refusal to participate in the reception and other demonstrations arranged in honour of him, was becoming of his innate humility. But it was more indicative of a sore heart. It is reported that he wept to see most of the women in a reception meeting clad in foreign cloths. The national woe is really too deep for tears. Mr. Jai Ramdas will find life outside much more miserable than life inside the jail. But we have hopes that he will help in rendering it less miserable than it is.

We heartily welcome back in our midst the dear Swami Anand and the other comrades of Young India office.

Comic Opera

The decision in the Nabha case was farcical. The sentence and sequel are so remarkably funny that it is worth noting.

Step Number One:—The prisoners were sentenced to imprisonment for two and half years in the aggregate—six months with hard labour on one count and

two years on the other, one year of which was to be simple, the balance to be with hard labour.

They marched off to prison.

Step Number Two:—The Superintendent of the jail then confronted the convicts with an order of the Administrator of Nabha State suspending the sentences unconditionally.

Step Number Three:—The Superintendent proceeded to read out another order directing the ex-convicts to leave the State.

They left by the next train.

Now mark the absurdity of the whole proceedings. After entering Nabha territory the three gentlemen were ordered not to enter into it. The order should have been issued to them before they got into the State. Some policeman blundered. They were already in the State. The right order under the circumstances would have been one directing them to depart from the State. Instead of running to the nearest Magistrate, the policeman blundered again. He persisted in serving the order which was in his possession, an order which had exhausted itself. He served the order, which was rightly disregarded. Then the Policeman blundered again. He arrested the party, hand-cuffed them, chained them and marched away with them in triumph. If the Administrator of Nabha had a bit of commonsense in his head, he would have soundly rattled the blundering official and sent the adventurous seekers after knowledge about their business. Whatever may be said of commonsense, he was afflicted with a sense of prestige; and then began the long series of evolutions which resulted in the final comedy. In its Judicial capacity, the Nabha Government pronounced the sentence of variegated imprisonment; in its executive capacity, it suspended the sentence; in its legislative capacity, it decreed the banishment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues—the whole thing happening in the course of an hour or so. The history of human government and misgovernment has witnessed many tragedies and a few bad jokes. Of the jokes, this is the most ridiculous. If professors of politics in our universities (national or Government) should ever be at a loss for a single incident illustrating the triple functions of Government, the case of *Jawaharlal Nehru and others* should be sufficient.

Was there not a singularly suggestive case in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado*? There Poo-Ba, the Lord Chancellor fell in love with a young lady, who was under his guardianship as a ward of the Court. Wooing a lady under the protection of the Lord Chancellor was contempt of Court, and the

problem that is the joke in *The Mikado* is how Poo-Ba, the Lord Chancellor was to punish Poo-Ba, the unauthorised wooer of a ward of the Court. The Lord Chancellor's business was to punish; the lover's business was to save himself from looking ridiculous. How Gilbert and Sullivan solved the problem is of no consequence. But how the Government of Nabha solved a similar problem is a matter of great consequence. For saving the face of the Policeman, the Court pronounced a thundering sentence of two and a half years on responsible public men, and the Administrator promptly suspended the sentence.

We congratulate the Nabha Administration on furnishing political science with a classic instance of absurdity, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Acharya Gidvani and Mr. Santanam on being the amused, if exasperated victims of that absurdity.

Should They have persisted?

But the academic question remains:—Should they have refused to accept the legislative authority of the Administrator and refused to leave the State. The logic of defiance seen to have called for the heroic gesture.

But we disagree; for analyse the transaction from beginning to end.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his friends went to Nabha for the purpose of informing themselves about the way things were going on in the State, especially in Jaito. They did not go to offer Civil Disobedience or to support the cause of the deposed Maharajah. They intended to remain only for a few hours, and the utmost in the way of excitement they looked forward to was the arrest of the jatha which they accompanied. As a matter of fact, they were compelled to remain for nearly two weeks and they learned more about Nabha than they dreamed of when they left Delhi. When the sentence was suspended and they were directed to leave, there was no call on them to remain. The Administrator's threat of penalties in case they did not leave involved intention to bully; and the true question in the case was whether a thing which a man did not want to do should be done merely because the doing of it would annoy a bully. Once the proposition is stated in this abstract fashion, the matter is absolutely clear. A Satyagrahi has no business to do an act, merely for the purpose of annoyance. In terms of Satyagraha, it is violence, the violence of anger and of the desire to make another person angry.

The judgement against violence in anger cannot be put higher or more clearly than in the following passage from the Sermon on the Mount. Mahatmaji's statement of doctrine is more universal and the intellectual sweep is greater. But this is more direct and lucid:—

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment. And whosoever shall say to his brother Raca shall be in danger of the Council; but whosoever shall say Thou fool, shall be in danger of Hell fire.

"Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath sought against thee,

"Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

Not only are angry words forbidden in a man, but the piercing touch is in this:—If his brother has cause for anger against him, it is not the angry brother that is counselled to refrain from anger; but the need for reconciliation is cast as a duty on the worshipper of the God of peace.

Imperial Conference

The Imperial Conference is meeting under the shadow of French domination on the continent of Europe. Hitherto statesmen from the Dominions had been in the habit of assembling together for the discussion of domestic, economic and constitutional questions—problems of mutual relationship. But on the present occasion, their main pre-occupation would be the settlement of Imperial policy towards the new hegemony that has become the overwhelming fact in the world of politics. Fifteen years ago, England was faced with Germany's intention to dominate Europe. But it was only an ambition, Germany's legions being counterbalanced by those of France and unshattered Russia. Curbing the purpose of Germany, there was something more than the military fact of the armies of the Triple Alliance; there was the will to war of a generation that had forgotten what war was and that could not imagine what war might be. Whatever the fact in other countries, the soul of England today feels sick of its late sup of the blood, and is trying all it can to shut its eyes to the military price she will have to pay for keeping Europe free of unchallengeable mastery. The Conference is no more than the casting up of accounts against the next gamble of war. We understand that Dr. Sapru is engaged with the issue of Kenya; we are informed that though the matter was not on the agenda, the Conference has on his persuasion, decided to give him audience in respect of it. The debate is to be at the fag-end of things, and we can anticipate a resolution of unexceptionable phraseology. But we are inclined to think that Dr. Sapru is on the wrong track. Kenya is no doubt important to Lord Delamere and India; but what England (certainly) and the Empire (possibly) are up against is not Kenya or India, but France. The Conference will be prepared to honour Dr. Sapru to his utmost bent, as long as he or (more probably) the Secretary of State is able to promise the co-operation of India in the next war. Balancing one obscure force against another in our general ignorance, we are fairly clear that the European situation is the crux of the matter. We suspect that Dr. Sapru will observe silence when it is discussed. But if he will take advantage of an opportunity to make it sufficiently clear that India's soldiers will refuse to be the soldiers of an Empire in which she has no honourable share, he would do good service. If he fails to perceive the crisis of the case, all else will be nothing.

England and Africa

Mr. Andrews has done remarkable service in bringing to the notice of the Indian public passages from Major Grogan's book entitled *From the Cape to Cairo*.

It was published years ago and had the honour of an "Introduction" by Cecil Rhodes. Cecil Rhodes has been dead a long time but Major Grogan himself has attained fame and wealth. According to Mr. Andrews, he is the second wealthiest man in East Africa. He is the lord of 300,000 acres of land, confiscated from the Africans. We have nothing at present to do with him as a land-grabber and Empire-builder; what we are greatly interested in, is his evidence about the human culture and social economy of Africans. "As a spectator and student of social evolution" says Major Grogan:—

"I see a people infinitely more wise, infinitely more decent, infinitely more sane than we. The absolute logic of their life bewilders our distorted minds. We can never learn to understand them. They soon see through us. We think them fools. They think us mad; and there is little question who is nearer the mark. They are happy. They want nothing. No man grows fat among them while his brother starves. In absolute content they dose along their dreamy path of life.

"In this light, I love them and weep to think that we, the strenuous, the snob-ridden, the crude, dross-bunting victims of a hideous mess of blatant greed and misery, have ever crossed their path."

But speaking as a European who has invaded Africa and is engaged in the task of imposing "civilisation" on that Continent continues the writer:—

"The other point of view is that of the man in their midst with work to do. We are dependent on their aid. To assist us they must be moulded to our ways. But they do not want to be,—and yet they must. Either we must give up the country, commercially, or we must make them work; and mere abuse of those who point out this *impasse* can never change the fact. We must decide. Or rather the white men of South Africa will decide. May History (the philosophy, which teaches by example) teach us at last to be discreet. I have seen too much of the world to have any lingering belief that western civilisation benefits native races. *Socially, physically and morally its advent is their death-knell.* Still, we have taken up the task. Let us see with open eyes the issues that that task entails. For, sure as the tide, comes the moment when there is no longer room for both people to live their own individual lives. At that moment, one must bow or leave the path."

Mr. Andrews professes himself shocked at these passages and he has good reason to be so shocked. It is not shocking that a soldier like Major Grogan should be cruel to his own people or the people not belonging to his race; the matter for grief is that an experienced man of the world should approve of a manifestly wicked doctrine and proceed to defend it without shame or reproach. Shocked one may be; but there is hardly matter for surprise. The gravamen of our charge against "Civilisation" is fully borne out by Major Grogan. In the first place, "Civilisation" as a social order is greatly inferior to that which obtains among Africans. We may not like the Africans; we may dislike their complexion; their ways of life may be strange and unfamiliar to us. But in the simple needs which every society must meet, (equality, discipline, individual contentment,) the forgotten wise men who framed the social order in Africa were not only superior to European civilisation (that is simple enough), but also singularly competent. The failure of Europe to build up a stable and human civilisation is certainly matter for regret, but not for condemnation. A satisfied society is the last term in human evolution. The rest of the world might have noted the failure and avoided imitating the victims of the disaster. But the tragedy and the sin consists in the subjection of contented and

stable societies by an essentially lower type. The inferior civilisation has effected the conquest by its superiority in the one element of predatoriness. European civilisation was predatory, and the force was the handmaiden of exploitation. Europe's sin against the world's peace is not its failure to find its own peace, but the imposition of its own greed and restlessness on those who had found peace. The sin should be wiped out, or the earth will die of the distemper that is slowly killing Europe.

Civil Resisters

We observe that some of our contemporaries have criticised our definition of Civil Resisters. As a definition indeed, our remarks were defective; but logical definition or even lengthy description was far away from our purpose. Our object was altogether different. We were concerned with the treatment of Civil Resisters in prisons. We think that the Government's dealing with them as criminals is a mistake and a falsehood and we stated what we believed to be the true view. But because the Government was likely to profess inability to distinguish Civil Resisters from ordinary criminals, we mentioned certain features as the insignia of distinction. If we claim that Civil Resisters should be treated as prisoners of war, and not as mere offenders against the municipal law it is our duty to tell the Government who should be so treated. We suggested the issue of the warning:—If men and women fulfilling certain tests are subjected to humiliating treatment, they reserve to themselves liberty to disregard all the Regulations of the Jails. This point of approach is important. There is only one All-India political body that approves of Civil Resistance as legitimate political action, and it is the Congress. For disciplined effort, for efficient group negotiation, there is no use in individuals acting for themselves. They must act as the servants and agents of a recognised political Association and not on their own. We want joint corporate action, not free-lancing, however brilliant. We thought of the Congress; but if any other body should resort to civil resistance, it will have the right to urge for similar immunities. For instance, in the matter of the flag, it was only at a late stage that the Congress assumed responsibility; in the beginning it was an *ad hoc* committee that managed affairs. Similarly in the case of the Akali struggle, we would concede the same right to the Prabandhak Committee which we claim for the Congress. Two conditions call for a further word. Khaddar and non-violence in thought, word and deed, we regard as fundamental and the pleas urged against their rigidity leave us absolutely unmoved. On the contrary, every day that passes makes us convinced that we dare not dilute or weaken the integrity of the famous Ahmedabad Volunteers' pledge.

Fear in Bengal

As far as can be judged from writings in the Press, the deportations in Bengal have brought about a humiliating result. It is reported that the people are stricken with fear. Calcutta seems to be infested with the agents of the Criminal Intelligence Department, which is nothing new and ought to leave the people unafraid. What we are disturbed about, however, is the news that the public is frightened. It is not stated that the fear is of the "Revolutionists", the fear is of the Government. It strikes us as a sad

falling off from the standard that India set in 1920 and 1921. In the middle of the Great Repression, when thousands were imprisoned all over India and in Bengal more than anywhere else in India, there was not a sign of fear exhibited by Calcutta. Day after day, hundreds volunteered for prison, amid the shouting and battle cries of freedom. Now it is a bare dozen that are interned and fear is creeping in the streets. Why, what has happened? What change has come over the spirit of men and women? This. The courage born out of Non-cooperation has vanished. Non-cooperation was a valiant fight, openly declared and openly waged. We recognised only one enemy—the Government. In our eyes there were weak and halting brethren, the Loyalists, the Moderates, the co-operators of all kinds, the winning of whom to our cause, was as manifestly a duty as the overthrow of Government. Even the Government was sought to be put above all fear—there was a constant appeal that the Government should change its mind. The fight was certainly against the Government;—but more than that, it was a fight against our own weakness and cowardice. Because the challenge was to ourselves, we made it our business to practise continuously, (in small things and great, mostly in small) the simple virtues of citizenship, patriotism, truth and courage. It was little of cleverness that was wanted of us; certainly nothing of the effort to discredit the Moderate or the Loyalist. On the other hand, we felt that we had a share in their weakness. But when we began to repudiate Non-cooperation all the virtues, that we had built up in the brave months, and which seemed to be a secure possession of our people for ever, gradually departed also. To-day, upon Bengal has come fear, the disavowal of faith in the Truth, weakening of assurance in the mercy of God; to-morrow it will be elsewhere. Yet a little later, one virtue after another, will go out of us. The process of degeneration is not complete. Things will go from bad to worse till experience re-teaches us that there is no way for this nation but Non-cooperation.

The Swaraj Party

"Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones" is sage counsel we are bound to respect. We have been reproved for lack of discipline; and the "indiscipline" which was no more than an involuntary act of psychological reaction has already vanished. But having assumed partial moral responsibility, we have the right to modestly inquire how exactly the Swarajists intend to employ their victory for national purposes. We have been warned off the grass. "No boycott propaganda". Assume we accept the warning. But surely the country has the right to know what the Swarajists are about. Reference to the programme of the party published months ago would not satisfy us. We are not satisfied as to the finality of political programmes. The exhaustion of logical possibilities undertaken by Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Civil Disobedience Committee's report is ancient history; the Bombay and Allahabad manifestoes carry a medieval flavour. The practical question is:—What is the party's programme after the Congress? Is the party going to try its luck in the Councils and the Assembly? Mr. V. J. Patel, we understand, prefers that the party should concentrate on the Assembly, ignoring the Councils as of no vital significance. This

is a vital question—but the party has said not a word about it. Is it that those who wanted to enter the Councils were bound together by a common passion only as long as they were in a minority in the Congress? Now that they are no longer in a minority, do they find themselves afflicted by the handicap of all victorious alliances—the struggle over the terms of peace?

Satyagraha Committee

Dr. Kitchlew has summoned the first meeting of his Committee. It is to meet in Jullundur on the 18th instant on the occasion of the meeting of the Sikh Central League. We are frankly glad. Dr. Kitchlew has been issuing a number of statements on the subject of Civil Disobedience; several of his speeches have also been reported. Obviously, he is feeling his way through. It is just as it should be. But we shall humbly suggest that he should not mix up the boycott of British goods with his own work. There is a Committee in charge of that programme. Each committee should set about its business, without being burdened with a grievous sense of anxiety as to the rest. We are glad to note that there is an air of caution and tentativeness in Dr. Kitchlew's methods; it is all to the good. All the same, caution should not degenerate into perpetual postponement. If we may so put it, we should like him to cultivate the atmosphere of experienced immediacy. We hope that Maulana Mahomed Ali will be in Jullundur at the Sikh League and at the Satyagraha Committee. When all is said and done, we have to recognise that it is the Maulana's decision which will be vital and determining. When the Committee comes together, there will be two problems facing them, both important, but one of pressing urgency:—Nabha and Mass Civil Disobedience. Neither can wait, but the latter will have to be made to wait. As for Nabha, two questions should be canvassed carefully and candidly. One:—Do the Sikhs feel that they by themselves are strong enough to fight through to success? The answer should come from the Sikh League. If it is in the affirmative, we should strongly counsel the Satyagraha Committee to leave the conduct of affairs in the hands of the Prabandhak Committee. A responsible Congressman must be left with the Sikhs to act as reporter and adviser; and nothing more. Equally strongly, we should suggest to the League and the Prabandhak Committee that they should not underestimate the strength of the Government, or over-estimate their own. Their record in the past is great; but it is a very big task that they have taken on hand now and the Government will not own defeat without a desperate fight. But if the League wants the assistance of the Satyagraha Committee, it will do well to say so clearly. The Committee may then tour the country on that specific issue—enrolling volunteers, strengthening the Congress Committees and building up public opinion. We do not imagine that the trouble in Nabha is going to be over before December. Possibly, the strength of the Prabandhak Committee will not be exhausted by that time. Armed with the authority of the Congress at Cocanada, the Congress will be able to take its place in Nabha. And there will be a special fitness in it:—The Congress is the final reserve of political strength in the country.

Young India

11-10-23

The Doubters

Satyagraha as a method of political action has once more to face the mood of intellectual doubt. In 1920, the mood existed; but the active politics of 1921 dispelled it. Now we are again in the blackness of it.

Let us be clear that we are not concerned with Pandit Motilal Nehru's proposition that the country would not have tried experiments in non-violence, if the method of violence was reasonably open to it. The reply to that was put in one sentence by Mahatmaji in his speech at the Special Sessions of the Congress in Calcutta:—If violence was possible, the country would not have listened to him. The matter of importance now is vitally different. You may rule out violence on the ground of prudence or of principle, but is there any hope of final success in *Ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*? If there is none, the notion should be dismissed and the people rescued from the barren wilderness into which they have been led.

The sceptics themselves are divisible into two classes. There are those who hold that the Law of Love is incomplete and that till the end of time, Force will always triumph over Love and that it is best so. They are the men who love war; or if they do not love it, they respect it as one of the drastic means provided by nature for the progress of life. They could not imagine the coming of a time when Force would in some mystic fashion be beaten by Truth in the end. We confess that the final faith in Force will not be removed by argument. It is a truth beyond the power of mere reason to establish. Experience, the very suffering on which the believer in non-violence relies, must be trusted to carry conviction. Reason is essentially limited; action is its own proof and justification in all the great things of the world's experience.

The second class of sceptics hold that there will come a time in the course of evolution marking the triumph of non-violence over violence. But humanity is still at so undeveloped a stage that the mass-mind is not capable of will and resolution enough to win through by *Ahimsa*. The contention is that while individual martyrs and saints might look the tyrant courageously in the face and by the unshaken power of the human spirit defeat his aim to bring into submission the free spirit, similar action concerted to achieve specific political ends is impossible. The human mass-will is as yet incapable of surviving the persistent application of force.

The matter has come up for discussion again in view of the reported failure of "Passive Resistance" in the Ruhr; and the sceptics have not failed to draw conclusions from the incident to the discredit of Non-co-operation and *Satyagraha*. We should suggest, however, that the reports about the happenings in the Ruhr are still so vague that it may be wise to reserve

judgment. It is true that Passive Resistance has been called off by the Central Government of Germany. But it is equally true that the suspension was the outcome of long-continued negotiations between Germany and France and that the step taken by Germany was to be followed by measures for the settlement of Reparations problem.

Germany resorted to "Passive Resistance" as a protest against France's manner of securing Reparations. The obvious intention of M. Poincaré was to draw on the products of Ruhr for the payment of the amounts due under the Treaty of Versailles. Germany had failed to pay its debt, and France invaded the industrial area for recouping herself from the wealthy output of the occupied territories independently of the co-operation of the German Government. "Passive Resistance" was embraced as a means for avoiding the realisation of money. The months that have elapsed since the invasion of Ruhr by French soldiers have brought into being wild passions and undying enthusiasms. But the original meaning of Germany's protest remains unaltered. Not only does it remain unaltered, but it is sacred and fulfilled. France has got no Reparations.

But we are prepared to assume that, as a matter of fact, passive resistance has broken down in Ruhr. Even then, we shall not despair. It is a wild, desolate jungle, along which the path of non-violence is to be planned and built. Politics is encrusted with hatreds and violences innumerable. For achieving national ends, the world has permitted itself to tear religious and moral codes to fragments. Is it surprising that hundreds of efforts to evolve a non-violent technique of efficient political action should be doomed to failure. Sorrow and suffering are wanted to establish national and individual freedom; a price that nations profess themselves ready to pay. But the discovery of the unerring method can itself be perfected only after attempts and failures without end, the loss of uncounted lives.

We have said that the military mind will be convinced not by the most careful reasoning; but by experience. But we have the right to urge on those who plead for delay that the final triumph of non-violence, in which they believe as sincerely as we do, will not come to humanity as a gift from the gods, a perfect and marvellous instrument. They and we alike, all who recognise that violence will not possess the earth for ever, have flung on us the terrible responsibility of making in evident that our faith is founded on Truth. We may fail in our efforts. The failure may have to be paid for by our lives, and the lives of the people whom we lead. But if there is assurance of belief which will lead men and women to glad deaths, we shall have nought to reproach ourselves with for the disaster that comes on others. For after all, the price of liberty is death; he who pays that price which is above all scoffing may be sure of being able to resist the taunt of the mocker.

The end of it is this. If, indeed, humanity is to step into the heritage of *Ahimsa*, the achievement

can be won only by tears and a heartbreaking series of failures. It is not given to humanity to lay its hands on any weapon or function, built perfect; but the duty of man is to struggle to perfection. Perfection in politics or in virtue will not be the prize of the cowardly or the half-hearted.

Mahatma Gandhi

Following are extracts from the much discussed Essay of M. Romain Rolland in the French Review "Europe". The whole Essay is to be published by Mr. S. Ganesan in English:—

A small weak man, with a lean face and tranquil brown eyes, and with spread-out big ears. He wears a white head-dress, a coarse white cloth covers his body and his feet are bare. His food consists of rice, fruits and water, he sleeps on the floor, he sleeps but for a short while and he works untiringly. His bodily appearance does not count at all; "an expression of great patience and great love" is what strikes us at first when we see him. Pearson seeing him in 1913 in South Africa is reminded of Francis of Assisi. He is kind and courteous towards his adversaries, his modesty knows no bounds, he is scrupulous to the point of appearing ever to hesitate and say "I am mistaken". He never conceals his errors, never enters into compromises, resorts to no diplomacy, shuns oratorical effects, or rather, never thinks of it. He hates popular demonstrations which his personality inspires—occasions when sometimes his lean body runs the risk of being trampled on, but for the help of his friend Maulana Shaukat Ali who wards off all danger with his big athletic body. This great man, the Mahatma, is "literally sick of the multitude that adores him". He, at heart, distrusts numbers and he has a great aversion to "Mobocracy" or the rabble let loose. He feels easy and comfortable only when he is amidst a few, he is happy only in solitude, hearing the "still small voice" that commands.

This is the man who has stirred to action three hundred millions of men, shaken the British Empire and inaugurated in human politics, the most powerful moral movement since nearly two hundred years.

After a brief survey of leading events in South Africa the author strives to form an estimate of Gandhiji's principles and the influences that moulded them into their particular form. He goes on:—

I have said enough to show that under the covering of the breast there is a great evangelic heart. This is indeed a tendered Tolstoy, more easily satisfied, and, if I may say so, more "naturally" Christian (in the universal sense) than the Russian; for the latter is a Christian less by nature than by wish.

It is in the condemnation expressed by Gandhi against Western civilisation that the influence of Tolstoy over Gandhi becomes most real.

European Civilisation Judged

Since the time of Rousseau, the arraignment of modern civilisation has been ceaselessly made by the most liberal minds of Europe, and awakened Asia had only to search in these records of arraignment for providing itself with a formidable weapon against its invaders. Gandhi himself has not failed to do this, and his "Hind Swaraj" enumerates a list of

these books of denunciation, amongst which a good number is written by Englishmen themselves. But the irrefutable book is that which European civilisation, has itself written in the blood of races, oppressed, bled white and outraged in the name of the chief sinners: and the same thing has been the astounding revelation of the hypocrisy, the rapacity and the ferocity shamelessly displayed before the eyes of the world by the last war, called the war of civilisation. So great was Europe's shamelessness that she invited the peoples of Africa and Asia to see her own nudity. They have seen it and judged it too.

"The last war has shown the Satanic character of the civilisation that dominates Europe to-day. Every canon of public morality has been broken by the victors in the name of virtue. No lie has been considered too foul to be uttered. The motive behind old crimes is grossly immaterial.....Europe is not Christian. It adores Mammon."

Both in India and Japan, such thoughts have been many times expressed by even amongst those who are too prudent to expound this fact openly, this conviction is inscribed firmly in their hearts. And this is not the least ruinous consequence of the Pyrrhian Victory of 1918. Gandhi, however, had seen the true character of Western civilisation even before 1914; it had exhibited itself to him without any mask, during the 20 years of his South African life. In his "Hind Swaraj" of 1908, he denounced modern civilisation as "the great evil".

Civilisation, says Gandhi, is only that in name. It is, according to a Hindu expression, "the dark age." It makes material greatness the sole aim of life. It makes the Europeans dote upon the acquisition of wealth and enslaves them to it, deprives them of all peace and interior life, it is a hell for the weak and for the labouring classes and it undermines the vitality of races. This Satanic civilisation is bound to be soon consumed by its own fire. It is this civilisation which is the true enemy of India, more so than Englishmen themselves who are not individually evil hearted but only frantic about their civilisation being infected with its virus. Thus Gandhi combats the view of those of his compatriots who would like to draw away Englishmen from India, for making India "a civilised State", civilised in the modern sense. "This would be the nature of the tiger, without the tiger itself." Now the great and the only effort to be put forth should be directed against the civilisation of the West.

"Since thousands of years India remains unshaken in the midst the changing currents of Empires. Everything else has passed away, but India has learnt to make the conquest of mastery over self and the knowledge of happiness. It has not wished to possess machinery and great cities. The old chariot and ancient indigenous education have ensured its wisdom and its good. We have now to get back to this ancient simplicity, not by one leap, but gradually and patiently, following the examples of individual leaders.

Kernel of Gandhi's Thought

This is the kernel of his thought and this is serious enough. It lays down the negation of Progress and also of European science. This medieval faith runs the risk of coming into clash with the volcanic move-

ment of the human spirit and of being shattered to pieces. But it would perhaps be prudent to say not "of the human spirit" but "of one human spirit", for if one can conceive (and I do) of the symphonic unity of the universal spirit, it is made up of many voices, each of which follows its own path, and our youthful West, carried away by its rhythm, does not think enough that it has not always led this symphony, that its law of progress is subject to eclipses, to contrary movements and re-commencements and that the history of human civilisation is more exactly the history of civilisations and not merely of one civilisation alone.

Without, however, discussing here the European dogma of Progress, and in only considering the bare fact that the actual movement of the world is contrary to the great vow of Gandhi, we should not be led to suppose that the faith of Gandhi is going to be shattered. To think so would only be to misunderstand the oriental mind. Gobineau says, "the Asiatics are in all things much more obstinate than ourselves; if necessary they wait for generations for the fulfilment of their hopes, and their ideas even after the lapse of such a long time never suffer from loss of vigour or enthusiasm". Centuries cannot frighten a Hindu. Just as Gandhi is ready to welcome success for his efforts within one year he is equally ready to wait for it for centuries together if necessary. He does not wish to hasten time, and if time itself slackens pace, he also does the same. If he finds India insufficiently prepared to understand and practise the radical reforms which he wishes to be introduced in the land, then he knows how to adopt his course of action to possibilities. We cannot at all be astonished to hear this irreconcilable enemy of machinery say, in 1921:—

"I would not deplore the disappearance of machinery but I have no hatred actually against the machines". or further "The law of complete love (without exception or restriction) is the law of my existence. But, I do not want this law to be universally applied to all political measures which I extol.....That would be to condemn ourselves in advance to rebuffs and defeats. It would not be reasonable to expect the rabble to conform scrupulously to this law.

"I am not a visionary, I claim to be a practical idealist" (11th August '20)

Gandhi's description of himself is correct. He demands from men only what they can give, but he does demand from them all they can possibly give; and this is indeed a great thing in India whose people are large in numbers, in traditions and in the development of the soul. Between his people and Gandhi, from the first moment of contact, there has existed perfect harmony and they have understood each other without any outward expression of their feelings. Gandhi knows what he can expect from them, and the people also know what he will demand of them. Between the two, the bond of connection is first and foremost, "Swaraj or Home Rule for India".

"I know" writes Gandhi, "that Swaraj is the aim of the nation and not non-violence".

And he even adds the following words which really stupefy us with wonder:—

"I would rather see India freed by violence than see her chained to slavery by violence of her oppressors."

But he soon corrects himself. "This is to suppose the impossible, for violence can never free India, and Swaraj can never be attained without the forces of the soul which form the proper weapon of India, the weapon of love, the force of truth, Satyagraha. Gandhi's stroke of genius consists in his having revealed to the people of India, the true nature and the concealed strength of this formidable weapon.

Satyagraha: Its Triple Energy

The term "Satyagraha" had been framed by Gandhi in South Africa for distinguishing his course of action from passive resistance. It is necessary to insist, with all the greater force, on this distinction, because it is precisely by the term Passive Resistance or "Non-Resistance" that the Europeans describe Gandhi's movement. Nothing can be farther from the truth. No one in the world has great aversion towards passivity than this indefatigable fighter, who represents one of the most heroic types of 'resisters'. The soul of his movement is "active resistance" by means of the inflamed energy of love, faith and sacrifice. This triple energy is expressed in the word 'Satyagraha'.

Let not the coward come to screen his poltroonery under the shade of Gandhi. Gandhi would chase him away from his community. Better for the violent spirited man than the craven coward.

"Between cowardice and violence I will choose violence. I cultivate the calm courage to die without killing, but I desire that he who does not possess this courage should cultivate the art of "killing and being killed", rather than that he should flee from danger disgracefully, for he who flees commits mental violence. He flees because he has not the courage to suffer death. I would certainly desire violence in preference to the emasculation of a whole race.

"But I know that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, that to pardon is manlier than to punish. To refrain from punishing is pardon, only when there exists the power to punish. I do not consider India to be powerless. A few thousands of Englishmen cannot frighten away three hundred millions of human beings. Besides force does not consist in physical strength, it resides in an indomitable will.....Non-violence is not a benevolent submission to the evil-doer. Non-violence resists with all the force of the soul the will of the tyrant. One single man can thus defy an empire and bring about its downfall. But at what price? At the cost of his suffering—suffering, the great law—the indispensable condition of life. Life comes from death. The growth of corn involves the death of the seed. I wish that India may practise this law of non-violence. I wish that she acquires a full knowledge of the power of this law. India has a soul which cannot perish. This soul can defy all the material forces of the world. If India should ever fail to appreciate and understand this law, I shall retire into the solitudes of Himalayas." (6th April 1921.)

But he never despairs. He believed in India, when in February 1919, he decided to open his campaign of Satyagraha, a weapon whose strength he had sufficiently tested in the agrarian disputes of 1918.

There was no thought of a political revolt yet. Gandhi is still a loyalist, and he will continue to be one, as long as he has a glimmer of hope in the loyalty of England. Till January 1920 he defended, and the Indian Nationalists have blamed him for it, the principle of co-operation for the Empire. In this

first year of opposition to the Government of India, he could assure Lord Hunter in all sincerity that the followers of Satyagraha would be the most constitutional subjects of the Government. Certainly nothing short of a shallow stubbornness of the Government of India could compel this great moral guide of India to break asunder the contract of loyalty to which he felt himself bound.

Religious Heroism

Thus, Satyagraha appears at the beginning as a constitutional opposition to the Government which has passed an unjust law. The Satyagrahis, who in ordinary times are law-abiding, deliberately disobey dishonourable laws, and if this is not sufficient for the restitution of justice, they reserve to themselves the liberty of extending this disobedience to such an extent as to adopt complete non-cooperation with the State. How different is this disobedience from our Western conception of the word, what an extraordinary accent of religious heroism exists herein!

The Satyagrahis are forbidden to employ violence against their adversaries, for it has to be admitted that the adversary is also sincere; what appears truth to me, might appear as error to another; and violence never carries conviction. Satyagrahis have to conquer their adversaries by the radiance of love, emanating from their self-denial, and by their sufferings, cheerfully and joyfully accepted. This is indeed a propaganda which can hardly be resisted. It is by this propaganda that the Cross of Christ and of His small troop of disciples has conquered a great empire. In order to bring to light the religious enthusiasm of a people who offered themselves to be sacrificed for the name of justice and liberty, the Mahatma inaugurated, by fixing the 6th April 1919 as a day of prayers and fasting, a *Karial* for all India. This was his first act, and this act touched the most profound portion of the conscience of the people. It had an unexpected effect. For the first time all the classes of India united themselves in one simple effort. India for the first time re-discovered herself.

After detailing the march of British policy in this country when Mahatma, who up to 1920 was for co-operation with the authorities turned to Non-cooperation as the only weapon, the author brings his story to the point of the Great master's arrest and imprisonment. Now he proceeds:—

The Great Trial

It is now apparent what a great citizen of the Empire has been lost to England on account of her blind pride.

Thus finished the trial. Hundreds of Gandhi's friends and admirers fell weeping at his feet and paid their respectful homage to him. The Mahatma with a smiling face took leave of them. And the doors of the Sabarmati Prison closed on him.

The great voice of the Apostle is hushed now in the silence of the prison. His body is immured within a tomb, but never has a tomb been able to shut up or restrict the power of a noble thought. His invisible soul continues to animate the immense body of India. "Peace, non-violence and suffering"—this is the unique message which has come from the prison-house.

The message has been heard and understood. The message has spread from one end of the land to the other. Three years ago, India might have been deluged in blood by the arrest of Gandhi.

When in March 1920 constant rumours of his arrest flashed in the air, people became considerably agitated. The Ahmedabad sentence on the other hand was received with all the characteristic religious silence of India. Thousands offered themselves to be imprisoned with feelings of peace and joy. An extraordinary example of Non-resistance showed to what depths the Divine Message had entered into the soul of the nation.

The Akalis

To illustrate his thesis that the doctrine of the Great Master had infiltrated the masses, that extraordinary examples of non-resistance were being furnished all over the land, M. Rolland then refers to the struggle at Guru-ka-Bagh and the reserve of power in the race and absorption of Gandhian teachings it indicated, and continues:—

People and the Leaders

The people themselves seem to have much better kept alive the Mahatma's thought than those leaders who had been commissioned to guide and develop the people's thought and teaching. Even before Gandhi's arrest, opposition had manifested itself in the Congress Committee at Delhi. This opposition was again renewed at Lucknow on the 7th of June 1922. Great dissatisfaction reigned regarding the programme of patient construction and waiting, imposed by Gandhi. The desire to resort at once to Civil Disobedience asserted itself strongly. A committee of enquiry was deputed to ascertain if the country was ripe for Civil Disobedience. Its report was extremely disappointing. Not only did it record the actual impossibility of Civil Disobedience but a number of Commissioners (men of proved faith) desired that the Gandhian methods of Non-cooperation and of boycott of public functions, should be abandoned, that a Swaraj party should be formed in the heart of the Government Councils and that in short, Non-cooperation should become a kind of parliamentary opposition. Thus Gandhi's doctrine was battered in breach from two directions, on the one hand by the advocates of violence and on the other by the champions of moderation.

But, India protested against any such change as was proposed by this sect of moderates. At the annual session of the Indian National Congress in 1922, at Gaya, India's fidelity to the persecuted Master and to his faith in the doctrine of Non-cooperation was re-affirmed. By 1740 votes against 890 the Congress rejected the resolution for Council entry. A proposal to boycott all English goods was rejected as it was thought that this might alienate the sympathies of the labouring classes of Europe. More extreme in its views, as always, the Muslim Khilafat Conference had voted for this boycott by a large majority.

It is at this point of the story that we have to break off the description of the Gandhian movement. In spite of certain inevitable deviations in the absence of the Master and of his best disciples, the movement has successfully stood the formidable test and boldly braved the dangers of the first year of its guideless existence. The disillusionment expressed by the British press after the Gaya Conference shows well the importance of the success achieved.

(To be Continued)

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Notes

The Constructive Programme

Maulana Mahomed Ali's statement that this was not the time for exciting people against the Government, and that it was the nation's business to turn the searchlight inwards, has provoked comments of varied character. An organ of the Liberal press has congratulated him on his courage and conversion. Tactlessly enough, it has reminded him of challenging words uttered in 1921 just prior to his arrest, words full of fire and defiance. We suggest that the method of taunts will not be helpful in establishing anybody in a new-found stage of regeneration. But there is a deeper difficulty in the case. However anxious the Liberals and the Maulana himself may be to leave the Government in peace, and to proceed with the work of national uplift, the anxiety by itself will not assure political stability. We may be willing to avoid the Government's corns; but what are we to do if it continues to make itself as nasty and as unpleasant as possible. We want the constructive programme to go forward; we are content to face apparent political paralysis as part of the price to be paid for it. But if the Government persists in repression and aggression, how is the most golden counsel of self-examination and self-construction to be observed? It will then become our manifest national duty to defend ourselves; and we hope nobody in the world would ask the nation to persist in impotence. Take for instance our very time. Salt tax; Kenya; Bengal deportations; the deposition of a Ruling Prince who is the servant of the Khalsa:—What is the nation to do with these perpetual challenges. Is it within the power of the Liberals to control the Government? It is not. Maulana Mahomed Ali is a fire-eater turned peaceful under the burden of national responsibility; and we do not blame him. There are others, phlegmatic ones turned fire-eaters under the stress of national humiliation. Whatever the sequence, the bureaucracy delights in trying the patience of the impatient and the philosophical with careless impartiality. At the same time, we should like to see the challenge answered not in the way Lord Reading expects, but in some other and more efficient. We believe that the genuine answer to these pin-pricks is the constructive programme. Let us do the small things, and the bigger consequences will follow.

The duty to Government

We had occasion last week to comment on observations provoked by our proposal in regard to Civil Resisters. But we fear we are not at the end of our troubles; no, not by a long way. A respected friend is distressed about the original article. He thinks that it was not in the spirit of Mr. Gandhi. As far as we can make it out, the criticism is that demand for the treatment of civil resisters as prisoners of war and not as criminals is inconsistent with the doctrine of suffering. This leaves us slightly at sea. The subject matter is difficult and we wish to avoid dogmatism or the semblance of it. We do not believe that suffering in itself is desirable. But suffering is a test of certain virtues in the man who survives it: Courage, steadfastness, grit. Up to a certain point, the greater the suffering, the clearer is the opportunity for judgment. There are bye-products in which we are interested: Suffering may provoke pity, admiration and finally submission in the opponent. Judged even by this purely quantitative standard, the amount of suffering involved in the loss of liberty is, we submit, nearly incalculable. It is only the atmosphere of slavery in which we are brought up that disables us from assessing the loss at its genuine value. The loss of liberty being the major privation, the imposition of a brutal physical discipline is of very little consequence. But all this is beside the point. The ground of our claim is far other. Here is a Government founded on force and, as we believe, on fraud. We are fighting against it by the method of Civil Resistance. The immediate consequence is the imprisonment of resisters. But the Government says they are criminals; and it proceeds to treat them as such. They are not criminals. It is untrue to say they are criminals. The Government is committed to a false formula because it does not know any better. (If we wanted to be hard with the Government, we may say that it knows, but that it is wicked in spite of the perception of truth. But it will be going too far.) Is it not our duty to make the Government perceive Reality? We believe it is. We may have grievances innumerable against the bureaucracy, but we shall not be absolved from our duty to proclaim the truth. Our grievances have to undergo the discipline of truth, in great things and small. It is true it is the big thing that is the objective. But repentance in regard to it is not going to come by a sudden stroke, by a sweeping revolution of a morning. If Magistrates and Jailors can be made to realise that it is false and cruel to treat

honourable men as criminals, we shall be doing them a genuine service and we shall by that very act, hasten the coming of *Swaraj*. The fight is between Britain's falsehood of intoxication with power and India's falsehood of weakness. We are seeking for a point of contact. Everything that makes for the elimination of our weaknesses, everything that makes for the Government's understanding of truth should be welcomed.

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Straws in the Wind

We trust we are not afflicted with pessimism, but there are so many incidents in current politics which point to despair. We have sought to convey, often enough, our impression that the Delhi Congress marked the beginning of a new chapter in our public life or rather the end of an old one. A description of the old chapter is superfluous; he who knows knows. But it is interesting to mark the process of transition. Take the matter of the boycott of courts. It was fashionable to say that the boycott of courts had come to an end somewhere about the end of 1921; but the statement was not true. The victims of political prosecutions practised the boycott of courts by the very fact of their refusal to take part in the proceedings. Directly after the Bardoli resolution, an important leader who was discontented with that decision had to stand his trial. He was reported to have said that his liberty to defend himself had been restored and that he was half-inclined to take part in the proceedings. But it was only the joke of a distressed and tired man; he did not defend himself—he persisted in maintaining the boycott. That was early in 1922. Right through 1922 and during a good deal of the present year, the boycott was maintained at least in the limited manner already indicated. The Delhi Congress destroyed the boycott of the Councils. Nothing specific was said about the boycott of the law courts or of Government scholastic institutions. But the country does not consider it worth its while to maintain a distinction. The national schools are vanishing, and the less said about them the better. As for the "National" scholars, there is none left, except in Gujarat. In the matter of the law courts, we have come to the point of the offer of formal legal defence. Bail has been applied for pending trial; and lawyers are now being invited to the exciting and at onetime, honourable occupation of defending the victims of political injustice. In Delhi, in Calcutta, in the Punjab, the boycott has broken down; people have begun to defend themselves. Even in the matter of the Nabha struggle, the Prabandhak Committee has invited Pandit Motilal Nehru to take charge of the interests of an important prisoner. We imagine Pandit Motilalji will be too busy to interest himself in the affair; but if the Sikhs feel that distinguished legal talent is wanted, it will be forth coming. Will any one suggest that all this does not indicate the dissolving, nebulous politics in which we are. Will any one suggest that it is not the gradual but unmistakable repudiation of the policy of 1921. What is more, we believe the end is not yet. There will be a few, may be a bare handful, who will be non-

cooperators, all through life. They may be politically purblind; but they will be faithful. They may be in peril of Pharisaism; but they will avoid the greater vice of levity, fickleness and the failure to persevere.

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Death and Resurrection

It was a suggestive and interesting address that was delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Provincial Conference held in Benares. He himself was too ill to be present when the address was read out. As far as we can judge from a full report, it was a characteristic production; clear, business-like and without any hysterics. The back-ground is one of sadness, but a sadness illumined by hope. The clean rill of thought amid the Omaric waste of melancholy challenges thought and criticism. Take for instance the following passage:—

"The Delhi Congress, it has been remarked, marks the end of Non-Cooperation. I wonder at any one who had lived through the last three or four years in India making this assertion. It passes my comprehension how even a resolution of the Congress can put an end to a mighty movement. If India has at all imbibed the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, if ever a group of men remain true to that Gospel, then Non-Cooperation cannot die. And if all of us are utterly unworthy of this teaching, and incapable of acting in accordance with it, even then a subsequent generation will wield the mighty weapon and prove to the world that this is the only way and the best way which ensures true freedom and ends strife. The Non-violent Non-Cooperation movement cannot die.

As it happens, we are amongst those who have committed themselves to the proposition that Delhi marked the end of non-cooperation. As nearly always obtains in such controversies, the essence of the dialectic is definition. From one point of view the spirit that gave birth to non-cooperation cannot die; and non-cooperation itself is our perpetual possession. It is vital, creative and continuous. But the spirit is one thing; the particular programme which was accepted in Calcutta was clearly different. That programme was specific and particular—a progressive withdrawal of co-operation with the Government to the end of bringing about its paralysis. Schools, law courts, Councils, and titles were to be boycotted. The reasons are well-known and we need not bother about that. But in Delhi the programme was repudiated in its most vital part. The months since Bardoli had been witnessing the gradual abandonment of boycott other than that of the Councils. Delhi saw the end of the single item that had survived. Surely non-cooperation as it was defined in 1920 came to an end in Delhi. We do not say there is no possibility of resurrection; but to-day it is dead. At the same time we agree with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the spirit has in it always the possibility of fresh life. But it is necessary to be accurate. The "spirit of non-cooperation" is a clumsy expression and is tainted with the ambiguity of the Calcutta programme. Call it Satyagraha, Gandhism, non-violent coercion what you will; but it must be a word free from the suggestion of a particular programme. Satyagraha will probably be the final survivor; but we have a weakness for the word Gandhism; non-violent coercion, has approved itself to learned persons. Whatever it is, let us confine ourselves to the simple word. Out of Satyagraha will issue forth many strange and unexpected forms of action.

At the present moment, as a matter of hard fact, even the non-violent direct-actionists prefer Civil Disobedience. The Akalis in Guru-ka-Bagh and now in Nabha, a little while ago the Flag Satyagrahis—it was Civil Disobedience that was and is being practised by them. As far as one can see, there is no near prospect of Civil Disobedience falling into disfavour. Take for instance, the Nabha affair itself. There was nothing to prevent the experiment of non-cooperation being initiated for paralysing the Administration. But it is Civil Disobedience that is favoured. This is a matter of some significance. We shall venture to go a little further. Even if non-cooperation should be revived, there is no compelling reason in favour of the particular Calcutta programme. It is logical and clear; but the failure of 1921 will drive away men from it.

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Newspapers

One of the Resolutions of the Delhi Congress conveyed an instruction to the Working Committee. The Committee was directed to warn the public press against the publication of news and opinions calculated to promote inter-communal strife. The Committee was also authorised to reinforce its appeal for a policy of peace by intimating to the papers concerned that in case of recalcitrance, the Working Committee would decree their boycott by the public. We are doubtful as to the morality of the sanction and we are certain that it would be practically impotent. But we are content to let this question be; it is of no immediate urgency. It must be frankly recognised that the problem of the Press is difficult. The English newspapers in North India are not pledged to extreme communalism, though the cloven hoof is visible enough; but the vernacular Press is run on communal lines, without apology and without the sense of the need for one. There is not a pin to choose in this respect between the Hindu-edited and Muslim-edited papers. All one can say is that some of the Hindu papers are worse than the Muslim and that some of the Muslim papers are worse than the Hindu. Graduation apart, all are communal. We think we can understand the position of the journalists. Broadly speaking, the newspapers have to supply the type of news and advice acceptable to the readers. When communal feeling is at its height, the Hindus prefer their papers to be pro-Hindu and anti-Islam without reserve or qualification; similar is the case with the Muslim public. We grant this. At the same time journalists have a distinct responsibility in creating public opinion and in directing popular emotions along desirable channels. In India, the responsibility is particularly heavy, because the printed word, being new to the popular imagination, is invested with a special authority. Editors therefore will do well to consider the matter in the light of their duty to the country as a whole. We assume that they are as much distressed by the growth of sectional strife as we are. We assume that they have a sense of patriotic duty far transcending the interests of the communities, and that they will not consciously intensify existing

bitterness. But whatever the demands of patriotism, much reading of these newspapers leaves us with this impression: Editorial opinion is often enough unhappy; but the suppression and selection of news are nothing short of mischievous. The Muslim reader of a Muslim paper, for instance, is fed with news which confirm him in the natural bias that Hindus are wicked and that his co-religionists are innocent victims. The case of the Hindu reader is similar. We are not speaking about the policy of newspapers; it is the report of facts that matters. But if anybody takes the trouble to read both Hindu and Muslim papers he is left with the definite impression that both sides have a case. He sees that it is the citizen's duty to balance the evidence for himself. Our positive suggestion is this. Let the Muslim papers publish Muslim reports by all means, but they should make room for Hindu reports also. Similarly, the Hindu papers should make it a point to find space for facts reported by Muslims. Journalism is not partisanship, but the function of presenting the whole truth to readers. It would be an excellent thing if from places like Saharanpur, Agra and Panipat, reports are arranged for on a syndicated basis, in sets, one from Hindu reporters, the other from Muslim.

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The Thakore of Rajkot

His Highness the Thakore of Rajkot is one of the first-class Ruling Chiefs in Kathiawar. He is a patriot and a genuine father of his people. But he has not been content with the exercise of the functions of patriarch and prince. He has set up modern popular institutions making for constitutional democratic government. Swadeshi has also appealed to him as a measure of construction and economic independence. He has encouraged the use of khadi by his subjects and by the numerous members of his administration. All this is remarkable and hopeful, but there is nothing unique in the attempt of a Rajah to rule his people wisely, according to fashionable standards. The Government of India and the currents of public opinion are in favour of such experiments. But the Thakore of Rajkot is not content with being the author of internal reforms. He has notions of foreign policy also. Those acquainted with the Indian State system will be surprised at this statement. The essential notion is that the Indian Princes have no foreign policy whatever. They are distinctly forbidden from having any such policy; the Government of India insists upon being the paramount power, exercising a species of super-police functions over them all. The Thakore felt that the numerous Princes in Kathiawar should assemble together and form a Chamber of Kathiawar Princes similar to the All-India Chamber of Princes created under the auspices of Lord Chelmsford. The object was worthy, the ambition natural. The Kathiawar princes are numerous and there is a long and slightly complicated graduation of them. Territorially, historically and dynastically the States are inextricably mixed up. The Thakore took the initiative and summoned his fellows to a conference. At this stage came difficulties. The Government of Bombay intimated its dis-

approval. According to established usage, the intimation should have killed the notion altogether. But the Thakore has written to the Political Agent protesting his inability to cancel his invitations and stating his intention to go on. What is more, the letter has been published. In our opinion, it is a stupendous thing that has happened. Since the Sikh wars, this is the first time that a Ruling Chief of the weight and consequence of Rajkot has politely and publicly defied the authority of the Government. In fact, the incident is so unique that we find it difficult to believe that it is genuinely real and that it would not peter out quietly and diplomatically. A repudiation of the letter will suffice to save the face of the Thakore and the dignity of the Government. But we hope not. If the Thakore sticks to the defiance, the Government's obvious cue will be to dissuade the Princes from attending the conference and we are afraid that the Conference hall will be empty. But we should like to believe that the brave gesture would find rich response. The relations between the Government and the Princes are in an extraordinarily unsatisfactory condition, and it is more than time that they were cleared up. We know what government in the British territories is; but it is a more crooked policy that determines the activities of Political Agents. The position of the Princes is undignified to the point of being insufferable. They are Sovereign Princes whose powers have been destroyed in the working out of the treaties which have become scraps of paper. But it was sought to be conveyed to the world that however seditious and disloyal folk may be in British India, the "loyalty" of the Princes to the Imperial throne was one of the solid factors of Indian polity. The illusion is being pretty rapidly destroyed. Nabha is an instance in point. Rajkot is another.



Fundamental differences

We observe that the *Indian Social Reformer* has been moved to strong and nearly violent speech about us. We do not object to the language but we are slightly bewildered as to the occasion for it. In preaching against dogmatism, it has itself fallen into the vice of dogmatism. When we wrote about Mr. Gandhi we had no idea of buttressing him up. We suggested that he was a revolutionary force in politics and that his method of non-violence was without a precedent. We thought that the proposition was obvious and self-evident. The whole world had, we thought, recognised the claim and we are not going to quarrel with the *Social Reformer* in the matter. Fundamentally it is a perception of fact in which argument is of little use. Either Mr. Gandhi is the preacher of a radically new science and the practiser of a radically new art or he is not. We think he is; and we claim the right to say it. We were interested in Mr. Gandhi as the most capital fact of our time; we were not interested in his spiritual genealogy. There is little use in flinging at our

head, the *Social Reformer's* particular Calendar of Saints. If there was occasion for it, we guess we can improve on the particular one which our contemporary has framed for our confusion—we should begin earlier and end with Mr. Natarajan. But that will have nothing to do with the business we had on hand. Even if the occupation was relevant, we can promise the *Social Reformer* little satisfaction out of it. We do not like the graduation of greatness; we are far too conscious of our frailty. But there is nothing immoral about it, and our bump of reverence is indifferently developed. But if there should be a comparison, we venture to say this;—the names beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and ending with Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak are those of patriots and publicists of varying capacity and virtue; but they are no more than the best that any civilised people are able to produce almost at any time. They are the servants and leaders of their people. But with some knowledge of history, Indian and foreign, we dare aver that Mr. Gandhi belongs to a category far and away above anything of which they were capable. He is a world-figure, the inventor of an absolutely novel technique in the realms of spirit and action which will go ringing down the ages. It is not rawness that is always the crime; but there is an intellectual snobbery which seeks to interpret the dynamic surprises of life in terms of a dead canon. But we do not want to end on what looks like a note of asperity. We are interested in the etiology of these temperamental quarrels. The real trouble with the *Social Reformer* is that its philosophy of life is evolutionary. It is worried by revolution (method, thought and everything else). The processes are too swift, the consequences are fundamentally disturbing. We have no objection to the steady step; but we decline to believe that speed and surprise and transactions beyond the grasp of the current coin of intellect, are unforgivable sins. If an earthquake overwhelms us, it is no immediate use looking up the history of earthquakes; we should recognise it as one and proceed to deal with it. Similarly, it is no use telling us that Gandhi could be put into this particular pigeon-hole or that; of course, the human mind has erected many; and he could be put into half a dozen. So could the particular gods of the *Social Reformer's* pantheon. But the difference is just this:—they will remain in their pigeon-holes but there is something in Gandhi which refuses to be shut up. He persists in slipping out. When the days that God has appointed him are done, humanity will have to invent a few more categories for understanding him. The *Reformer* complains that Mr. Gandhi is more inspiring when viewed as the last term of a historic series. We do not deny that. He may be inspiring; so are many writers of mild fiction for young ladies. But it is his destructiveness and very fury of creative energy that we have to deal with, that the world has to deal with and which some day even the *Social Reformer* may understand.

Young India

18-10-23

A Fresh Challenge

The battle is joined in the Punjab, and in all reverence we pray:—God defend the right. The Government has not spared the highest, the bravest, the most distinguished among the Sikhs.

Two messages through the agency of the Associated Press give the important facts. The first is from Amritsar dated October 14 and runs as follows:—

"The Amritsar police was busy here between the hours of 1 a. m. and 4 a. m. on the night of the 13th and the 14th and arrested Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh, President of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Captain Ram Singh, member of the executive committee of the S. G. P. O. and Sardar Narain Singh barrister, the member of the executive of the Prabandhak Committee. The police also raided the office of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and arrested some of the prominent office bearers including Sardar Dilip Singh, office superintendent, Sardar Kartar Singh, Gurudwara inspector, Lahora Singh, treasurer, Sahib Singh, member of the executive committee and four others of the staff of the Onkar press where the newspaper *Akali* is printed. The S. G. P. O. office has been locked up by the police where searches will be made. The arrests, it is understood, have been made under sections 121 and 124A L. P. C.

The railway over bridge is being guarded by police pickets and no Akali Sikh is allowed to come in or go out of Amritsar. A police guard has also been posted in the front of the office of the Central Sikh League."

The second is from Simla bearing the same date:—

"A telephonic message gives the latest news of the situation at Amritsar following the arrests of leading members of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and Akali Dal. Both these organisations have been declared unlawful associations. Some further arrests have been made to-day including Sirdar Niranjan Singh of Khalsa College, Bhai Kisan Singh, a jathadar, and Bhai Mehtab Singh, headmaster of the Khalsa High School at Tarn Taran. Fifty-eight persons were to have been arrested to-day on a complaint lodged by Mr. Smith, Superintendent, C. I. D., under sections 120B, 122A and 124A, of the L. P. C., and sections 17 (1) and 17 (2) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

If we mistake not, the bureaucracy means it to be a fight to the finish. The Government knows its own mind in the matter; we trust that neither the Sikhs nor the rest of India will entertain any illusions. So far the Sikhs have won. In patience, in organisation, in resourcefulness, in the courage of non-violence, they have proved themselves worthy of their Guru and their fathers in the past. Higher praise is impossible.

But it is necessary to be clear about the present issues. There are three. The first is whether it is

open to the Government to depose an Indian Prince from power without satisfying public opinion that such deposition was in the interests of the people of the State, and in accordance with the conditions of its historical obligations.

The second is the interest of India and of humanity in the question whether non-violent coercion steadily and wisely applied has in it strength enough to change the mind of a Government founded on force.

The third is the controversy of 1921:—Whether the Government is entitled to suppress political associations pursuing non-violent activities.

Take the first:—We do not deny that Princes may practise tyranny, and we have no reason to imagine that Indian Princes are free from the corruption of unrestricted power. We do not deny either that the deposition of Princes may be a clear necessity in proper cases. It is also well known that under what Sir William Lee-Warner called the Public Law of India, the Government of India has deposed Princes and regulated succession in the interests of good government. But, if we mistake not, the interference of the Government in Manipur was the last of such instances and it was a long time ago. In the meanwhile have come into being forces which have to be reckoned with. There is a public opinion now in India which has in it the strength to shake governments. The bureaucratic doctrine is to do things with a high hand and to offer no explanations. That day is past and what the Sikhs are doing to-day is to teach the Government that it is so. In internal affairs, in foreign policy, and in the development of relations between the Government and the Indian states, there is a public opinion which claims the right of final decision. Before non-cooperation the Congress forced the Government to respond to it in domestic affairs. Non-cooperation was the assertion of India's right to control the Government's foreign policy. The Nabha affair has destroyed the claim of the Government of India to determine the fate of great States and historic Houses in an arbitrary manner. Some of them are rooted in the past, the embodiments of great principles. Why, in the matter of Nabha itself,—the Akalis claim that the Khalsa, the Sikh League, to whom was transmitted the apostolic succession of the Gurus was and is an essentially democratic organisation; that the Sikh Empire in its great days was the creation of the brotherhood, and that Sikh Princes, not excluding Maharajah Ranjit Singh himself were, and are till today, its agents; that Nabha is such a State and that the regulation of succession to its *gadi* is within the competence of the Khalsa and nobody else. Historically, the claim is well founded. The Sikhs are fighting to establish the right.

Then there is Civil Disobedience. The task that is now thrown on the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee is heavy. Not merely as Indians, but also as human beings, we watch its labours with hopeful anxiety. In Guru-ka-Bagh, in Nagpur, civil disobedience was offered, and successfully offered. There were moments of despair even then; but there was a suggestion of the effort being

small enough to be compassed successfully. This is obviously a bigger affair. That should be recognised. On the other hand, we should not go to the opposite extreme and unduly magnify the measure of the present effort. At bottom, the presence of one Prince or another on the *gadi* of Nabha is of little consequence to the Government. Putting the difference at its highest, the Akalis want Maharajah Ripudaman Singh to be the ruler of Nabha and the Government wants his son to be the ruler. But there is something else—prestige, the eternal bugbear of empire. If the Government can find courage enough to acknowledge that they had acted rashly in the matter, a settlement should be possible. But as affairs stand to-day, the Government is in no such mood; we do not anticipate that it will change in a hurry. The only means for bringing about the change is non-violent direct action.

But the third question that the Government has pushed to the front is of more immediate importance not merely for the Sikhs but for the whole of India. It is acknowledged by everybody that the Prabandhak Committee has not countenanced violence in any shape or form. It has grown from strength to strength and become a power in the land by its courage and hard work. It has taken up the cause of the deposed Maharajah and it is being supported by the vast majority of Sikhs. The Government has now notified the Committee and its auxiliary association as unlawful. Nobody denies the right of organised governments to put down violence and incitement to violence. But the primary condition of all public life is liberty of association as long as it is non-violent. Public opinion may be strong enough to destroy a government; and no Government in the world has the right to exist if it cannot rally public opinion to its support. The attack of the Government of the Punjab on the non-violent activities of the Sikhs is an attack on the public life of the whole country.

An Appeal

The following is an English translation of an appeal issued by Sjt. O. Rajagopalachar to the Tamil Nadu:-

You might have read the message which Messrs S. Ramanathan and E. V. Ramaswami Naicker issued when they resigned their offices in the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. Encouraged by the love you have all along shown towards me, and with the permission of Dr. Rajan I have come forward to say a few words regarding the work which these dear friends of mine have now undertaken. I request you to consider the matter deeply and then act according to your well-thought out decisions.

History of the Compromise

During the past three years, we in this province, have accepted Mahatmaji's teachings in full and have been trying to follow them to our utmost ability. From the beginning of the Non-cooperation movement we have courageously stood in the front ranks. The people had the fullest loyalty and confidence in Mahatmaji and in his provincial lieutenants who worked

under him and carried out their orders with a united will. This loyalty, this confidence and this discipline was the greatest stumbling block in the path of our enemies, and those who, on account of differences of opinion stood against us. Also this was the best buttress of our movement. And to fulfil our duties in future, this is indispensable. You know the attempts made to raise the Boycott of Councils. At the Bombay meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, a compromise resolution was passed suspending all Boycott propaganda. Since it was opposed to the resolution of our National Assembly, the Congress, we along with many others in the other provinces refused to accept it. We repudiated the A. I. C. O. resolution and decided upon conducting Boycott propaganda. The Provincial Conference which met at Salem in September approved of the decision, confirmed the Boycott and decided that Boycott Propaganda was the only proper course. And this decision was communicated to the Special Congress.

The Maulana's Lead

Meanwhile our great leader Maulana Mahomed Ali had come out from prison. After considering the attempts of the Council Entry Party and the present condition of the country, he has made a compromise at the Special Congress suspending Boycott Propaganda. You know how myself and my friends have fought against every other great leader over this difference of opinion. But we decided that we should not reject the Maulana's advice and so we bowed to his decision. In this movement for freedom the Ali Brothers' is an equal responsibility with Mahatmaji's, and we must give proper heed to their counsel and it is well known that it is in this spirit and not because we have changed our opinions that provincial leaders like Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Rajendra Prasad, Jammalal Bajaj, Konda Venkatapayya and myself have acted in the manner we have done.

The Present Question

What is to be done when the Congress makes a decision that is repugnant to the conscience; that is the present question. What is the Congress? It is an assembly which we have organised on democratic lines. We must respect it even as we respect a righteous king. It is the embodiment of the coming Swaraj. We can repair its defects, but we must not oppose its resolutions. We must accept them tendering to the Congress the loving loyalty that is a king's. This is the highest duty and the highest wisdom. If we begin to find fault with the Congress and to oppose it, we will soon lose our unity and our defeat is certain. For everything the people of India have to do, the Congress organization is indispensable. The Congress is the only organization that we have set up to fight the alien Raj, and we must do nothing that will in the least be derogatory to its paramount authority.

Nothing Unrighteous

There is but one condition for the above course. We must not commit ourselves to anything unrighteous. If the National Congress decrees anything that is opposed to our conscience, we must not carry it out, but we must not easily take it for granted that the representatives of the Indian people would so easily embark on a course of unrighteous action. To

obey the resolutions that we have made according to our lights is the proper course for those who are engaged in this war for liberty. If the resolutions cannot be carried out, at least nothing counter to them should be undertaken. It may be asked, "You opposed the Bombay resolution." But there is all the difference between a resolution of the Congress and the resolution of a Committee that opposes a resolution of the Congress and renders it nugatory. We must not in any case repudiate the Congress. If we do, we would be doing evil where we intended to do good. A past error is not rectified by a present and bigger error.

Do not Injure Our Unity

Perfectly loyal to Mahatma's principles, we have been doing our work here in the Tamil Nadu with unity and discipline. I implore everyone not to undertake any work that may injure that unity and that discipline as a result of the present events.

The grain parted from its husk does lose,

Its life, be it re-united ever so close.

There is none in the Tamil Nadu who does not know the great service that Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker has done to the country after joining this Congress movement. And it is unnecessary for me to dwell on Sjt. Ramanathan's purity of heart, his enthusiasm and his great sacrifices. They stand in the front rank of that glorious band, who without a thought of self-interest, consider the service of the motherland dearer than their life. I can never forget their intense love for me and their great help in whatever I undertook quite unmindful of my shortcomings.

Thinking that propaganda against the Delhi decision is the only proper course, they have relinquished their offices in the Congress executive and they intend setting up new organizations. A few other patriots also wish to get out of the Congress organizations.

Lofty as their aim is and without fault, their action will result in the weakening of the Congress organizations. They argue that Congress has given up its fundamental principles, and ask of what use are these organizations. Their contention is wrong. We sacrificed every thing that we had, our wealth, our life, to build up these organizations that they may carry Mahatma's principle far and wide. If as a result of the present unforeseen incidents we decide to set up new organizations we are sure to be disappointed.

Mighty as Mahatma was, he reformed and re-organized the Congress and made it his chief weapon. If so, to relinquish it now is surely foolishness. While I lie broken, it is the duty of my strong and enthusiastic friends to keep the Congress organizations in perfect order. It is indeed a misfortune that Messrs Ramanathan and Naicker did not agree to my repeated request.

Meaning of the Delhi Decision

What is the meaning of the Delhi Decision? The principles that we have been following have not been changed even a bit. Has it been decided that we must vote in the elections? Not at all. Whatever interested persons may say, the Congress has not asked us to enter the Councils or to take part in the elections. This general fact must always be borne in mind. But if anybody seeks to enter the Councils thinking that what

he does is right, the Congress has resolved not to do any counter propaganda.

The Charkha Our Sudarshan

It is asked what shall we do now? Can we sit at home with folded hands? Have we not realized that the constructive programme is the best way to Swaraj? Whatever some people may say, is not the charkha our Sudarshan, our big Gun? Others ridicule it in foolishness and slight it. Shall we who follow Mahatma's teachings do likewise? And have we done our duty by the charkha?

When so much is still to be done how can any body ask what shall we do? Is it right? Let us stop every other work and we shall make the music of the spinning wheel ring through the length and breadth of the land.

There must be no foreign cloth in Tamil Nadu. Moderates included, every one will be willing to take part in the movement. Let the Spinning wheel live again in every home. That must be the aim of Mahatma's true disciples. Let us not destroy the unity that is amongst us. Let us have no new organisations. We shall stand united, and in the next congress which meets in the Andhradesa, we shall achieve victory to Mahatma's principles.

Mahatma Gandhi

(Continued from Page 348)

The Future

What will happen to this movement in the future? Will England, learning from her past faults, not show herself cleverer in captivating this enthusiasm of a people? Will not the steadfastness of the people wear itself out? Nations and peoples have only short memories and I very much doubt if the people of India would remember the lessons of Mahatma for any length of time, if these lessons were not already for a long time inscribed in the genius of the race. A person might be great by his own inherent nobility irrespective of the fact whether or not his teachings accord with those of his fellowmen; but such a person can exert effective and active influence only when he is the mouthpiece of the instincts of his race, of the necessities of the time, of the hope of the whole world.

Such is Mahatma Gandhi. His principle of Ahimsa remains inscribed in the heart of India for two thousand years. Mahavira, Buddha and the Cult of Vishnu had inculcated this principle in millions of souls. Gandhi has only transfused his heroic blood for its glorification. He has only conjured up gigantic shades of the past which had been lying prostrate in a mortal lethargy. At the sound of his voice, they have arisen, for they recognise themselves in him. He represents more than a message, he is himself a great example. He has incarnated in himself the best souls of his land.

But these resurrections of the soul do not happen by chance or hazard. And if the soul of India has issued forth from her forests and her temples, it is for carrying into the world the predestined response which the world anxiously had been waiting for a long time.

India's Cross

Indeed, this response infinitely goes beyond India. India alone, however, could give it. The response has almost proved to be India's cross.

It seems as if a people should always sacrifice themselves so that there might result a renovation of

the world. The Jews were sacrificed for their Messiah whom they, after having brought up and nourished with their hopes for centuries, failed to recognise when he at last blossomed forth on the bloody cross. Luckier than the Jews, the Hindus have recognised their Messiah and it is with a glad heart that they now accept the sacrifice which should deliver them.

But, like the first Christians, all do not understand the real meaning of this liberation. For a long time the early Christians expected on earth the *Adveniant, Regnum Tuum*. The hopes of a large body of the followers of the Indian movement do not go beyond the reign of Swaraj in India. I do think that this political ideal will soon be attained. Europe bleeding from her wars and revolutions, impoverished and destitute, deprived of her prestige in the eyes of Asia which she has been oppressing, will not be in a position to continue her leadership on the soil of Asia, over the awakened peoples of Islam, India, China and Japan.

It would not however be enough if there merely arose a few more nations, (however rich may be the new harmonies with which they will enrich the human symphony) it would not be enough if these new forces of Asia did not form the vehicle of a new principle of living, of dying and (what is more important) of acting for the whole of humanity,—if in short they did not provide for exhausted Europe a new *Viaticum*.

A tornado of violence has swept over the world. This destructive storm was not a sudden or unexpected thing. Centuries of brutal national pride exalted by the idolatrous "Ideology" of the revolution, propagated by the blind imitation of democracies,—and, to crown all, a century of inhuman industrialism and gluttonous plutocracy, an enslaving cult of the machine, an economic materialism in which the soul dies of suffocation all these have led us to that unhappy predicament where we have lost the treasures of Western Civilization. Each race throttles the other in the name of the same set of principles all of which alike only mask the principles of Cain. Each race—be it composed of Fascists, nationalists, bolshevists, oppressed classes or oppressing classes—each claims, as its own special prerogative, the right to use violence. For one half century force was leading the Right; to-day it is still worse. Force is right, the former has swallowed up the latter.

In the vast world which is fast falling into decay, no asylum, no hope, no great light. The Church offers apodictic counsels which however are carefully and prudently manipulated so as not to come into clash with the strong; and, besides, the church never sets the example. Dull and insipid pacifists bleat languidly, but we feel that they are hesitating, that they speak of a faith which they themselves are not sure of. Who will prove to them the existence and efficacy of this faith? And how can it be proved in the midst of this world which denies it? In the only manner in which every faith can be proved and justified—in action. Here, then, is the message to the world, the message of India. "Let us sacrifice ourselves." And Tagore has said the same thing in magnificent words, for on this bold principle Tagore and Gandhi are at one.

O Tagore! O Gandhi! rivers of India who, like the Indus and the Ganges, clasp within your double

embrace the orient and the occident,—the latter a tragedy of heroic action, the former a vast dream of light—both streaming forth from the home of God, on this world tilled by the plough-shares of Hate and Violence, Scatter, Scatter His Seeds.

The Lesson of Gandhi

"Our fight", Gandhi has said, "has for its object friendship with the whole world. Non-violence has come amongst men and it will stay. It is the harbinger of the peace of the world".

The peace of the world lies far in the future. We entertain no illusions about it. In the course of the past fifty years we have abundantly seen the untruths, the villainies, and the cruelties of the human race. This however should not prevent us from loving it still, for even amongst the vilest of men there is an inexplicable Godly element, *nescio quid Dei*. We do not ignore the materialistic fatalities which weigh over twentieth century Europe, the destructive character of the economic conditions, and the centuries of petrified passions and errors which have formed, around the souls of our age, a hard crust through which light cannot penetrate. But we also know of what miracles the soul is capable. History shows us instances where the rays of powerful souls have pierced through more gloomy skies than ours. At this moment, we hear in India the tambour of Shiva, "the Master-dancer who veils his devouring eyes and controls his steps to rescue the Universe from falling into the abyss."

The *Realpolitikers* of violence (revolutionary or reactionary) may ridicule this optimistic faith, but they thereby only exhibit their ignorance of things. Let them rail and smile. I feel this faith in me. I see it persecuted and scoffed at in Europe and in my own land we are only a handful. (Are we really only a handful?) But if nobody shared my faith, what matters it to me? Faith, far from gainsaying the opposition of the world, sees it and yet believes in spite of it. For faith is a combat. And our non-violence is the hardest fight that we have to wage. The path of Peace is not that of weakness or cowardice. We are less enemies of violence than of weakness. A whole world of evil is preferable to emasculated good. Soft-hearted pacifism is fatal to peace; it is really cowardice and want of faith. Let those who do not believe or who fear, keep back from the struggle. The path of peace is that of self-sacrifice and suffering.

This is the lesson of Gandhi. Only the Oppos is wanting to him. Every one knows that, without the Jews, Rome would have refused it to Christ. And the British Empire is like the Roman Empire. The olan has been created. The soul of the Eastern peoples has been stirred to its very depths, and vibrations are heard all over the earth.

Great religious appearances in the East have always a rhythm. One of two things will surely happen: either the faith of Gandhi will be crowned with success; or it will repeat itself just as centuries ago, Christ and Buddha were born in the complete incarnation of a mortal demi-god, of a principle of life that will lead future humanity to a safer and more peaceful resting-place.

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Notes

Dr. Kitchlew is reported to have called upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make a list of the people who will be prepared to enroll themselves as volunteers for Civil Disobedience. It is a necessary enterprise and we have no doubt that the Committees will co-operate with him. But we doubt whether he has made allowance in his calculation for those who have been already enrolled in pursuance of the Gaya programme. Over 8,000 volunteers were recruited at that time; and we believe that the Provincial Committees will be able to supply the Satyagraha Committee with the lists. We suggest that the volunteers, on the existing registers may be treated as a nucleus. It was only in Nagpur that their services were requisitioned on a considerable scale. In any event they have to be put on a more organised, active basis. They should be given work to do. They should be presented with a two-fold programme. The Satyagraha Committee should state how many more volunteers they want to get together. Secondly, we think it would be advisable to get the Congress membership itself worked up to one crore—the figure in the Bardell programme. An abstract appeal will not be effective. The figure should be stated, as also the proper allocation. At the beginning of the year, the proposal was that an appeal for volunteers without stating the purpose for which they were wanted would not be heeded. We hope we shall hear none of it now; because the Satyagraha Committee is working up to an objective which is provisionally defined. What is more, the party bitterness which gave birth to the call now, is or ought to be, no more among us. But at the same time, it is necessary for the Satyagraha Committee to be careful about the atmosphere of the time. The Government's handling of the Sikh problem is fraught with a good deal of electricity. It is important that the Committee should guide its policy and action regardless of the New Repression to which the Government is pledged.

A rather barren controversy is engaging the press and but for the importance of the protagonists, the sterility would have been visible clear as daylight. The opponents are Dr. Kitchlew and Lala Lajpat Rai; now Mr. Venkateswamy has had his word also. The substance of it is as to the relation of the Satyagraha Committee to the All India Committee. It is a purely constitutional point of view the Executive Committee of the Congress is supreme, for one reason if for no other—the disposal of funds. The Satyagraha Committee will want money with which to do its work; it is the Working Committee and its parent the All India Committee that operates the finances. Any campaign of Civil Disobedience which the Satyagraha Committee may undertake will cost it to apply to the executive for assistance; if the All India Committee disapproves, there will be no grants and the whole scheme will collapse. All the same, it will not be beyond the capacity of a lawyer like Dr. Kitchlew to avoid the purely constitutional difficulty; if his Committee considers that a programme of action is necessary, we dare say that it will proceed to do what it considers necessary in anticipation of sanction by the All India Committee. It will go on with its work and if the Working Committee disapproves, it will be its business to summon the All India Committee for a decision. In case of failure of support, the Satyagraha Committee will resign. This is all simple; but we venture to repeat that the discussion is barren because it is acid mine. Whether there would be an immediate programme of Civil Disobedience is the practical question; if it is decided in the affirmative it will have to be put through, despite a hundred questions of legality. Let us be sure of the practical expediency; the legality will take care of itself. We have no doubts about it; Dr. Kitchlew has none, and we trust he will go forward.

But he must be sure as to his foundations. On the whole, we happen to agree with Dr. Kitchlew; and we therefore propose without the slightest hesitation to exercise the function of the tardy friend. It is Civil Disobedience that he and his Committee are in charge of and we fail to understand the continuous appeals that he is making for legal assistance. The Gandhara Prabandhak Committee solicited Pandit Motilal Nehru's services in connection with the affair of Sardar Dabbar Singh; but the Committee is not a part of the Congress organisation and has the final right to decisions on questions of policy. Dr. Kitchlew is in a different position. He is a Congressman and the convener of a

Committees of the Congress. Civil Disobedience has no use for lawyers and their counsel. It is Civil Resisters that are to offer the disobedience; their course and conduct should be above the need for legal defence. Their business is to select the strategic law and proceed to break it. A lawyer's mentality is different; the moment he is called in, we have caution and confusion. It is a lawyer's business to save his clients from imprisonment and suffering; the civil resister invites both. It is difficult from the very nature of things that the mixture could yield a result satisfactory to either of them. A particular psychology or attitude is indispensable to every species of human action; cold-blooded courage bordering on recklessness is essential to Civil Disobedience, and we feel that the lawyers will destroy even its possibility. It is clear waste of time, energy and labour to worry about the law of political action. The man who regards "law" in politics is lost. We have our own laws:—Non-violence, Truth, Unity. If we cultivate fidelity to them, that is all we need to do. It is the obedience to these that leads to the disobedience of Government's "laws" and we should cultivate the glad readiness to welcome the breach of law that ensues from the higher obedience, the nobler, because voluntary, loyalty. We are told also that Dr. Kitchlew sought the permission of the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar to see Bhai Teja Singh and Gyan Sher Singh for giving them legal advice. We hold strongly that these are dangerous steps, and will, if not promptly discouraged and disowned, prove fatal to the whole enterprise with which the Satyagraha Committee is entrusted. *

The week's foreign mail has brought the text of Dr. Sapru's paper in *The Asiatic Review*. In the main, it is an anticipatory study of the ensuing elections. Dr. Sapru's own view is unmistakable. He expects that the Swarajya party will secure a majority and proceeds to speculate on the probable consequences. As one who had a considerable share in the affairs of the Government at a critical stage, he proceeds to dismiss the notion that the Government of India Act can be wrecked. But we are not impressed with the brave gesture. We guess we can perceive the ill-concealed suggestion that there is more than a bare chance of the Party's power to make itself thoroughly uncomfortable to the Government. There is no mistaking the purport of the words:—

"The Non-co-operators say that they will compel the Government to carry on their administration and pass their measures by the Viceroy's power of certification. It will be a most interesting reaction to see how they are able to give effect to this threat. For my part, I do not think that things will reach that pass or be allowed by a resourceful Government to reach that pass. But should a situation arise in which it is clear that there are serious and deep-seated which are embarrassing to the Government or which involve the administrative machinery, the whole position is bound to be carefully re-examined. The central fact of the situation is that so far as the achievement of Dominion Status is concerned, both the Liberals and the Non-co-operators will exercise the utmost possible pressure on the Government, the material difference being in the character of that pressure. As for the Zamindars I think on the whole they will be more inclined to support the Liberals in the methods they may pursue. It is therefore obvious in my mind that the question of further advance will be a burning topic in the new Assembly and the Councils, and matters may come to a head within the next two years."

Dr. Sapru himself is eager to be a member of the Assembly and we imagine that at least one Liberal leader will not be far removed in purpose and intention from the Non-co-operators under the leadership of his old professional chief Pandit Motilal Nehru. The battle of the two in the common object of disabling the Government of which one of them was recently a member will be diverting enough; for it was but a little while ago that Dr. Sapru was Law Member and Panditji was a prisoner. What final amity the renewed co-operation between enemies restored to ancient friendship will yield, it is not for us to prophesy. The odds are equal:—whether the Swarajist who had the refusal of an Executive Councilship in his time will absorb the Liberal, or whether the Liberal who rejected the Law Membership of the Government of India will win in the battle of wits. In any event, we who hold that both are the victims of a common illusion have the right to hold the balance of judgment even, without twinge or glow.

"A lot of agitation in the Punjab is developing admirably." The men already arrested—responsible officials of the Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal—have been replaced; the substitutes are waiting arrest in their turn. But the Government on its part has learnt a lesson and apparently does not intend to repeat the tactics that failed in Guru-ka-Bagh and Nagpur. It does not love the stream of candidates for jail and does not mean to take them in. Its new policy is obvious:—arrest the leaders and resort to effective propaganda in the districts where the Sikh population is distributed. Propaganda may culminate in the occasional use of violence; but no modern government founded on force regards the judicious employment of violence as altogether objectionable. The Prabandhak Committee—the central group of initiative and leadership—is already an "unlawful association"; we are informed that the declaration of "unlawfulness" has been worked out to the ultimate end of its logic:—the Post Office does not deliver letters, parcels and money orders; telegrams are cut off, communication through the telephone is prevented. Up to the moment of writing, the postal department conveys documents despatched by the Prabandhak Committee; but if as we are told, is likely, a quasi-military censorship is instituted in the Punjab, the Sikh leaders will be isolated from their people, and the community as a whole will be isolated from the rest of India. Already the Press in the Punjab has had issued to it a warning by the local Government:—"The editors of newspapers published in the Punjab are warned that publication in their newspapers of any communication emanating from the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee or Akali Dal, which have been proclaimed as illegal associations from whatever sources they may reach them will render them liable to prosecution." The Government seems to expect that a steady stream of propaganda discrediting the Prabandhak Committee accompanied by the suppression of the Committee's efforts at publicity will destroy the morale of the Sikhs and create disunion. This result being achieved, an effort will naturally be made to

against the Prabandhak Committee of the Gurdwaras on the ground that the Committee is an unlawful association.

..

The Sikh leaders have, however, the first effect of the shock. The Sikh Papers have resumed publication and the Sikhs cannot be kept permanently in the dark as to the truth. As for the Punjab Government's warning against the communiques of the Committee, it is, we are afraid, pure bluff. We doubt whether the publication of such communiques constitutes a breach of the law; breach or no breach, the Government will not hesitate to take legal or extra-legal action if the communiques are really dangerous. There are two ways of meeting the difficulty. A Sikh Publication Board may be constituted to achieve the object now sought to be defeated. The Sikhs and such civil resisters as may be prepared to throw in their lot with the Committee may welcome the persecution of the Government in the spirit of pure Satyagraha. They will, we have no doubt, disregard the Punjab Government's declaration about the "unlawfulness" of the Committee and proceed to publish communiques of whose truth and non-violence, they are satisfied. We shall have nothing but praise for such a decision. As for ourselves we shall not fail to make use of such information regardless of the nervousness of the Government. We would invite the Press in the Punjab to follow a similar course. In the matter of the Posts and Telegraph, it may soon be necessary for the Sikhs to improvise their own communications if the Government threatens to break up the Brotherhood by refusing the use of the departments of public convenience. The business of building up a non-official system of Posts and Telegraph will probably bring the organisers into conflict with the "law". But grave evils call for desperate remedies.

..

We are particularly anxious that the Sikhs should appreciate the particular point of the Government's attack; and not only the Sikhs but the Congress also. According to our judgment of things, the Nabha issue is being pushed slowly to the back-ground. In the case of Nabha, what is sought after is the destruction of the Sikhs as a coherent organised community with a will and policy of its own in religious and political life. The centre of organization is the Prabandhak Committee and its fighting arm is the Akali Dal. In two cases of major significance, the Keys and Gura-khagh, the Government came into conflict with the Sikhs and on both occasions, the Sikhs won. The issue of the Keys was the control of the Golden Temple; the Gura-khagh was the possession of all the Gurdwaras. Now the Nabha question has pushed to the front nothing less than the right to the loyalty of all the Sikhs. Whether the primary loyalty of Sikhs, Prince of Wales, is due to the Panth or to the Government, the issue in the battle is big, bigger far than either the battle or the conflict of principles for the time being. It is an unconscious instinct, the Government has made up its mind that the whole movement of

Religious Reform, bearing in its bosom such explosive possibilities should be crushed at whatever cost. All that the Government sees for the movement is the inconvenience in connection with Nabha—but back of it is the problem of divided and conditional loyalty to itself. The Khilafat movement claimed that the loyalty of the Muslim to the British Raj was limited by the obligation of the Raj to respect his religious requirements; the claim of the Panth is on all fours. This is all rampant, but the issue of vital immediacy is this:—The Government is determined on destroying the new-found life of the people. Are they willing that the fruits of the victory in connection with the keys and on the sacred soil of the Guru's bagh should be snatched away and the men who won them for the community should be destroyed? We know that not one Sikh will refrain from doing his duty, if the true peril is perceived. Responsible men amongst the Sikhs themselves are prepared to face hard necessity; they disdain to drug themselves with any easy doctrine of quick results. One of them has put it cold-bloodily enough. He felt that the battle now begun would last for years. A people whose leaders enter on great undertakings with so real a view cannot fail.

..

We have spoken of the challenge to the Congress which lies in the attempt to destroy free and non-violent public association. As things stand at present, we doubt whether the Congress can offer any assistance. The Working Committee was elected under peculiar circumstances at Nagpur and all that it was entrusted with was the business of carrying on till Delhi. The evolution of the "compromise" made necessary the continuance of the Committee in office. It was hoped that the months before Coochabada would be peaceful. But a difficult situation has now arisen; but it must be frankly confessed that the Committee is without authority enough to deal with it. The All-India Committee may be summoned; but public opinion will not tolerate a meeting so soon after the Congress. Mere expression of sympathy is without value and, in reference to the burden that has overtaken the Sikhs, may seem a mockery. We must frankly recognise that the Sikhs must carry on the struggle unaided till December. They have strength enough to do it. When the Congress meets, the matter would have sufficiently cleared up to justify the taking of grave and far-reaching responsibilities by the nation. The trouble of the elections would be over, and the Congress will be free to address itself to the task before it.

Manager's Notice

The First Series of K's Articles which appeared in our Financial and Economic Supplements have been collected together in a volume entitled *Some Financial Problems of India*. Copies can be had of the Manager, Young India. The price is eight annas.

Young India

25-10-23

The Viceroy's Speech

When Lord Reading came out to India, Mr. Gandhi used a pregnant phrase about him—the alternative was whether Lord Reading would swallow the bureaucracy or whether the bureaucracy would swallow him. Now he has done more than half his term, and the bureaucracy's swallowing of him is complete. A Liberal in politics and a lawyer by training, he has by his speech at the Chelmsford Club won the approval of the *Morning Post*, the sworn enemy of his race and political faith. More eloquent and significant commentary there can be none.

Though the bureaucratisation of the Viceroy is complete, there is in him a deep and abysmal ignorance of the strategy of Indian Nationalism. He says that the victory of the Swarajists in the elections and the Legislatures will leave the Government untouched; the Councils may be destroyed, but the administration will go on functioning. It is unnecessary to say whether the Swarajists are right in their expectations or not, but all the happenings in this country since the day of his arrival in Bombay has passed him by, without instruction and without illumination.

The first secret of Indian Nationalism is that it does not want these Councils. The politicians may be right or wrong, foolish and fanatical or wise and sober. But the fact is that it is the Government that wants these Councils, and nobody else. Even the Liberals who are now in it are the victims of circumstances. It was for the satisfaction of the politically minded that the Councils were constituted; but there is not one of them, Liberal or Swarajist or Non-co-operator who is pleased with them, who wants them to continue for a moment as they are. It is Lord Reading that is interested in the maintenance of Council government and of the Government of India Act. The threat of the destruction of the Legislatures and diarchy as an argument against the Nationalists will leave them absolutely unmoved. We doubt whether it will move even the Moderates. In all truth and seriousness, we should like to believe that their destruction is near. His Excellency was a diplomat before he became Viceroy; there is such a thing as the diplomacy of bluff; and we are sure that this is a capital instance of the type.

For, assume that the Reforms break down. What will happen? The administration will go on, but the system of Government should be re-examined. It may go back in re-action, founding itself more securely on force; possibly culminating in a military dictatorship. Or it will go forward to the triumph of Indian Nationalism.

The triumph of Nationalism will be Swarajya. It calls for no discussion.

But Government without Councils is the heart of the Viceroy's threat. We should welcome it with open arms. The Government will then have to

carry on administration without the co-operation of the educated classes in India. They will refuse to have anything to do with the Government; non-co-operation may be long or short; but it will be immediate and universal. Lord Reading thinks that his fellow countrymen will be equal to the task. He is welcome to the belief. We on our part are quite certain that the repudiation of the educated, who are the politically-minded classes will throw the country back on non-co-operation and mass civil disobedience. The Government will stand exposed in naked reality. India will refuse to co-operate with England in maintaining a military dictatorship.

The Swarajya Party

The statement of policy of the Swaraj party which Pandit Motilal Nehru has issued to the Press contains no element of surprise. It is carefully worded, and there is a winning mastery in the manner of its handling other political groups. Whether they will respond to the invitation is a different question. Apart from the general question of policy and method, there are two features which strike us as important. It will be remembered that two criticisms were directed against the original programme of the Party; What will the Party do if it should be in a minority in the Legislative bodies; secondly, what will the Party do between the presentation of the ultimatum to the Government and the date fixed for the end of what is regarded as a reasonable term. Take the first. If the Party should be in a minority, it will be prepared to co-operate with and strengthen other political groups in so far as such groups are opposed by the Government. The relevant passage runs as follows:—

The Swarajya Party desires to make it quite clear to the other political parties in the country and the people at large that it is pledged to obstruction against the Government and not against any other party in the Legislature. It will not be inconsistent with its principles to support a non-official measure introduced by any other party or group of members if such measure is opposed by the Government. It shall also be always open to members of the Party to accept on such terms and conditions as are likely to promote the general policy of the Party, a *bona fide* invitation from any other party or group of members of the Legislature to join the latter for the purpose of defeating the Government on any non-official measure opposed by the Government, or on an official measure opposed by the inviting party or group of members. In the event of the members of the Swarajya Party being in a minority they will accept such invitation only when they form a majority of the Legislature concerned along with the inviting party or group of members.

The obvious meaning of the offer is this:—The Swarajya Party will assist other political groups in fighting the Government under the expectation that it will be assisted in its own particular fight. It is an astute and far-seeing stroke; but we are afraid it leaves the main and the only genuine difficulty unsolved. Opposition to the Government there is already, and on occasions it has been successful, and successful to the point of forcing the Government to employ certification in important cases. But that can be no consolation to the Swarajya Party. The distinctive contribution which the Party has promised to political method is "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make Government through the Assembly and the Councils impossible."

Any share that the Party may have in the natural development of constitutional opposition is not what it is after. That is what the mildest Liberal will put forward as his objective. Conceivably, however, the true substance of hope is that the associating groups may by slow degrees be absorbed as integral portions of the Party. The desire for such an absorption is intelligible. But, in making such an assumption, we are afraid that Pandit Motilal Nebru does the Zamindars and the Liberals less than justice. Their political notions may be ill-defined and nebulous; even then it would be rash to build up a political programme on the prospective readiness of rival parties to commit suicide, on however elaborate a scale.

Consider then the question of what we venture to call the Interregnum or Paralysis. The manifesto proposes to abolish it altogether. The Government is put on notice—Pandit's statement serving the dual purpose of invitation to the electorate and warning to the Government. The following point from the manifesto makes it clear:—

"The objection that the Government will not have sufficient time between the date on which the demand is made and the opening session of the Legislature to consider it is met by the publication of this manifesto, which indicates clearly the essential features of the demand and copies of which are being forwarded to the India Office and the Government of India. There is ample time between now and January 1924 for the Government to be prepared to make up its mind at least as to whether it will dismiss the demand summarily or try to arrive at a settlement. In the former case the course to be adopted by the Party members of the Assembly and the Councils has been clearly indicated above. In the latter, it will be easy to arrange the terms and conditions on which the negotiations are to proceed."

But we suggest with all respect that the presentation of the ultimatum is precisely superficial. By a curious accident, the day the manifesto was issued, Lord Reading said in his speech at the Chelmsford Club that it was impossible to think of revising the constitution a day earlier than 199. The Party is therefore thrown back on the necessity of working out its policy unconditionally. The necessity for a hard and sweeping course of action brings the Party up against what we have always urged as its root difficulty—namely, the weakness of an unorganised and ill-disciplined people. The organisation and discipline cannot be brought into being by the wildest enthusiasm that will gratify a politician's ambitions. Strength is not going to issue from excitement. It does not matter what path is pursued; we are brought back to the unescapable necessity of the constructive programme. An organised people can do great things on a national scale; it is nation wide effort that is going to yield us non-co-operation or mass civil disobedience.

Even if we believed that the Party's policy would force the hands of the Government, we should raise grave objection to its right to represent the country. After discussing the concession of the right of the Indian people to define their own system of Government, the statement proceeds:—

"If the right itself is conceded, it will be a matter for negotiation between the Government and the Nationalist members in the Assembly

as to the manner in which the right is to be given effect to."

This is an astounding claim that is put forward. "The manner in which the right is to be given effect to" is another phrase for the framing of a constitution for future Government. We had hitherto imagined that it was the Congress that was the political institution of premier importance. The Swarajists themselves are a minority in the Congress. We consider that it is improper for the Party to negotiate with the Government over the head of the Congress and in clean disregard of its historic services in the working out of national liberties. The claim brings the Party nearer the position which, as we have repeatedly pointed out, was always implicit in its origin and development. In 1919-20, the Moderates, a minority in the Congress repudiated the Congress and were in consequence "rallied" by the Government. By the very logic of its being, the Swaraj party is bound to develop itself into a group of Neo-Moderates. Its offer to "negotiate" is indistinguishable from its laying itself out of the Moderate "to be rallied". There is not a single stone thrown at the Moderates by the leaders of the Swarajists, which may not, with equal justice, be flung at them.

Boycott Committee

[Last week we published the manifesto of Mr. Rajagopalachar to the Tamil Nadu. Though it was primarily addressed to the Southern Province, it was really meant for the Boycott Committee that has undertaken the heroic and slightly pathetic task of maintaining Mr. Gandhi's policy towards the Councils in the Congress's despite. Mr. S. Ramanathan the Secretary of the Committee has naturally enough replied to the counsellor and the reply is published below. Mr. Rajagopalachar has been handled with the greatest consideration, but no effort has been made to suppress the intensity of the writer's disappointment. We do not mind confessing that as far as argument goes, the case is clearly against the "compromise", and there is not one of us that stands in need of persuasion. But persuasion is one thing and action another. In the fundamental matter of principles and personalities, however, we venture to disagree altogether. It is a terrible confession for a preacher of democracy to make; but the truth is that hero-worship is an inextricable phase of human existence, and it is not an unworthy form of idolatry. The frailty of the average human being to stand by what is principle (and which occasionally is no more than a fine name for indolence or vanity) is a very common weakness and has to be allowed for in politics. In perpetual conflict with it is personality, which triumphs from time to time. Fidelity of conviction is one of the primary virtues; and treason to it in the name of personality does not lead to tragedy for a simple reason:—as a general rule, the men with the gift of evoking great loyalties are genuine and true. We present Mr. Ramanathan with this thought for consolation]

Mr. O. Rajagopalachar has disapproved of the revolt against the Delhi Compromise. The responsibility

of the members of the Boycott Committee and those who sympathise with them is greater, now, than the accredited exponent of the Gandhi doctrine has repudiated them. Those who would preach the Council Boycott in spite of such weighty opposition must pause to consider the arguments advanced against them in a prayerful mood and must retrace their steps if they detect the slightest flaw in their attitude.

The first is a personal argument:—"Persistence in the Gandhi tenets has already cost us many a leader. If we refuse to yield now, Mohamed Ali will go away from us and we cannot afford to lose him. Therefore accept his compromise." The great Maulana himself preached this doctrine at Delhi. He kept repeating to us that it was men and not measures that mattered. It is our humble duty to enter a protest against the spread of this false gospel. From inside Yeravda Jail, the Master has sent a message which he who runs may read, in spite of the many twistings it has undergone. "I have faith in my programme; but you may abandon it by all means if your faith warrants." Then the disciples come forward and say "we have faith in the programme but change it just for our sakes." Look here on this picture and on that.

The second is the argument of unity. The members of the Boycott Committee love unity. The union of spirit is such harmony as throbs the heart with noble aspirations and awakes the soul to high endeavour. Those who had been to Delhi know what feelings were aroused by the resolution which brought about the unity. There was grief at the disowning of the Mahatma in prison. An outburst of groans and a rain of tears: leader and follower, young and old, celebrated the death of Non-co-operation in the right Hindu style. And what of the achievement of the country during this one month of unity? There is peace, indeed! The stillness of death reigns supreme. Many a civil resister is envying the vote canvasser his humble freedom. A replica of the Civil Disobedience Committee was appointed, which feeling that the nation will not tolerate another campaign of cross-examination of innocent congressmen rests content with wasting national time by issuing periodic ukases. There are two kinds of unity. The one is another name for life and the other, its very antithesis, is death. The one is the lover's embrace which blossoms the heart, the other is the gladiator's grip which seeks to kill. Aiming at the former we have brought about the latter. Our clear duty therefore is to destroy this make-believe unity and prepare the ground for the advent of real unity.

Thirdly, it is contended that the rebellion will undermine congress discipline. It is said that Congress resolutions must be obeyed whether we like them or not; for, it is argued, unless we render unquestioning obedience to the Congress we shall not succeed in destroying its rival, the bureaucracy. We demur to the doctrine that we cannot achieve freedom unless we become automatons. Mechanical uniformity is the very essence of slavery. The little that there is of political life in the country will be smothered if freedom of action is not allowed inside the Congress. This has been made abundantly clear by Mahatma Gandhi himself. He wrote on the 2nd March 1922, on the eve of his arrest:—

"We must avoid the Congress becoming a fetish. I love the idea of everybody becoming a Congressman and everybody yielding willing and intelligent obedience to the Congress resolutions. But I abhor the idea of anybody becoming a Congressman merely because it is an old or a great institution or yielding obedience to its resolutions whether one likes it or not. The rule of majority has a narrow application i. e. one should yield to the majority in matters of detail. But it is slavery to be amenable to the majority no matter what its decisions are. Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded. I, therefore, believe that the minority has a perfect right to act differently from the majority so long as it does not act in the name of the Congress."

He wrote on the 24th December 1921:—

"Let us not push the mandate theory to ridiculous extremes and become slaves to the resolutions of majorities. That would be a revival of brute force in a more virulent form. If rights of minorities are to be respected, the majority must tolerate and respect their opinion and action. Loyalty to human institutions has its well-defined limits. To be loyal to an organisation must not mean subordination of one's settled convictions."

There is more in the same strain but it would be idle to quote Gandhi in an age which considers him out of date.

Fourthly, it is argued that our action will destroy Congress prestige. It is said that propaganda among the people in defiance of a Congress resolution will discredit the Congress and therefore is undesirable. On the other hand, we wish to point out that it is our humble endeavour to boycott the Councils, though against a resolution of the Congress, that will justify the existence of the Congress, while unthinking obedience of its stultifying resolutions will undermine its basis. What is the Congress? It is not an idol set up as a target for our blind emotions. True enough, it is the rival of the British Indian Government. The Government derives its support largely through its Councils. Non-co-operation is the act of withholding such support to the Government and rendering it to the Congress. Gandhi used to speak of "demobilising" the strength of the Government so that all the national forces may be available for reconstruction through the Congress. The Congress gained in prestige because three years ago we succeeded in shifting the centre of gravity from the Council to the Congress. Every vote cast in the coming election will be a repudiation of the Congress, while every vote withheld will be a vote in favour of the Congress. The Congress will have power and influence in the country only to the extent to which votes are withheld from the Councils. After the last elections, Mr. Rajagopalachar made fun of the specific gravity of a certain minister, the votes cast in whose favour were well within two digits. May we not respectfully suggest to Mr. Rajagopalachar to consider whether he is not now increasing the specific gravity of the Councils by preventing our propaganda?

Lastly there is the Oharka argument. Why need you do anything when there is the Oharka to be

turned? Khaddar can hide many sins but it cannot hide the shame of co-operation. Charka is the child of Non-co-operation and it will not survive the atmosphere of the Councils. The way of the Charka and the way of the Councils are as the poles. Adoption of the one implies the rejection of the other. How shall we turn the Charka except by boycotting the Councils?

A word of personal explanation. Since the inauguration of the N. C. O. movement Mr. Rajagopalchar has been the chief of the members of the Boycott Committee. He was our Guru inspiring all our actions. When he was called on to the higher duties at Gaya we shared in his honour though the increase of his burdens cost us his personal guidance. It is therefore, with not a little of heart-breaking that this reply is framed; for, it is the first time that we have dared to address him publicly. We can only wish that the situation in the country had not warranted our taking this course of action; but, we would have proved ourselves unworthy of Mr. Rajagopalchar's leadership had we avoided the thorny path of duty.

Maulana Mahomed Ali on Bardoli Programme

To a representative of "Independence" who availed himself of the Maulana's visit to Lucknow to interview him on the present situation and his plan of future campaign, Maulana Mahomed Ali said:—

Make up Losses of Two Years

You ask me to express my views on the present situation. I don't think I can say much more on the subject than I have already said at Delhi and elsewhere. Frankly, the situation is discouraging. But no situation can or should make us despair. Instead of moving forward as the world had every right to expect us non-co-operators, the utmost that I expect from our co-workers is that they should bring the country in October 1923 to the position which it occupied in October 1921. We have gone back a great deal, and the first thing we must do is to make up the losses we have sustained in the interval of two years. The spinning wheel is not so prominent to-day as it was two years ago. National education is in no better condition. Perhaps the boycott of Law Courts is in the worst plight, for I hear that many non-co-operators have been compelled by the *Res augusta domi* to resort to practising as Barristers or Vakilis once more. Had the Hindu Sangathan, of which we had been hearing so much, materialised, we would have seen less of untouchability than we did two years ago; but alas! there seems to be greater evidence of the desire to create Mahabir Dais than to take back our depressed countrymen into the bosom of the Indian family. This leads me to the thorny question of Hindu-Muslim unity itself. I do not take it too tragically. In fact, I do not think this time it is a genuine case of the recrudescence of the Hindu-Muslim dissensions. To me it appears to be a revolt of Separatism against Gandhism which was unity and cooperation among all the communities of India.

Minor leaders who could thrive on communal differences and had sunk into obscurity with the dawn of Gandhism at last found an opportunity to reassert themselves when our great leader and many of his lieutenants were not present, and the only way in which they could re-assert themselves and re-establish their leadership was by exciting inter-communal rivalries and dissensions. The best cure for the present situation is to familiarize the masses once more with the creed, policy and programme of Gandhiji.

No Change of Attitude

I note that in some quarters I am believed to have changed since my incarceration and to have come out of jail 'a wiser man'. Whatever change has taken place in me has occurred not since my incarceration but since my release; for I want to jail in spring time and have come back to my people in the winter. I wish I could comfort myself with the belief that I am a wiser man to-day than I was two years ago, but I am certainly "a sadder man". My attitude towards Government has in no wise changed, but the best thing that I can do to undermine its power for evil is to find out the feelings of the nation, and the shortcomings of the national character as disclosed since the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi, and to prepare the nation for its great fight for freedom.

Swaraj Within the Empire

Then obviously if in October 1921, we were not in a position to declare the Independence of India, we are still less in that position to-day. Swaraj may mean Swaraj within the Empire or without it, and my Great Chief had sufficient faith in his programme of non-violent non-co-operation with Government and co-operation among ourselves. I believe that Government would be compelled to recognize our right to have Swaraj within the Empire. If any time, we are convinced that this is not possible, it would only mean that the faith of our Chief in his programme was to some extent misplaced. If for nothing else, out of sheer loyalty to him, I would make one more bid for freedom within the orbit of Empire. But to think of a change in the Congress Creed to-day is to announce to the world that we have done everything that is humanly possible to do on the lines chalked out by Mahatma Gandhi and yet failed to bring the Government into a saner frame of mind. The question is, have we done everything that is humanly possible on these lines, and my emphatic answer is that we have not. We have wasted two precious years in party squabbles over these wretched Councils and lately over petty communal differences. Let us give the Bardoli programme a fair trial and if even then the Government is unwilling to recognize the hopelessness of continuing to rule India against the national will, I shall be the first to raise the standard of complete independence and take the consequences. To-day the talk of independence reminds me of the famous verses of the great poet of Lucknow, who in his sadder days wrote:

"Their imagination soars as high as the throne of the Almighty, while their head is lying on the feet of the cup-bearer. In short, wine drinkers are in the grip of a strange intoxication."

The Creed

As for the change of the creed, I must warn my fellow countrymen against those who have an itch to make new religions while they are loath to respect the obligations of any creed. When we have followed the present Congress creed honestly even for a year and have failed to find salvation, it will be nice to think of other creeds. To-day, I pin my faith in the Baidoll programme coupled with a readiness to undertake civil disobedience the moment our forces are ready, and I pray for as I firmly believe in "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai".

Sikh Affairs

We select the following items of importance from the communiques issued by Sirdar T. Singh, General Secretary, S. G. P. C.

Delegations

S. Sarmukhsingji Jhabal, President, Shiromani Akali Dal, has nominated in his place S. Jogasinghji, village Dallodna, P/o Deriwal as the President Shiromani Akali Dal, as long as he is in jail.

(Signed T. Singh)

General Secretary

Sardar Sahib Sardar Khazan Singh, retired B. A. O. has been appointed the Hon. Manager of the Golden Temple in place of Sardar Teja Singhji of Samundri in charge number, arrested.

More Arrests

After the arrest of Master Harnam Singh, the following other arrests have been effected at Sargodha on 18th.

Chaudhari Jaimal Singh, Secretary District Akali Jatha and Member S. G. P. C., and Gyani Pratap Singh, Pracharak Sikh Missionary Society More arrests are expected everywhere.

Arrests at Muktsar

The Police Officials arrested the following workers to-day at Muktsar.

(1) S. Mohindar Singh, Manager Muktsar, Member S. G. P. C.

(2) S. Ramsingh of Moga.

(3) Bh. Gurcharan Singh Akali.

(4) Bh. Saroop Singh of Tehsil Muktsar.

(5) Bh. Atmarsingh of Hamky.

(6) Bh. Bhagat Singh Jathedar Ferozepur.

(7) Bh. Inder Singh of Singhowala.

Arrests and Release

To-day the 20th October the Police Post, Clock Tower, demanded in writing four workers noted below for arrest. They were searched out by us and sent to the police post where they were told that they were not wanted.

(1) Bh. Gurumukh Singhji Musafar, Member, S. G. P. C.

(2) Sardar Darshan Singhji of Pheruman, Member, S. G. P. C.

(3) S. Hakim Singhji Sultanwind

(4) Bh. Indarsinghji Verka.

Wearing Kirpans

(a) On 17th October three Akalis were arrested at Jullandar on the charge of wearing long Kirpans.

(b) Akali Santokhsing who was lately arrested for possessing long Kirpans has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in the court of S. Ghu-

lam Hassan, additional District Magistrate, the Magistrate holding that he wore sword and not Kirpan, while the Government recognised the identity of Kirpan. (vide Government communique of 10th March 1923).

Raid in Tarn Taran

The Police raided the Office of the Akali Dal Tarn Taran and after search took away almost everything including wooden furniture, boards and desks. On enquiry what objection the Police had against these inanimate articles, the Sub-Inspector gave the reply that they had been so ordered by the Government.

Jaito

On 17th, a Jatha of 25 Akalis reached Jaito at 3 P. M. in two batches from different routes. They were withheld by the Police and enquired their destination. On the reply of the Jathadars that they were going to Gangsar on pilgrimage, they were told that they were under arrest under Section 144 and 145 I. P. O.—The Jathadar enquired why they were prevented from paying their homage to the shrine in spite of the Government communique dropped from the aeroplane proclaiming that Akalis were at liberty to visit the shrine. The Jathadar showed the Police Officer the Government communique who refused to read it. The arrested Jatha was then marched to the sarai. They were not given anything to eat and drink till the evening of 18th October.

A New faction

Having dung all the Sikh Leaders in jails the Government is now apparently attempting to set up a new party among the Sikhs to replace the S. G. P. C. which the Government fondly hopes to push out of existence. It is understood that attempts are being made to enlist the support of a number of Sikh Jagirdars and the like to form a Committee of what the Government pleasantly calls "Religious men" to administer the Sikh Gurudwaras with the aid of certain so called Akalies made to order by the Official agents in an important Sikh State. It is reported that overtures to this effect have been made by a local official to S. Harbansinghji of Atari, who, of course, cannot be expected to betray the Panth. An inspired letter published by S. Sahib Bishan Singh retired D. S. P. in C. & M. Gazette of 20th October 1923 throws further light on the matter, for it suggests a meeting of the Sikh aristocracy at Lahore during the visit of His Excellency the Viceroy in order to devise means for the administration of the Sikh Gurudwaras which S. Bishan Singh, in his simplicity, thinks have already gone out of the Panthic control. But all concerned are reminded that the existence of the Panth of Gura Gobind Singhji and of its institutions does not depend upon the good grace of any earthly Government and cannot be brushed out of existence by their fate, for even if the members of the present committee are arrested, the committee will still live long and forever. At the same time the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee confidently hopes that not a single Sikh will tarnish the fair name of his Panth by assisting, at this time, in the contemplated official designs against the administration and control of Sikh Gurudwaras by S. G. P. C.

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Notes

The news from the Punjab is summarised elsewhere. The confusion caused by the first blow has passed and the Sikhs are once more in their impressive stride. The point of greatest activity is Muktsar, which is apparently used by the Akalis as their base. *Jathas* (platoons) march to Jatho every-day. The Government's present practice seems to be to arrest the leaders of the *Jathas* and to detain the rest. Those detained are taken off in Railway trains and discharged hundreds of miles away and left to find their way to the base as best as they might. The information is not yet clear as to what happens to those arrested; but we guess that they are proceeded against for breaking the law. Along with this, there is a good deal of stray persecution going on; but upto the present, official policy is directed against the leaders—the age old business of striking down the tallest poppies. But in this case it looks as if the tallest poppies were not what they were, for nothing. The machinery seems to be working out to the fulfilment of its appointed purpose. The places of those that are taken away are being filled with automatic precision and regularity. The democracy that rests in the heart of Sikhism may be trusted to achieve its natural development.

The Working Committee is to meet at Amritsar on November 15 to consider the Punjab situation. Last week we had occasion to indicate the weakness of the Committee, and we stand by every word of what we said. All the same, the business of the Congress should go on, and we must do the best we can under the circumstances. It would be an excellent thing if the Committee is strengthened in an informal, but a genuinely real, way by the presence of leading men who do not, by an accident, happen to be on it. For the moment we drop out of reckoning the members of the Swaraj Party. Their hands are full with the business of the Elections and they will not be able to find time for other commitments. There are the No-changers left; also the men pledged to no party. The important ones among the former group are members of the Committee. The latter category is limited; but in the present state of politics, it is decisive. Dr. Kitchlew will be in Amritsar and is bound to be called into the Conference. The All Brothers and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are also of the

group and they should be specially invited to Amritsar. It will be idle for the Working Committee of the Congress to take a decision on a matter of far reaching consequence without the guidance of the All Brothers.

We assume that the determining voices will be there. The lines of present policy are being shaped for us by the facts of the matter. We start with this—the Congress will not be able to join in action before Coercion. There is no strength in us, and there is a wide section absorbed by its particular task. It would be blindless or unwise to walk up to a burden to which we are not equal. There is no hurry either. The Sikhs are able to hold the fort and they are doing it with an unfading sense of fact. All that the Working Committee should now do is to enable the delegates at Coercion to make their voice heard in a large and impressive way. In other words, there must be organisation. There are two ways of doing it:—one within the power of the Committee, and the other in co-operation with the Sikhs. The first is of increasing the membership of the Congress on the specific issue of the Akalis. Every new name that is entered on the Congress register because of the repression in the Punjab will have to yield good and useful results at the end of the year. Our inability to frame a definite programme of action at the present moment does not matter; opposition to Government is what we want instilled, and little else. The Bardoli programme smelt at a crowd of members. The Working Committee will have the right to speak in the name of the nation, only when that figure is reached. But there is a second method of organisation. It is slight and unimpressive, but it has typical vitality. We should like the Subramaniyam Prasad Prasad Committee to become an all-India body. At present, the membership of the Committee is confined to States—at any rate, full membership. If the Committee can bring about a change in its constitution for the admission of non-Brahmins to membership, it will be useful. Whether it is full membership or a species of Associate Membership, the important question is that some kind of membership open to the whole of India should be possible. If the constitution of the Prasad Committee is modified in the sense we have indicated, branches can be instituted all over India with the co-operation of the Congress. The object will be two-fold. The organisation will rouse interest and

sympathy all over the country. But there will be something more. It will make the Sikh struggle a really national one.

The Official "complaint" in the case against the Akalis is a veritable *tour de force*. A document running into thirty-five printed foolscap pages and nearly two hundred paragraphs, it times the beginning of the "conspiracy" with the visit of Mr. Gandhi to Amritsar in 1920 and connects the end of it with the Babbar Akalis. We can anticipate the conclusion of the trial, but the historical affiliations are absurd. It was the fashion once to connect the Non-co-operators with anything that went wrong in India; and we were rid of the nuisance only because of the Government's temporary respite from trouble. But the Government's present venture into a complicated prosecution has resulted in the revival of the old habit. It is true that Mr. Gandhi dominated national life in 1920-21, and every one who had anything to do with communal or political affairs came under the influence of his thought and programme; but that is no justification for the attempt to establish causal connection between Non-co-operation and the Akali movement. The only point of vital contact is the insistence on non-violence; beyond that there was, and is, nothing. As far as that goes, we need not stop with the Sikhs. The Indian agitation was followed by similar efforts in Palestine, Egypt and the Ruhr; but it would be futile to declare that the phenomena in these countries were part of a conspiracy initiated by the Non-co-operators and worked out in its last term by the Akalis. The mention of Mr. Gandhi's name in the complaint is as fantastic as the *Morning Post's* allegation that the Nabha agitation is financed from Moscow. But we imagine that the Government attaches most importance to the attempted establishment of relations between the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Babbar Akalis. But, in our judgment, it is a fruitless and sinister quest. The Government may succeed in misleading foreign opinion as to the violence latent in the Akali movement; it may even manage to secure a "judicial" finding to that effect. But the truth will be far from them. So far, the Akalis have kept their hands clean and we have no reason to imagine that they will break the pledge of non-violence in the future. They have kept themselves aloof from the Babbar development, in spite of considerable pressure. All that the Government can get hold of is the committee appointed to inquire into the terror in the Doab. The Akalis were no more guilty of violence on that account than the Government officials were; both the Akalis and Government were seeking for information. Public opinion has come to final conclusions in the matter, and it is all that counts.

It is long and suggestive conversation that Maulana Mahomed Ali had with Mr. Desai, a report of which is published elsewhere. The substance of it is his demand that the Congress should really resume work as if the years after the Nagpur had been wiped away. It will be observed that Pandit Sunderlal develops the same thesis in this issue of *Young India*. There will

be many to criticise such a policy of apparition going back; but when the critics have done with it, we believe that it will be the only programme to survive discussion. There is no item of human experience which can be completely forgotten; still, the simple is the true thing in Indian politics. From the Maulana's exposition, what he is after is not the Nagpur programme, but the one framed at Bezawada, namely, the one which was adopted afresh at Bardoli, after Chauri Chaura. Alike at Bezawada and Bardoli, the task which the Congress set before itself was organisation. It is clear to everybody now, that the exciting months at the end of 1921 would not have been possible but for the Bezawada programme. Enrolment of members, collection of money and the distribution of Charkhas had in them no excitement. But it was a necessary task, and Maulana Shaukat Ali always looks back to the June of 1921, the culminating month of effort, as that in which the largest amount of work was done for the national cause. We stand in the same proportion to-day. Nearly all the constructive agencies which were then built up are languishing; schools and punchayets, committees and associations which are as the breath of national life. If we cannot re-establish them, there is little use in our talking of bigger things. It is the essential preliminary of Swaraj.

Our Immediate Duty

(By Pandit Sunder Lal)

Immediately after my release from Betul jail a fortnight ago, I learnt that two events of far-reaching effect had happened in the life of the Indian National Congress during the last few months. The one was the resolution of the A. I. C. C. at Bombay, suspending propaganda against the boycott of Councils, and the other the "compromise" resolution at Delhi. I must frankly admit at the outset that as an humble but firm believer in non-violent Non-co-operation as preached by Mahatma Gandhi and as passed by four successive Congresses as the only right and, under the circumstances, the only possible road to the liberty and regeneration of this country, I could not but feel extremely shocked and pained at the turn events had taken. My pain has ever since gone on increasing as I have been noticing the effect of these incidents upon the general morale of the people and the workers, as also upon our national life as a whole. These events have not only created a sad demoralisation in the ranks of our workers and serious depression in almost all phases of our activities, but they have also seriously affected the prestige of our one representative National Assembly and have even begun to undermine the faith and inspiration of the people, which have been our chief support and our main hope during the last three years of struggle. I am told that even Maulana Mahomed Ali in whose hands (I believe quite wisely and rightly) we have put the reins of leadership for the next one year at least, was pained to know at Ahmedabad how the Delhi resolution was being misinterpreted, misused and distorted by gentlemen standing as candidates for various Legislative Councils under the protection of that resolution. I shall leave aside the innumerable erroneous statements appearing in the Press. The sad thing is that responsible office bearers of several

Congress Committees are openly assisting individual candidates, with their whole-hearted services. Candidates are standing, and canvassing is going on in the name of the Congress. The entire Congress organisation in some districts is being used for this purpose. Some people have not even shrunk from dragging in the name of Mahatma Gandhi in favour of Council entry. They profess to rely upon the cruelly misinterpreted message of Mahatmajī to the Maulana at Delhi. One would not have worried about all this but for the soul-killing effect it is having upon the entire movement. The movement was entrusted to us by Mahatma Gandhi at the time of his arrest and it is our sacred duty to preserve it in all its sanctity and integrity.

The real issue appears to me absolutely plain. It has been before us ever since the appearance of the Civil Disobedience Committee Report. Day by day, it has been forcing itself upon our attention and through our misconceptions of unity, decorum, compromise and the rest we have been criminally ignoring it or trying to avoid it. I cannot in the least blame those who never believed or at any stage ceased to believe in Mahatma Gandhi's programme. Although some of them might not have been quite frank at times, yet one has to admit that on the whole they have been quite consistent and the methods they have practised are just the same they have professed. The real responsibility for all the present sad state of affairs lies on the shoulders of the Congressmen who profess to believe in Mahatma Gandhi and his programme.

I am absolutely convinced that in spite of all this depression, the masses in the country have to-day as unbounded a faith in Mahatma Gandhi, his principles and his methods as they had ever before. I am convinced that they are even more prepared for sacrifice and suffering to-day than they were ever before. I am confident even that out of the few thousand representatives that assemble at a Congress an overwhelming majority have still faith enough left in Mahatma Gandhi's programme taken in its entirety, and they only require a clear and strong lead from those at the top. I hold that the 'tired-of-fight' feeling, that some of our best men read in the eyes of others in Delhi, was rather a reflection of their own inner weakness. Nobody, however great, has got the right of bargaining for India's one National Assembly as one would bargain for his personal inheritance. Nobody, however great, can be permitted to evade a grave responsibility when he has once explicitly or implicitly taken it upon himself before the nation's elected representatives. Personal calamity is no excuse, nor can disease or even death be any excuse. We should not, we cannot, play like that with the destiny of our people or our National Assembly. Responsibility is responsibility and so long as our hearts are pure, we have to face it boldly. At times, we have to be thick-skinned also. I shall be very sorry if any words of mine are interpreted as involving the slightest disrespect towards any of our beloved co-workers or respected leaders. I do regard it, and I hope I shall ever regard it, an honour and a privilege to work as a humble subaltern in a Satyagraha Army headed by Maulana

Mohmed Ali and Shriyut Rajagopalacharya, both real leaders, of whom we have every reason to be proud and to whom we owe the fullest allegiance. But surely we shall be false to ourselves and to Mahatmajī if we do not even try to understand where the shoe pinches and do not frankly and boldly profit by our mistakes in the past due naturally and mainly to our lack of political experience.

Let us open our eyes and look around us. Do we not know that the Delhi "compromise" is openly described as the thin end of the wedge? Are not attempts being made to get a 'Mandate' from the Cocanada Congress in favour of Council entry or to make the Congress responsible for the definition and regulation of the policy to be pursued in the Councils by the Congressmen elected on account of the permission at Delhi? Is there not now being organised by gentlemen who are past masters in that, a scheme to "succeed" at Cocanada by killing separately and categorically both non-violence and Non-cooperation as enunciated by Mr. Gandhi?

I have no quarrels with respected leaders who deserve the fullest credit for having made their views as plain as possible. They have consistency, perseverance and energy. But surely it is high time that we also asserted our views and showed equal consistency, perseverance and energy by rising above all camouflage. But we must really believe in things in which we profess to have faith. Let us now make a clear distinction between those who believe in one set of methods and those who believe in the other set, the two sets being diametrically and radically opposed to each other.

Far be it from me to suggest the creation of an artificial majority. Majority or no majority, our methods must be absolutely fair and overboard. But we should no longer shrink from our responsibility to the Nation, to the Nation's Congress and to Mahatmajī. We should even confess our share in the general demoralisation visible at present. We should stand up like honest believers, in non-violent Non-cooperation as true soldiers of liberty and do our duty by the Cocanada Congress in a manly, organised and systematic way. I feel that it is the duty of the Provincial leaders to inspire courage in the hearts of Provincial workers and Provincial delegates to the next Congress and make an honest and vigorous attempt to bring the Congress back to the entire Nagpur Programme, which is our only hope. Let us not tacitly or otherwise any further lend our support to any compromise or camouflage in matters that concern the nation's hopes. If we win, we should fulfil our responsibility during the next twelve months in an honourable and faithful manner. If we lose, we should then organise ourselves and work outside the Congress like a minority strong in faith. Until and unless we have put up a brave and fair fight in defence of our principles and programme, the talk of working from outside the Congress is at best only a counsel of weakness. Surely our faith in ourselves and in the people must be stronger than that. I claim to understand something of the Indian people. I am absolutely confident that if we only move on with energy, we shall succeed.

Young India

1-11-23

The Hand of Peace

The feverish tension of atmosphere that strained Hindu-Muslim relations before the Delhi Congress has slackened somewhat. We have no more of the recurring alarms which filled judicious observers with anxiety. Warning voices there have been in plenty, which it were folly to quarrel with. Maulana Mahomed Ali has faced the bitterest partisans in their stronghold of the Punjab and in spite of his cautious assessment of results, it is fairly clear that the word of peace has gone home. Though the leaders and fomenters of discontent are still recalcitrant, it has begun to dawn on the common folk whose heads are broken whenever there is a scrap, that it does not pay to quarrel. We wish we could think of a Hindu leader of authority equal to that of the Brothers, to accompany them and preach unity with their passion and their faith in his need. In any event, the omens are reassuring, and things are bound to shape well, if there is wisdom and restraint.

I

But the tokens of danger are also there, and we are particularly anxious to seize hold of one of them. We are concerned about the pestiferous crop of litigation that has issued from the recent troubles. It is nothing new. The Government, as long as it exists, is bound to put down violence. Sometimes it does so with a heavy hand, sometimes with a light. But we cannot judge of these things from the Government's point of view. Our interest is twofold:—as Non-co-operators, and as men who are pledged to work for unity in India. In the light of Non-co-operation, we cannot afford to tolerate for a minute the settlement of our quarrels before the Courts. Quarrels there will be, if we do not undergo the discipline of self-purification imposed on us by the Congress. But it is our business to settle them without the assistance of the Government after they have taken place, though they involve riots and bloodshed. If we cannot compose them, we are not fit for *Swaraj*. We admit that it is our duty to prevent quarrels, and we do not claim absolution from it, because it happens to be the business of the Government also. The Government employs policemen to prevent riots; our Enquiry Committees and volunteers assist the police in the attainment of the same object. The motives and claims are different; the officials say that but for them there will be anarchy in the land, and we are willing to concede that they are sincere in their profession. We set about the same task, because we want to replace the bureaucracy and to prove to the world and to our people that the *Raj* is no more than a superfluous and mischievous phantom. The prevention of riots is conceded to be our business; but the composition of differences is equally our business. The presence of the courts is no valid excuse for our inaction. We grant that the problem of keeping people away from

the courts is on the face of it more difficult. It is hard to influence men with broken heads, inflamed by the memory of their dead, while they are in search of revenge for the past and of security for the future. The work is difficult and nearly overwhelming; but the first step is to recognise that it is ours and nobody else's—certainly not the Government's. If the Congress and the Non-co-operators fail to assume the responsibility, there can be no *Swaraj*. We may shirk the responsibility out of our weakness and cowardice; but till it is recognised and assumed with all its consequences, Non-co-operation will wither and fall.

II

Ignore, however, the political meaning of these prosecutions in Ajmere, in Saharanpur, in Agra, in Panipat. But that will not yield us release. It is social security the victims are after. Granted. But are you sure that the expensive, exasperating, poisonous course of a criminal prosecution, with a number of people swinging in the gibbet at the end of it, has in it the gift of safety. It is absurd to imagine anything of the kind. Peace and security can come only from communal friendship and goodwill. But litigation with its perjury and passion, vast expenditure of wealth and human energy, denial of truth and cleanness, the surrender to low motives and ancient grudges, is the last thing in the world to yield sweetness or sanity. It is sad enough that Hindus and Muslims should lose their temper and, in red anger proceed to loot and murder; but it is tragedy unspeakable that they should go into hostile camps and in cold blood proceed to say and do things that would bar the gates of reconciliation. In Ajmere there are one hundred and fifty Muslims undergoing trial for grave offences; how can there be Hindu-Muslim unity as long as the case is on? In Saharanpur, there are five hundred prisoners; how can there be friendship there for years? How can the Committee on Hindu-Muslim relations do its duty?

III

But we shall be asked:—Are rioters to be left unpunished? The question is not fair. It suggests that we want rioters and looters to escape punishment. The suggestion is false. But we are interested in the restoration of peace between Hindus and Muslims, and if that result can be assured by the escape of a few murderers from punishment, we shall unhesitatingly allow the villains to go scot-free. Long ago, a wise man said (and there was no detractor from the wisdom, because of the historic context of tragedy) that it was better that one man should die than that a whole nation should perish. The saving of a few criminals from the jails and the gallows of this Government will be for the good of the nation. We are satisfied that the best thing that could happen to our people is the dropping of the prosecutions in all these cases. Ajmere and Saharanpur are the important ones; in both places, the prosecutions are meant to establish that the Mussalmans were guilty of atrocities. Even if they were, it will be true strength and no weakness in the victims to hold out the hand of forgiveness. It is security that the Hindus want, is it not? The generous

gesture will bring it, and nothing else. How can there be love, when the currents of hate are fed? It may be said that the Government will not drop the prosecutions. But if the Hindus non-co-operate with the Government, the prosecution will be powerless. Hindu witnesses should refuse to give evidence. Bad as this

Government is, we refuse to believe that it will proceed to punish the Hindus for the refusal. Even if it does, the punishment of Hindus for refusing to testify against Muslims in a communal quarrel will be a magnificent act of chivalry. It will be an act of Satyagraha which will conquer the mind of Islam.

A Talk with Maulana Mahomed Ali

[Maulana Mahomed Ali on his way to Ajmer stopped at Ahmedabad for a couple of days last week. He paid a visit to the "Navajivan office", where the Press staff and the office staff had gathered together to pay their respects to him. The Maulana addressed them in Gujarati in the following touching words:

"You are engaged in work which will pass down to history. Historians will take note of your work, when fifty years hence they write about our present struggle. It is no small privilege to have Mahatmaj's manuscripts to set to type. Money is nothing. Any other Press would give you that, but no other Press could have afforded you the privilege to do your share in a work which History is bound to record. In a press which prints Mahatmaj's manuscripts, I should be content to work as an humble pie-sorter."

The Maulana was in tears as he uttered these words and he could not proceed further. Mr. Mahadeo Desai has given in the Navajivan full report of the talk he had with the Maulana about current topics. We translate it below.]

"No Constitutionals"

Q. Tell me something about the situation in the Punjab. How did you find the Sikhs?

A. There is a manful fight. They are a handful of men, the tallest have been taken, very few men of light and leading are left. Great and small have been taken in at one bite. Their work is therefore very difficult. But they are a disciplined people, and the depression that followed in other parts of the Punjab on the arrest of the leaders will not affect their ranks. It is a great mercy that there are no Constitutionals among them. There is therefore no fear there of the catastrophe that followed after the arrest of Mahatmaj—the C. D. Committee and the 'virgin birth', as I call it, of the Councils programme. You seem to be amused, but I really do not know about the parentage of the Councils programme. It is a pure case of virgin birth.

Q. But why then did they also think of going to the Councils?

A. Well, the general Indian atmosphere affected them too. As a community fighting on a religious issue, they were affected the more. They were loath to allow people innocent of their religion to go to the Councils and legislate about their religious matters. But now the question is over. All of them are in jail.

Q. What is their plan of campaign?

A. Well, they know how to fight for a log of wood, and to die for a principle. They have any number of men ready. I told them that Amritsar is a larger Jaito. They find it more convenient to send men to Jaito. But I have an impression that they will concentrate on Amritsar.

A National Challenge

Q. What is to be our part?

A. Well, I told them frankly that it is a national challenge. The Government wants to beat us in detail. To-day, it is the turn of one community, to-morrow it will be the turn of others. I told them that they were our Vanguard. Napoleon used to put his best men mercilessly in the Vanguard. Helne compared them with Caesar's legion going in with the words *nos*

morituri to salutamus Caesar (We who are about to die salute thee oh Caesar) on their Hos. He put the quality in the van, quantity in the rear. I told the Sikhs, 'We are not Napoleons, we have to make you our vanguard, and willy-nilly to keep ourselves in the reserve. Do not, however, believe that the campaign will be lost the moment you are all wiped out. The particular engagement may be lost, but the campaign will go on.'

Let Reading have another Innings

Q. Have you seen the *Times*' comments on you?

A. Yes. It has conceived a sudden affection for me. I figure so largely in its columns. My going to the Punjab seems to it to be inconsistent with my recent utterances. When I said we should not irritate Government, I did not mean more than that we have no time to pick holes in Government. Let us blame ourselves and set our own house in order. But that does not mean that we should supinely take every Government act lying down. Lord Reading has been having his Innings these two years. If he wants a second Innings, we are quite ready to follow on. Let him finish up his score.

Q. What do you think of his speech?

A. I will say nothing about Government, but here is a personal representative of the Government speaking in a tone which reminds me of Pharaoh speaking to Moses. It is a Godless speech. Look at his words, "His Highness has ceased for all time to rule in Nabha." Only God could say this. 'Who is the Lord' said Pharaoh. 'that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.' Even so does Lord Reading seem to say, 'Who is your Lord? I am your Lord.' I am pretty certain that N. C. O. is not necessary to end a Government of which the representative talks in this strain. That Government will be automatically destroyed. The God of Islam is not jealous, but that of the Old Testament is a jealous God, and Lord Reading's God would hardly forgive him for poaching on his preserves. I almost feel that Akalis need do nothing now, the jealous God himself would do it. Lord Reading has said that he has said and as Omar sang:

"The moving finger writes and having writ
Moves on. Nor all thy piety and wit
Can lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it."

Q. I want you to explain your phrase 'turning the searchlight in-wards'.

A. I am glad you have asked me to do so. I do not doubt the earnestness and the sincerity of the *Swaraj* party. But it is growing upon me that they are following Western methods. They treat politics more or less as a game. They do not seem to me to regard it in Bapu's spirit. He lifted it from the muddy Western ruts. His alchemy transmuted the base metal of politics into the fine metal of the spirit. He took up anything that he did with a religious fervour. He took up the Charkha with a religious fervour. It was not a piece of wood to him. It was *Sudarshan*. The same with the schools. Do your humblest task yourself, with your own hands, rather than be versed in science. Learn the lesson of self-help before anything else. Do all that you do in a religious spirit. That spirit seems to me to be lacking in their method.

But we too have got faults of our own. I identify myself with the "no-change party" in spite of their criticism. I say we too must get back to reality. Reality, as a No-changer beautifully said in the columns of *Young India*, is the touchstone. We cannot be Mahatmas without *Atma*. The Prophet used to say 'Whilst you say your *Namaz* make sure that you are looking at Allah. If you cannot do so at least make sure that He is looking at you.' Let us leave off all fetishism. We shall be judged by our facts, not by our theories.

I have never said that our war with Government is at an end. It can never end. It is a conflict of ideals. I have only said, let us seriously prepare ourselves. We have not to put off our armour, but to repair it. It is not, to change the metaphor, a dry-docking business. It is to be a floating-dock business. I shall be clearer. After Chauri Chaura. Bapu said, 'Be non-violent, forget all violence, stop all violence.' We stopped violence, and with it stopped Non-co-operation too. Bapu preferred violence to cowardice. The danger to-day is in the other direction. Let us thoroughly non-co-operate. I for my part must non-co-operate as regards the Councils. But there are some who do not think they are jeopardising N. C. O. by going to the councils. I leave them to be judged by their Allah. To the Khadi wearers too, I would give a word of warning. If they feel that they have done their duty if only they put on Khadi. I tell them 'No.' They are false to the country who merely wear Khadi, without doing anything to add to the production of Khadi. They have no right to wear it, if they do not produce it.

Through the Crawling Lane

Q. I have not understood your reference to the Crawling Lane in your speech at Amritsar.

A. It is the fault of the reporter. In some cases I have dictated my interviews, but even then, they were gone wrong. I referred in my Amritsar speech to a reply that I gave to the *Pioneer* which in 1920 appealed to us to go to the Councils, and to lead the populace by our talents and our magnetism. I replied

to that appeal in a speech at Karachi. Amritsar put me in mind of the same reply. I said the way to the Councils was through the Crawling Lane, and that the Guard of Honour at the Councils would be the unfortunate women at Manianwalla whose modesty was insulted.

Q. You said something about "Shuddhi" also in the same speech.

A. I said I am not afraid of "Shuddhi." If I was, I should have worked strenuously against it, for I am jealous of the religious faith of every Mussalman. But I am not afraid of the Shuddhi that is the talk of the town and the bazaar. We have to fight a conversion which is greater than we have ever seen here. In the Jazirat-ul-Arab, in the Prophet's birth-place and burial ground, a dangerous campaign is on, of which we take no notice. I plainly say to the Mussalman, 'Whom do you regard as the *Sardar* of the Hindus; those who are busy with the "Shuddhi" and "sangathans" or him who inaugurated the great shuddhi and sangathan at Nagpur? Do not be afraid of the present day Sangathans. The more you are afraid of them, the more you will drive the Hindus into them.'

Q. How are we to stop the unfortunate happenings like those at Agra, Saharanpur and Ajmere?

A. I think the Hindus and Mussalmans who are neutral must speak out, they should seriously put their hands to the wheel. The stronger the neutrality, the more the fanaticism, the less you are neutral, the weaker will be the fanatics.

Q. You have used strong language about the change of the Creed.

A. Yes, I understand the attitude of a man like Jawaharlal whose speech simply captured me. But I stick to every word of what I said in Lucknow and which is well reported in an interview you have published in *Young India*.

Q. You know the result of the Delhi Compromise in Gujrat. They are putting strange interpretation thereon, and the erstwhile No-changers are asking people to vote for the Swaraj party candidates.

A. Who are they?

Q. Well, those who took part in the Kaira campaign, who have been to Nagpur, who swear by their loyalty to Bapu.

A. Well, please tell them nothing has horrified me so much as their attitude. If ever that interpretation can be on my compromise, I am guilty of a great sin, and God-forgive me my sin. Others may put convenient interpretations, but that Kaira should do it looks as though we have described a circle. "If infidelity should start in Kaaba itself where could Islam remain?" We can render the Swarajists no assistance, no encouragement. Well, I am struck with horror to hear this. If the thing proceeds from Kaira where will Gandhism remain?

Q. We shall see the bitter fruit more at Cocanada. Do not you think so?

A. I think not. If the Hindus want to kill Gandhism, let them do so, I shall be no party to it. At Cocanada, I think we begin the programme over again. Back to Nagpur, and begin with an absolutely clean slate.

Sikh Affairs

(Extracts from the S. G. P. O. Communiqués)

More Arrests

S. Chaman Singh, Secretary, Akali Jatha, Tarn Taran and S. Santa Sing Chak No. 50 Sathlala (District Lyallpur) have been sentenced to 1½ year's rigorous and 1 year's simple imprisonment respectively.

S. Tejasingh Ghawind, Executive Member, Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and Manager Akali Dhula Singh's small Nowshers, was arrested there on 17th October and has been brought to Amritsar to take his trial.

Seizing Rations

A big Diwan was held at Gillan, District Ludhiana, on 21st, 22nd and 23rd inst. The Police under orders of the Deputy Commissioner, surprised the Diwan and took into its possession the rations of the Guru's kitchen. Five arrests have been effected for making speeches in the Diwan.

Personality: A Sufficient Warrant

Giani Gurumukh Singh, Mussafar, Sikh Missionary Society and Member Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, has been arrested on the 23rd October 1923, without warrant—the Sub-Inspector saying that his personality was a sufficient warrant.

Beating the Pilgrims

A Jatha of 25 Akalis on its way to Jalto for pilgrimage and restarting Akhandpath reached Ferozepore on the 23rd inst. They were mercilessly beaten by the Police near the city. All this maltreatment was borne patiently and cheerfully. At last the Talukdar was arrested and the rest were allowed to go.

Starving the Jathas

A Jatha of 25 Akalis which left Amritsar on the 16th October for pilgrimage to Gangsar and to restart Akhandpath reached there at 2-30 P. M. on 23rd inst. and was stopped before the gate of the fort. The Police Officer announced to them that they were arrested, after which they were taken to the Sarai. Another Jatha of 25 also reached there at 4 p. m. and was treated likewise. Both the Jathas are kept without food.

News from Muktsar

(a) Bh. Togha Singh was arrested for shouting Sat Shri Akal.

(b) Bhais Shud Singh, Naran Singh, Mohan Singh, and Narayan Singh have been arrested without warrants, which were prepared in the Police Station after the arrests had been effected.

(c) Arrested Akalis are belaboured by the Police.

(d) Under-trial prisoners are given grinding labours.

(e) A notice has been pasted on the door of Sarup Singh by the Police, warning the house against entertaining the Akalis.

(f) C. I. D. is active in watching the movement of the Akalis in Muktsar.

Searches of the Manager's and Cashier's office of Muktsar Gurudwara as well as office of the

Ferozepore District Akali Jatha were made. House of Lala Kirparam, Photographer, was searched and photos of one Jatha and three Congress leaders were carried away.

Jalto Arrests

The Jatha of 25 Akalis which left Amritsar for Jalto on the 17th inst. reached there on the 24th, having received severe beating on its way out of Ferozepore. On proceeding to Gangsar to pay homage and to restart Akhandpath, the Jatha was held up by the Police and required to give promise to return within 2 hours after paying visit to the Gurudwara. Of course the Jatha refused to bind themselves to such a condition. Thereupon the Jatha was arrested and taken to the Sarai.

The same day another Jatha of 25 Akalis from Muktsar, after pilgrimage of Kamiana Gurudwara proceeded for the pilgrimage of Gangsar. The Police stopped the Jatha and declared it arrested. The members of the Jatha cheerfully proceeded under escort to the Sarai.

Procession and Diwan

Most reliable news have been received that a grand procession of Akalis passed through the main bazars of Lyallpur. In spite of the fact that the procession and Diwan had both been declared prohibited under sec. 144 I. P. C., the procession and Diwan were a great success. At the end of the Diwan S. Teja Singh Sathiala, Kartar Singh, Narayan Singh, Jathadar, General Secretary, and Joint Secretary, Akali Jatha District Lyallpur respectively were arrested.

Nabha News

I. The Akali Jatha, Nabha, has not received its mail since 15th October 1923.

II. The houses of the Akalis in Nabha State are being searched indiscriminately.

A Policeman Resigns

One Policeman Hasankhan who was on duty in the vicinity of Sri Darbar Sahib Muktsar could not bear the sight of unspeakable atrocities perpetrated on the Akalis and gave up his service.

Khadi Notes

For Home-spun Khadi Users

A gentleman has remitted a sum of money to the Satyagrahashram for spending it to encourage the home-spun Khadi users. The following form of help has been decided upon:—

"Arrangements will be made on applying to the Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, to weave at half the actual charges the home-spun yarn of any body living in Gujarat. Cutch or Kathiawad provided the spinner has no organization which could weave it locally.

"The yarn should not be at once sent up here. The spinner should communicate first, giving his or her full address and writing legibly. The writer must give the name of the nearest railway station, and mention the weight and count of the yarn to be sent. Those who cannot calculate the count should give the

number of threads and the measure in circumference of the hanks together with the weight of the total yarn. It will be very convenient if those who spin hereafter prepare their hanks on a reel of 4 feet circumference with five small leas of 100 threads each in them. Each hank must be tied separately with a strong thread keeping the two ends of the hank in the knot. Every lea in a hank must be partitioned from the other by means of the tying thread. This can be done by crossing the thread between every two leas, which is technically called forming a *leas*. The hanks tied in this way make it easy to open the yarn without any wastage of time and strand. Moreover, the quantity of yarn required for weaving a piece of cloth of given length and breadth can be accurately determined, and the fear of yarn being short or stolen is eliminated. The cost of wages for weaving hand-spun yarn will be much less than at present, if it is spun properly and hanks are tied in the manner described above.

"On receipt of applications, instructions will be sent. Arrangements will be made to weave the yarn, at one of the weaving centres of the Provincial Khadi Department, the weaving factory of Shrinati Gangaben Majmudar of Vijapur (Baroda State) or some such convenient place, nearest to the sender of the yarn. The yarn should be sent only after the receipt of instructions. The freight one way will have to be borne by the sender of the yarn.

"Yarn of 6 to 10 counts should not be sent, till it is at least 5 lbs, that of 12 to 20, till it is 3 lbs. Yarn not sufficient for at least 12 yards of about 30 inches width and 8 yards of 45 inches width will not be accepted.

"When a beginner sends his or her yarn, as is often the case, it is a trial for the winder who opens it out on bobbins and the weaver who weaves it. In such cases, the owner of the yarn should be ready to bear all extra expenses, if there are any."

For Helpers

The gentleman who has offered the above help had originally suggested that this sum should be spent in the award of prizes to the best spinners by holding spinning competitions. He was advised to use the money rather in minimising the difficulties of the spinners so that they might be able to stand in future on their own legs, than using it in the distribution of prizes. For instance, persons spinning for themselves may be helped by the supply of cotton or silvers at half the actual price, or by getting them their yarn woven at half rates. It is hoped that these suggestions will be helpful to those interested in Khadi. A number of spinners cannot procure good and clean cotton at present; or if they get it they cannot afford to pay the heavy price of it. Such spinners stand in need of good cotton at reasonable rates. Some village workers who are trying to make their villages ideal ones, are making efforts to store clean cotton for hand-spinners, by ginning the carefully picked cotton locally in hand-gins. The time is opportune and the field is vast to help them. It is for the devotees of *swadeshi* to supply such village workers with means for storing cotton and supplying it cheaply.

Hand-spun Sewing Threads

Bardoli and its surrounding Talukas are growing cotton of superior quality. If such cotton is sent to Behar, Andhra, Nander and such places where excellent yarn is spun, and sewing thread is made out of it, it can be profitably marketed. There is a demand for sewing and knitting hand-spun thread. Yarn of 20 to 30 counts if twisted with three strands makes nice thread.

A tailor in Bombay who uses only hand-spun thread, is getting plenty of work to do. To execute all the orders placed with him he has to employ several assistants. The customers who use his hand-sewn garments made out of plain Khadi (some of them elaborately and artistically done) are simply charmed by his skill. This shows how tailors who have a devotion for *swadeshi* can help the *charkha* movement. Again, this shows that even in big cities where sewing machines are universally used a number of tailors determined to use needles can easily find employment. The claims of arts are also respected. But there is a deeper art in every strand of warp and weft of even ordinary coarse Khadi if it is but cleanly and honestly wrought. The Khadi activity is giving new birth to a truer taste of art among the people.

In Place of Foreign Sewing Thread

One *deshi* mill has at last begun to produce sewing cotton reels to replace the foreign ones. Foreign cotton reels and balls worth lacs of rupees are used in this country. In response to the reference regarding this subject in the last bulletin one Ahmedabad mill has sent to this department samples of reels and balls manufactured by it. The thread is examined and found to do in place of the foreign one, and is slightly cheaper too. It has been ascertained that no fat is used in sizing it. It would do well if it is a little smoother—anyway such was the remark made by a tailor after using a few of these cotton reels. We may hope that the mill will give attention to this matter.

It will be sad if people should be backward in using *deshi* cotton reels that are now available. The sewing of Khadi clothes with foreign thread is a matter of grief and laughter according to the mood of the beholder. Khadi users might use *deshi* cotton reels till the handspun cotton prevails everywhere in India. The *deshi* cotton reels and balls referred to here bear the trade mark of *charkha* on them. It is a bit amusing. We believe it to mean that the mill tender its homage to the *charkha*, implying that it is by the blessing of *charkha* that the *Swadeshi* spirit can thrive. We hope that the *deshi* mill cotton reels and balls which are manufactured in colours also will achieve popularity.

These can be had on application to the following address:—

"Retail Sales Department, Calico Mills,
Post Box 28, AHMEDABAD."

Those wishing to send for them should communicate directly.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

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The Fatal Ambiguity

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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No. 45

Notes

The Punjab has yielded nothing sensational in the way of news during the week. More men have been arrested, but not in large numbers. The most important among them was Sirdar Mangal Singh, who had not long been free after a three years' term in jail. Amongst the Sikhs, there were two groups of Reformers:—Politicians and Puritans. For the time being, both are overwhelmed by a common repression; but when the distinction was valid, Sirdar Mangal Singh was a Politician. It should therefore be something of a satisfaction to him that the counsel and prophecy which he tendered to his people in 1920, long before the Gurudwara Reform Movement was born, should now be justified by events. He has gone to his trial with bravery and with no illusion—he is prepared to look straight and unafraid in the face, the prospect of a whole life-time in jail as his lot in the world. He knows his people and their weakness far too well to imagine that success is round the next corner. Greetings to him and his noble comrades.

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The exact psychology of the situation is, however, piquant to the last degree. After its big stroke, the Government is marking time. It is difficult to say what the official policy will be or whether the Government has any such thing as a policy at all. Its first intent was obvious—declare the Committee and the Dal as "unlawful" and proceed to enforce the law in the light of the declaration. But the process involves arrests and the Government is, for some reason or other, shrinking from the consequences. We find it impossible to believe that the officials had built on the expectation that the Sikh organisation would disappear and dissolve because of a single assault. Far from being demoralised, a new set of men have constituted themselves as the Committee and have embarked on a more aggressive form of defiance. Before the arrests of the leaders, it was only Jaito that was the point of attack. Now it is Jaito and Amritsar. In Jaito the Jathas seek to maintain the right of worship in defiance of the Administrator's order, who sees in the ritual of religion a subtle campaign against established authority. In Amritsar, the Government is not put to the necessity of drawing inferences about the intentions of the Sikhs. Jathas, a hundred strong, march up and down the streets of Amritsar in solemn procession, the new Working Committee at their head, defying cold-bloodedly and unmistakably,

the notification of the Government that the Committee and the Dal are "unlawful" associations. As far as the law is concerned, there is no doubt that the marchers are in peril of being arrested and punished; and if there was no question of state policy to control the activities of the police, the marchers should be arrested and dealt with pretty severely. But nothing of the kind is done. From hints dropped in the European press, the Government are apparently waiting for the Sikhs to do something really "aggressive", and to put themselves completely in the wrong. We should have thought that the defiance of the Criminal Law Amendment Act was aggressive enough in all seriousness. In 1921, demonstrations of a far milder character resulted in imprisonments on a large scale. We trust that suggestions from Anglo-Indian sources that the bureaucracy is merely waiting for the Sikhs to take possession of Government buildings will be sternly disregarded. The processions in Amritsar are quite sufficient to muster and crystallize public opinion. The fact is too considerable to be ignored by the Government. It is bound to act. It must arrest the demonstrators or it must surrender to them.

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We suspect that the Government does not know its mind; but we are not inclined to sneer at its temporary, possibly self-imposed, paralysis. There is a species of practical sense in its doings which we have come to respect; and it would, therefore, be dangerous for us to go into a mood of self-complacency at its present undoubted inaction. It is important that the initiative in the battle should not be allowed to slip from the hands of the Committee. And from what we can see, the Executive does not intend that the springs of policy should depart from its possession. Now that the criminal proceedings, administrative and judicial, are recognised to be what they are, namely, the attempt to destroy the organisation of the community which is both religious and political, it is the obvious duty of the community to make itself more close-woven and compact. Though the majority of Gurudwaras have acknowledged the supremacy of the Committee, there are still a few left, uncovered by the Panthic reorganisation. The work was interrupted by the recurring conflicts with the bureaucracy; but it is now being borne upon the leaders that every Gurudwara that is beyond the pale is a source of weakness and a potential centre of intrigues and dissensions.

Necessary work cannot be suspended because of repression. The one assured manner of internal strengthening and consolidation against external attacks is internal dynamic cohesion. The official declaration under the Criminal Law Amendment Act is no doubt there; in an open political fight, the "legalities" may be left over for the lawyers to decide upon. After the lawyers have done their work by it, the issue will still remain to be determined as one of the terms of negotiation at the end. In this particular case, we shall some day be concerned with the terms of surrender by Government or Sikhs in one form or another. We therefore, welcome the reported intention that all the Gurudwaras are to be embraced within the organisation for reform. We do not know whether the assumption is that the Government will not interfere with work. After two years of hard struggle, the Sikhs are no longer political greenhorns and are not likely to commit a mistake of this elementary character. None the less, we should like to believe for the Government's own sake that it will not interfere with the extended amalgamation. In any event, Sir Edward Maclagan and his advisers will be on the horns of a dilemma. If he permits the process of absorption without challenge, the whole policy of Proclamation will be stultified; if, on the other hand, he prevents it, it will at once be interpreted as an attempt to confirm the Gurudwaras in the possession of the corrupt Mahants, a course which the Sikhs are pledged to prevent at any cost. How exactly he is going to rescue himself from the absurdity of the situation, we decline to speculate. At all events, the Governorship of the Punjab is not a job to envy now.

Discussing the part of the Congress in the struggle of the Akalis, we happened to suggest that the Prabandhak Committee might do well to rally the support of the country by associating non-Sikhs in the struggle in an official and responsible manner. The *Mahratta* has, we are afraid, slightly misunderstood us in the matter. We quite agree with our contemporary that the bond of religious brotherhood which makes the Sikhs in power and efficiency what they are, should not be interfered with. In fact, the consideration was vividly present to our mind, and we would much rather cut off our right hand than take any step which would destroy discipline and obedience. That was why we mentioned Associate membership as the basis of the relationship of those who are not Sikhs, with the Committee in the struggle in the middle of which it finds itself to-day. But on the root-question whether there is not a national complexion about the happenings in the Punjab we are afraid there is a difference of opinion. We see in the attempted suppression of the Gurudwara movement a revival of the challenge that was flung at us by the Government in 1921—whether there should be the unqualified right of free association pledged to non-violence. As far as our understanding goes, it is an inalienable right which it is not open to this or any other Government to restrict or take away. It is undoubtedly true that the association against which the bureaucracy is now ranged derives

its potency and inspiration from religion. But this consideration will not absolve the leaders of our political life from their obvious duty. It is the business of the Congress not to save itself, but to maintain unimpaired the principle of its activity. If it views with indifference the destruction by the Government of a non-violent fellowship on the plea that it is perilous to its own existence, we shall see the end of the possibility of clean and wholesome public life. Unless we are prepared to take our stand on these liberties fir as rock, open political work is destroyed by an antinomy. Reduced to its elements, politics is the substitution of one Government or policy by a new Government or a new policy. Free association is either effective or it is ineffective. As long as it is ineffective it is ignored; when it becomes effective to the point of shaking Government, which is the parent of policy, it is destroyed. We say it should not be permitted, and we in India to-day cannot conceive of any question of vaster importance. We admit there are complications enough in the way; but given the vital need, difficulties are there to be surmounted, not to appal. It should be made clear to the Government that the right of association has in it the gift of renewing life and that there is national strength to maintain it. 1921 and now are proofs of it. All that the Congress is called upon to do is to honour its soul with a body through which to express itself.

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There is an element of confusion in the reported summoning of political leaders to Delhi by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The bewilderment is due to the following reason. The Delhi meeting is to be on the 13th instant, the very date for which the Working Committee is called. The same date would not have caused trouble, but for the fact that the Working Committee is not to meet in Delhi but in Amritsar. We do not know what the Maulana has in mind; but from the names mentioned in this connection it would seem as if it is a foregathering of party leaders. We do not think it at all improper that men holding similar political views should come together, compare notes and frame a common policy of action. As it happens, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is a Swarajist, and in view of the things that have happened in the Special Congress it is clearly incumbent on the Swarajists to take stock of the situation and go forward to their next effort. We have felt all along that the Swarajists will be compelled by the mere logic of current political development to come to the Cocanada Congress and ask for instructions. They will say:—"In Delhi, you gave us permission to stand. We accordingly did so. There is a certain number of us in the Councils and the Assembly—what are we to do with ourselves? We are willing to submit ourselves to the discipline of the Congress and we want orders." The question is inevitable, but the content of it, will be settled only after the elections are all over. It is only then we shall know the balance of power in the chambers. We therefore suggest that the meeting on the 13th November in Delhi will be fruitless, because premature. Apart from it all, we suspect that the Swarajist leaders will find it none too easy to get away from

their respective provinces in the thick of electioneering.

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But, even though the Swarajists can afford to be leisurely about the terms of the demand to be made on the Congress, the Non-co-operators and the Compromisewallas are in different case. If anybody imagines that the conflict of principles was resolved by the Delhi "compromise", and that the nation can go forward unhampered by its aftermath, we beg to assure him that he is sadly mistaken. It is not the "cussedness" of partisanship that is distressing and hampering us; it is something deeper and more troublesome. Let us try to find an answer to the inevitable question of the Swarajists:—"What do you want us to do?" To answer it, we should discriminate. Are they in a majority or in a minority? Assume they are in a majority, jubilant and happy, in the fulness of conviction that the weapon to destroy the Councils is in their hands. They will say, "What shall we do with this new-got power? We are not conceited about it; it is not our doing but the fruit of the unmentioned years that the Congress laboured; we are willing to cast it at the feet of the Congress for it to do what it pleases there with. We do not want a majority in the Congress; but we are willing to make ourselves her servants and children." What will the answer of the Congress be? Will the Congress have strength enough to say that it will have no traffic whatever with the victors at the Polls. Will it be powerful enough to resist the overwhelming suggestion of the atmosphere? We think not.

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Or take the next case. Suppose the Swarajists are in a minority. There again it depends on the nature of the minority. It may be an insignificant minority. From the words let drop by Mr. Das, it is quite conceivable that the minority might prefer to resign their seats, technically or practically and leave as many 'beacons of Non-co-operation burning'. Or if the minority is considerable enough to be converted into majority by co-operating with scattered political groups, they might elect to continue in their places, waiting for a chance and expecting to improve the shining hour. We have mentioned the different possibilities with a view to indicate the hopeless conflicts that rest in the heart of the situation. But in spite of the alternative forms in which the question may be put, the answer can be at bottom only one. If the Congress makes up its mind to assume responsibility for the conduct and policy of the Swarajists in Councils, it will assume a new responsibility, but it will be a grave one. If on the other hand, the Congress thinks that it should stand clear of all responsibility for the doings of Swarajists, it must say so.

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But the task of saying 'No' will be hard. All the same it has to be faced. In spite of all that has happened, the situation has to be understood and clearly realised. There are really two schools in the Congress—a revolutionary and a constitutional. The

revolutionary school is the creation of Mr. Gandhi. In the main, it is uneducated, it is "uncivilised", and it is bred in the mood of action. It believes in the quick results of the revolutionary split. Against it is the group of politicians educated in the method and learning of the old Whiggism which is to-day taken to be synonymous with obstruction. If we delve deep enough, we shall see that their intellectual roots are cast in English soil. The growth of English freedom was masked by constitutionalism. The constitutionalists—lawyers, teachers, editors, the very flower of Anglicism far removed from reality, have not had energy enough to tear off the mask. Mr. Gandhi knew this, and that is why all his life through, he made use of revolutionary political impulses whether in South Africa, Champaran, or Kaira. The earlier phases of the Non-co-operation gave the Whigs a chance of freeing themselves from political and intellectual entanglements and he called it the process of self-purification. Educated India has missed its chance. Not only has it missed its chance, but it is also taking advantage of the current babel to reestablish itself in political leadership, speaking in the name of the people in a language that they do not understand, pursuing methods which point to the morass of English Liberalism. The tragedy is that the Swarajists are embracing Liberalism at the very moment when Liberalism is repudiated in the Continent which gave it birth. Liberalism is exhausted in England; Mussolini mocks at it in Italy; Lenin in Russia; De Rivera in Spain. Here in India at the present moment, the Liberals and the Swarajists are attempting to resurrect a dead corpse; and they are bound to fail. The way of salvation for India can be only non-violent direct action. It may be Satyagraha; it may be Non-co-operation; it may be individual civil disobedience; it may be the peaceful revolution known as mass civil disobedience.

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Of all these, civil disobedience is the most popular to-day. The memory of Guru-ka-Bagh, and of Nagpur, the battle in the Punjab to-day are too near our present effort to leave us unmoved. But we refuse to believe that it has in it the ultimate potency of life. We hold that the Non-co-operation programme fashioned at Nagpur and worked out marvellously in the months of faithfulness and high courage is still there, and will be the final weapon of our liberty. The faith of the constitutionalists in it has waned. The illusion which handicapped them through long sheltered years has them again in its clutch. They have gone back to the Councils themselves, and will do all they can in Cocanada to drag the Congress also in. They will be asked:—"Are we to go through the process of 1921 once more? Are more lawyers and students to come out? Are Punchayats to be organised, Charkhas to be set spinning again, Khaddar hawked, Congress membership built up once more?" The taunt ignored to this question there can be only one answer:—"Yes." If we do not do that, the whole task of freedom will be imperilled. We are convinced that if the Congress reaffirms and goes back to Non-co-operation in its entirety, there will be an echoing response from all over the country. We believe the heart of the people is sound; but they want the voice of authority and conviction.

Young India

8-11-23

The Fatal Ambiguity

Though Reuter has made available to us the full text of the speeches at the Indian debate there is a persistent air of unreality and uncertainty which is singularly embarrassing. Dr. Sapru's specific proposal was this:—

"Let the Dominion Governments who have an Indian population, let His Majesty's Government in the areas under their direct control such as Kenya, Uganda, Fiji and other places where there are Indian residents appoint committees to confer with the Committee which the Government of India will send from India in exploring the avenues of how best and how soonest the principle of equality implied in the 1921 resolution may be implemented. And lest the course of enquiry be prejudiced, I will couple with my proposal the request that any anti-Indian legislation which may be pending should be stayed until the reports of these joint-committees are available."

What was accepted by Mr. Baldwin for inclusion in the record of the Conference was this:—

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies on behalf of His Majesty's Government cordially accepted the proposal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that there should be a full consultation and discussion between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and a committee appointed by the Government of India upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies and Protectorates and Mandated Territories. At the same time, the Duke of Devonshire was careful to explain that before decisions were taken as a result of the discussion with the Committee, consultations with the local Colonial Governments concerned and in some cases a local enquiry would be necessary. Further, while welcoming the proposal the Duke of Devonshire reminded the Conference that His Majesty's Government recently had come to certain decisions as to Kenya which represented in their considered view the very best that could be done in all the circumstances. While he saw no prospect of these decisions being modified, he would give careful attention to such representations as the committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru while taking note of the above statement of the Duke of Devonshire desired to make it plain that the recent Kenya decisions could not be accepted as final by the people of India."

It should also be stated that the Dominion Premiers except General Smuts agreed to co-operate with the Indian Committee in their respective territories.

Now observe.—The Indian population in the Dominions is as follows:—Australia 2,000, New Zealand 500, Canada 1200, South Africa 160,000. It may be noted that the figure of 6000 mentioned for

New Zealand by Lord Peel is a mistake; perhaps 600 is misreported as 6000.

The net result then appears to be this:—The Dominions that have no considerable Indian population and are therefore without an Indian problem have agreed to negotiate with India, South Africa, the Dominion which is the storm-centre of our troubles refuses to have anything to do with us at all.

The Colonial Office is prepared to co-operate in reference to the Colonies. But in the matter of the critical instance of Kenya, the position is hard to grasp. The Colonial Secretary says that there is no prospect of modifying the recent decision; Dr. Sapru in his turn says that the decision could not be accepted as final by the people of India. The crisis of the matter seems to us to lie in the basis of discussion between the Indian Committee and the Colonial Office. If the negotiations are conducted on the basis of the recent decision, Dr. Sapru's purpose will be foiled in spite of all his brave words; if, however, the Committee manages to get behind the heads of the Decision, he will have won a notable diplomatic victory.

Our own suspicion is that the matter has been left over by both parties as too dangerous to tackle at the present stage. The Kenya decision reserved a number of subsidiary questions to be decided by negotiations between the Colonial Office and the Government of India. The Duke of Devonshire probably thinks that the discussion of the unsettled questions will be in fulfilment of the Resolution now recorded. Dr. Sapru probably thinks otherwise. There is trouble in store. Till this vital ambiguity is removed, it would be idle to speak of India's 'winning or losing'. The loss is already there; and till something in the way of a definite achievement is recorded, it will be wise to reserve judgment.

An Irish View

Mr. Andrews has described the speech of Mr. Fitzgerald, the Irish representative at the Imperial Conference, as 'pure gold'. Whether it was that or not, it was frank and straight-pointed. There was no diplomacy in it. It was the honest utterance of a statesman in a very young government. We are sure that when the next Imperial Conference meets, no Irishman will speak in Mr. Fitzgerald's manner. A Government that is three years old will have got corrupt and diplomatic enough to drive out of its representatives the habit of embarrassing speech. A statesman in opposition may say such things; but a statesman in office, never.

The substance of the speech was not merely true; it was wise. Mr. Fitzgerald said that Dr. Sapru and the Maharajah of Alwar were not on a plane of equality with the other members of the Conference, because they were not there as representatives of their people. "They are not really sent by an independent Indian Government, and they cannot really be regarded as equal with the rest of us." Referring to the immediate subject of discussion, he continued, "It seems to me that the only solution of this trouble, which comes from racial sensitiveness is for Indians to be in a position to make real reciprocal arrangements, and make bargain for bargain. The only way this Indian

trouble is really going to be solved is for that progress towards self-government—whatever form of self-government they consider suitable for themselves for that progress to be hastened with all speed—so as to avoid what Sir. T. B. Sapru and the Maharajah have indicated as 'revolutionary methods.' If we may say so with all respect, it was a necessary discipline to have the truth of their own position put to the Indian members with all delicacy and frankness at the Conference table itself. The statesmen from the Dominions have been too long at the business of the Government to venture on it. Mr. Fitzgerald has done it. But as we have already stated, such a thing will never happen again.

The Volunteer Organisation

Dr. Hardikar has taken into his energetic and competent hands the business of evolving a body of volunteers for the whole of India. The formal machinery of the thing strikes us as familiar;—it is conceived as a replica of the Congress organisation. The function will be different, the volunteers being the active arm of the deliberative bodies. We know how defective is the language of analogy. Subject, however, to that observation, the volunteers may be described as the soldiers and policemen of the Congress. But in our humble judgment the machinery is nothing; all that counts will be work and the personal strength that issues in work. Back of it all, there should be the mysterious quality of getting things done. If Dr. Hardikar can manage to infect his colleagues with the same enthusiasm by which he is moved, he will win. As far as we can judge, he has energy enough with which to charge the atmosphere. We wonder whether the volunteers' Conference in Cocanada will not give Dr. Kitchlew, the man that he wants for Satyagraha. What is more, if there is a clear lead in the matter of the Sikhs in December, Dr. Hardikar will immediately find the work cut out for him.

We are inclined to think that the immediate future of political work will be in the hands of the Volunteers. But to achieve the fullest in the way of possibilities, they must be heedful of present needs. There is the perpetual task of struggling against the Government and thwarting its purposes and policies. It may be the Flag, the freedom of the Sikhs, picketing of liquor shops—various incidents in political campaigning. But, beyond the politics of attack and destruction, there is the constructive labour of organisation, peace, *Swadeshi* and unity. Any organisation of workers designed to achieve these ends will have to carry out important work. It will be remembered that the Special Session of the Congress had a resolution instructing local committees to establish bodies of civic guards open to all Indians for the maintenance of peace and order, and to perform civic duties. We do not think that the Working Committee of the Congress have taken practical steps to carry it out. Now that Dr. Hardikar has applied himself to the task, it will be excellent if the Committee deputed him to carry out the instructions of the Congress. Perhaps he himself will find it more convenient to hand over his

organisation as far as it has gone to the Congress and proceed to develop it further under the authorisation of the Congress Executive. We suggest that the co-operation of the Working Committee with Dr. Hardikar will be economical in the long run. The Congress wants 'Civic Guards'. He has got the Volunteers; the easiest thing will be to bring the two together and make use of the resulting organisation for national purposes.

Church and State

I

It is slightly strange to find Mrs. Besant distressed about the implications of the Akali struggle. The doctrine of Divided Loyalties was reduced to its present form as early as 1919. In the December of that year when the Muslim League met at Amritsar, the position was stated clearly and unmistakably by the All Brothers. The history of Non-co-operation politics which had its origin in the Amritsar declaration is a prolonged commentary on the doctrine. There is nothing therefore that we can now say by way of persuasion or argument. All that it means is that the authority of the State is limited by its duty to fulfil the religious requirements of its subjects. The Khilafat and the *Panth* are only the concrete expression of the religious obligation of Mussalmans and Sikhs in their relation to the present or any future Government in India. If the State fails to fulfil the condition of its existence, the subjects are entitled to withdraw their loyalty. The disloyalty may result in civil disobedience or violent rebellion; but disaffection or lack of affection becomes a duty.

II

This is the plain truth of the matter, but it is worth while understanding the history of Mrs. Besant's difficulty, which she shares with nearly all English people and also those Indians who have derived their political philosophy from England. The doctrine of the supremacy of the secular State, whether King or Cabinet or Parliament, is as old as English political philosophy which may be taken to begin with Hobbes or with James I. James called it the Divine Right of Kings. Hobbes, later, identified the State with the Leviathan. But the peculiar thing to note is that it was a godless heresy that grew out of the Reformation. As long as the Catholic Church was supreme in Christendom, there was no such thing as the Divine Right of Kings, no State claiming absolute authority over spiritual and temporal matters. When the Reformation came to England and Henry VIII proceeded to sequester the properties of the Church and to distribute them amongst his nobles as the price of their collusion, there was no pretence of legality; it was mere spoliation. The spoliation having taken place, there was the need for a political doctrine to justify what had happened, just as in India low-caste adventurers achieving Kingship got Brahmins to evolve a genealogical tree, tracing their descent from the sun or the moon. The English variety of the sun and the moon genealogy was called the Divine Right. The Puritan Revolution and the Whig adventure of 1688 did not challenge the Divine Right; the new affirmation was that the Divine

Right did not rest in the Stuarts, but in Parliament, which was the Puritans and the Whigs, themselves. The right of the Church to control kings was repudiated in Germany also; but by the accident of history till the end of the Great War, the German Princes managed to keep the Divine Right in themselves. Between England and Germany was evolved the modern doctrine of the absolute supremacy of the State. We believe that the claim of the State to such supremacy is Godless, wicked and should be resisted. But we do not want to argue it here.

The more poisonous thing is this, Mrs. Besant assumes that because this problem was solved by Protestant Europe in the particular manner with which we are familiar, we in India are bound to accept it as permanently valid. We know she is jealous of the independence of India in the realm of thought, and will resent any imposition of doctrine on us from outside. The fact that such a distinguished observer falls into the common rut of superstition is of great significance. The general assumption of current thought and politics is this:—Europe, especially England, has settled far-reaching questions in speculation and affairs on settled lines. In science, philosophy, politics, and government, Europe has arrived at conclusions that are satisfactory to herself; it is therefore the duty of India to accept them—it is foolishness or wickedness to think otherwise. We are assured in politics, the State should be supreme, the Church should be subordinate; that government should be parliamentary and democratic; that society should not be based on caste; civilisation should not be agricultural and constructive, but capitalist and predatory. We wish to enter a protest against the assumption. We say it is false. India has come up against these various issues in the course of her history. Some she has solved finally; some are in process of settlement. But the final word will be hers, and uttered according to her need and according to the burden of her own history. Take for instance, the Sikh *Panth* and the Islamic Khilafat. The heroic history of the children of the Guru was shaped in every particular by the religious impulse which gave them birth. The Interregnum of hibernation that came on the brotherhood after the second Sikh War is at an end. Now that the Sikhs have resumed the thread of history, is it wonderful that they should go back to the springs of original greatness. So also about the Islamic Khilafat. The Islamic brotherhood is Church and State; and both are universal. What is there to complain of, if in the middle of the resurgence of Indian Islam, which we ourselves have helped to call into being, Mussalmans should go back to their religious history for strength and sustenance? As long as the Sikhs and Mussalmans were politically dead, the rest of us were unhappy. Now that they have come to life—thanks to our own efforts—we cultivate a new pessimism, because the manner of their coming to life is in conflict with the godless commonplaces of Teuton and Saxon. We cannot have it both ways. There is certainly inconvenience in the controversies between Church and State. But we have to handle them carefully and patiently, and solve

them in the spirit of our history. In any case, it is folly to imagine that the particular solutions favoured by Europe are of universal validity. The logical efficiency of the Divine Right of the State is fascinating to politicians; but mankind is not all Robots.

Jazirat-ul-Arab Day

The Central Khilafat Committee has fixed the 16th of November to be celebrated as Jazirat-ul-Arab Day throughout India. In a joint statement urging observance of the day, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari and Dr. Kitchlew observe:—

"Now that the Lausanne Treaty has recognised to the satisfaction of the Muslim world the right of Turkey to exist as a free and sovereign State, the struggle for the Khilafat enters into its second and final stage. To mark its beginning, the Central Khilafat Committee has fixed the 16th of November to be celebrated as Jazirat-ul-Arab Day throughout India. The world knows that the basis of our fight is the last injunction of the Prophet—that the integrity of Jazirat-ul-Arab as Holy Muslim land must remain inviolable. And therefore the liberation of Jazirat-ul-Arab is, as it must be, the nerve centre of the Khilafat struggle. Mussalmans have with commendable cheerfulness sacrificed their money, time and comfort to help the Turks in their fight for national freedom, but the inspiring force all along was the primary hope of the emancipation of Jazirat-ul-Arab from non-Muslim control. This hope has not been realised yet and Mussalmans are now called upon to show their determination and capacity for sacrifice faithfully to discharge the duty imposed by their Holy Prophet while on his death-bed. The 16th of November is the test day for Mussalmans of India when they have to show to the world what sacrifices they are prepared to make for the independence of Jazirat-ul-Arab and its freedom from non-Muslim control. The measure of success which will attend the observance of Jazirat-ul-Arab Day will be the measure of Muslims' determination to be true to their Prophet. We do believe that we will not fail in the test."

The following message has been sent by Syed Mahmud, Moazzam Ali and Osman Sobani, the Secretaries of the Central Khilafat Committee, to Khilafat Committees throughout India:—

The first day of the Jazirat-ul-Arab week is drawing near. Detailed directions have already been sent to Khilafat Committees throughout India. It is needless to emphasise here that we are already in our last phase of struggle. It is our religious duty to bring it to a successful termination compatible with national tradition and Islamic commandment. All the provincial, district and subordinate Khilafat Committees, as well as workers all over the country, are required once more to screw up their courage and espouse the cause in right earnest. Indian Mussalmans have done much but more is still needed for the honour and integrity of Islam—the freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab from non-Muslim control. It is hoped that all other Muslim countries will join us in this cause, but India is to lead and play the chief part. India's self-emancipation from the foreign yoke of thralldom depends mainly on the freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab and other Islamic countries from alien imperialism and exploitations, and it is for India, especially Mus-

salmons, to stand shoulder to shoulder and proceed side by side with their traditional united will and solidarity of purpose in the path of their religious duty as carved out by the last Commandment of the last Prophet—may He rest in peace!

Make 16th November the Jazirat-ul-Arab Day, and sixteenth to twenty-fourth November Jazirat-ul-Arab week, a grand and complete success. Let every mosque reiterate after Friday prayers its demand for the freedom of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and let every Mussalman wholeheartedly contribute towards the Khilafat fund. Our work cannot prosper and the struggle cannot prolong without the financial stability of the Khilafat organisation. It is for us to prove to the world that internal dissensions and communal feuds cannot deviate us from our duty to Islam. Our home affairs cannot make us neglect our religious, foreign and extra-territorial responsibilities. Unfettered by superficial ties, undaunted by bureaucratic repressions and even un-influenced by hired sycophants and mercenary time-servers, let us make the freedom of the Jazirat-ul-Arab the watchword of our hearth and home, the inlabies of our children and burthen of our prayers to the Almighty. It is the final hour of trial; let us demonstrate that we were never found wanting when weighed.

An urgent Khilafat Working Committee meeting will be held at Amritsar on the 13th instant to consider the Akali question and other important matters. Members are earnestly requested to attend.

Sikh Affairs

The following is the summary of the doings in the Punjab:—

Muktsar Situation

Muktsar has been flooded with the police. Some of them forced their way in the Gurdwara in their uniform. Their attitude is most provoking. Such conduct of the Police in a Gurdwara is highly objectionable. Field guns have been brought to Kot Kapura.

The Sikhs travelling to and from Muktsar and Jaito are searched in the trains by the Police under the suspicion that they carry mail of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. Their turbans are pulled off and they are disgraced in many other ways.

27th Oct.

Some responsible officers forced their way into the Gurdwara. The Sevadar on duty advised them to join like true worshippers. But he was threatened, arrested and brought to Ferozepore.

Police Sacrilege

Yesterday when a Sub Inspector and a Head Constable tried to enter the Gurdwara with their uniforms on, they were told by the Akalis that it was a sacrilege to enter the Gurdwara in uniform. In spite of the Akali's protest, however, the Police officials persisted in their uncalled for behaviour. Moreover they tauntingly invited the Akalis to attack them with Kirpans, so that they might fire guns in return. The S. G. P. C. expects the Sikhs to remain absolutely non-violent in the face of all provocation.

A Divan was held here yesterday at about noon. B. Prinsing was arrested with warrant on account of delivering a lecture. Bhai Bata Singh and Bhai

Jaito Situation

One Sub Inspector with 2 Numbardars and one Chaukidar came to the house of B. H. Kahrsingh, treasurer Akali Jatha Tehsil Jaito. In spite of the absence of A. Kahrsingh the house was locked up and searched. They took away one receipt book, one subscription register and some other papers.

Mullan Situation

From Mullan onward the Jatha from Muktsar is accompanied by Police. After finishing the sacred hymn when the Jatha proceeds for the Darshan of the Gurdwaras, the Police returns.

A Sub-Inspector with some constables has been daily going into the Gurdwara at Mullan, all the time keeping a sharp look round the whole Gurdwara frequently searching the Ohhauldaries.

Kot Kapura News:

31st Oct.

(1) Two mounted Police constables under orders of the Faridkote State are patrolling in the Naqa of Thana Kot Kapura in order to take note of the Akalis' activities. The services of the village Patwaris and headmen are submitted to the higher authorities.

(2) The Patwaris and the Numbardars of Kot Kapura are troubling the Akalis a good deal. Police pickets are placed at the houses of most of the Akalis who are being threatened to bear the expenses of their pickets.

(3) The merchant and Chaudhries of Kot Kapura were told by the State officials that they were receiving complaints that Akalis were giving them trouble. The reply however was that they had nothing to complain against.

At a Divan held at Kaliani a Sikh numbardar Ferozepore Dist. who was standing before Siri Guru Granth Sahib, wearing a kirpan was arrested.

Amritsar situation:

31st Oct.

S. Mangal Singh the late Editor of "Akali" hearing that warrant of arrest had been issued against him reached Amritsar today. At about 2 P. M. a Policeman sent in warrants of S. Mangal Singh and S. Darshan Singh, Secretary Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee District Amritsar. They went to the Akal Takh to pay homage. They were then profusely garlanded and taken in procession led by the military band to the Clock tower where a motor with police officers was waiting for them. They took their seats amidst shouts of *Sat Shri Akal* and the motor started.

2nd Nov.

Bhai Jagat Singh Havaldar, military clerk of 10 years standing posted at Nowshahra Cantonment on his return from his village where he had gone on leave was dismissed for wearing black turban and kirpan.

Mal-treatment of Akali prisoners

The arrested Akalis at Ferozepore Jail are being subjected to very cruel and inhuman treatment. The barley-gram bread given them is unhealthy and under-cooked. Hence most of the prisoners have fallen ill. S. Mahendra Singh, Manager, Gurdwara Muktsar has not had food for the last three days. The treatment devised for the sick is confinement in separate cells. Forty out of the 65 Akalis are undergoing such confinement. One Sikh prisoner is in the hospital. He too, is not given a *charpis* but has to lie on the bare

Khadi Notes

About Kamala Charkha

In the issue of the 13th September we made mention of a new spinning machine called Kamala Charkha No. 5. It was being advertised in newspapers and there were enquiries. With a view to meet the enquiries made, we asked the manufacturers for details. The reply that we had did not answer the main question. Requests for our opinion about the charkha are now increasing. We have often stated through these columns that we do not know of any spinning machine which is better than the old type of standard dimension. The same is to be said about the Kamala Charkha.

A prominent Khadi worker in Bengal writes thus:—"Khadi Bulletin No. 24 just to hand. I find a paragraph on Kamala Charkha. Kamala Charkha was being made at the first rush of enthusiasm for charkhas and has unfortunately done a great deal of mischief. The usual type which was widely sold during the earlier days of Non-co-operation is made of a disc of wood for the revolving drum. The spindle has a brass pulley." After referring to the trouble given by the pulley and the *mal*, the writer proceeds:—"The result was that most people who brought Kamala Charkha have come to imagine that spinning is the pastime of the rich. Most of the users have been lost to spinning altogether."

"Now these people have come to the market with a machine Charkha, a replica of what was for some time in fashion in Bombay. The machine is practically identical with Jivan Charkha (Model A) which I believe you know."

".....You enquire about the count of yarn that the machine produces at 7 tolas per hour. A reply from the makers would not be enough. I would request you to arrange for getting a Charkha for test."

As suggested, we sent for the machine, but there was no reply. As it appeared exactly like a Jivan Charkha Model A, from the picture given in the advertisement, we enquired of the manufacturer of Jivan Charkha at Bombay. The reply we received says: "From the picture you sent it appears to be an exact copy of model A, but it is difficult to be sure."

We have made a thorough examination of the Jivan chakra Model A, long ago in the presence of its manufacturer, and he was convinced that the machine does not yield more out-turn than the old charkha. He has ceased since then to manufacture the machine and has been making a type of Jivan Chakra with a simple spindle.

We cannot anticipate any other result from the Kamala charkha. Our inquirers will see from this that there is hardly any ground on which to recommend the Kamala charkha. However if its manufacturer will send it to us we shall examine it and send it back carriage paid and publish the result.

We do not condemn the manufacturers of these machines. They deserve congratulations for their ingenuity. We only want to show that the progress which they claim is a delusion. What is more, by sticking to such a claim and by not admitting the shortcomings of their invention when they see them, they are injuring their own interests as well as the country's.

A Suggestion to Manufacturers

We have a suggestion to make to the manufacturers of the machines. They should not be discouraged. There is hope of usefulness if some improvement is made, by which it could twist two, three or four strands of yarn together at greater speed than that of the old charkha. If the main wheel of the machine is so arranged that it could be worked with a paddle, its speed is likely to increase. The speed could nearly be doubled, and if it could not be availed of in spinning, it can certainly be so in twisting. If this improvement is effected, we could have all sorts of sewing and knitting cotton twisted profitably out of handspun yarn. The cotton twist used for making healds (used to control the warp in the process of weaving) can also be had from hand-spun stuff. This would create a wider market for the yarn. The orders that we receive every now and then show the need of producing such twisted cotton.

A Word about Old Charkhas

Many of the spinning machine makers in judging of the speed of their machines compare them to an old charkha of small dimensions. A charkha of standard dimension, if worked by a diligent spinner, turns out double the quantity of yarn from the smaller type. This is a matter of experience. Many women seem to spin and wind very fast, but their out-turn is smaller than it should be. It is seen that if spinning is done properly and zealously the out-turn is greater, even though the spinners be working slowly.

The purchasers of machine charkhas are misguided by the out-turn of lazy spinners on small charkhas. Some khadi workers are found to become hopeless on seeing the out-turn of such spinners. They must study the old charkha. Many a woman to whom the charkha is the bread of their life are given a hope of living by those who wear khadi. To wear khadi is thus a boon to the spinners no doubt, but to teach them spinning in a proper style is a still greater boon. The energy that is being spent at present to revive charkha would show better and greater results if attention is given to educate the spinners in this matter. This might look difficult, but therein lies the gate of constructive work. The entrance in that gate is the first step to enter into the inner heart of the people.

The Coming Khadi Exhibition

It has been announced that a khadi exhibition will be held as before under the aegis of the coming Cocomada Congress. It has also been declared that along with the show of khadi exhibits, demonstrations and competitions in the various branches of the art will be held. This will be the third exhibition of its kind. It will give us an idea of the progress of khadi and will introduce the producers, purchasers, and the artisans to each other. The experiences of the previous two exhibitions had their lessons, which must be borne in mind if the coming exhibition is to be turned to greater advantage.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

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Poppy Day

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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No 46

Notes

The Swaraj Party's unexpected triumph at the polls will, we hope, give their experiment the full chance of exploiting the utmost possibilities of their particular doctrine of obstruction. We have no faith in it, we are oppressed by the signs of demoralisation; but the Party has no ground for complaint. Nearly every candidate that it sent forward has topped the list. We contemplate the result with genuine pleasure. We were nervous whether it would not be casting the teeth of the Congress at a future time in a certain eventuality that the Swaraj experiment failed because of uncertain lead and delayed permission. But neither the permissiveness of the Delhi Resolution nor the late time at which it was rendered had any ill effects as far as the electors were concerned. Such difficulties as the Party had to face were due to one single fact: the dearth of a suitable sufficiency of candidates—a defect which could not have been cured by the most uncompromising resolution of the Congress. The lack was due to the operation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1921, and the deliberate abstention of the cream of the No-changers from any participation in the Councils. As long as this Government lasts and as long as active public life is handicapped by imprisonment, the prospect has to be faced as a permanent feature of Indian politics.

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The assembling together of the Public Services Commission now is an effective illustration of the way things are done in India. The agitation which gave birth to the Commission began at a time when prices and wages were high everywhere in the world and when the civil servants in India also felt the effects of the economic aftermath of war and peace. But the official machinery is so slow that at the actual moment of the Commission's first meeting the world is caught in a gigantic trade depression and financial chaos. Conditions have become so overwhelming that the English Government is contemplating or has actually put into force drastic cuts in the salaries of its own permanent Civil Service. It is an odd sight that at the time of the Indian Commission's peregrination the members of the English Civil Service should be in the throes of efforts to maintain their hold on their existing salaries and perquisites. The very inefficiency and dilatoriness of the procedure is to our mind the final condemnation of the present system. Financed by a

grant, restored by the Viceroy in the Assembly's despite, tied by terms of reference with no present application the Commission goes forth to its destined purpose with the fateful air of tragedy. We do not expect that it will have wisdom, statesmanship or resolution enough to face the genuine financial issue and deal with it faithfully and bravely. Whatever its decisions, of one thing we may be sure:—The scandal of this extravagant Civil Service will come to an end whenever the nation transfers its hands on the genuine springs of power.

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Apart from the particular incident of the Indian question the most remarkable issue of the Imperial Conference was the definition of a new doctrine of citizenship by General Smuts. Dr. Sapru was justified in describing it as subtle, but the South African Premier retorted by saying that it was a truism. The bye-play of phrases may be dismissed as a slight thing but in its essence the claim put forward on behalf of white domination was a subtle platitude. General Smuts distinguished between citizenship and political rights. He founded himself on the undoubted fact that there is a citizenship which is common to the whole Empire and that political rights are various. But, he proceeded to draw the inference—and here is the subtle stroke—that political rights are something within the power of individual states and Dominions to give or withhold. The inference is wrong and the slight amount of plausibility there is in it, is due to a confusion. The right of protection from attack by a foreign sovereign is no doubt one of the elements of citizenship. But as it happens it is one of the rights, perhaps the single one that attaches itself to a more simple conception, namely that of the status of subject. Subjection is an older thing in the world's history than citizenship. We had somehow or other come to imagine that subjection to the King in the Empire had been absorbed by the finer thing of modern times known as citizenship. General Smuts has revived the old conception again as the vital thing in the membership of the British Empire and he proceeds to graft on it the idea of political rights an extraneous accident. What it amounts to is the rival of the ancient entity of a subject bereft of democratic rights. In other words it is the resuscitation of despotism, the despot in the particular case being the King acting through irresponsible agents. The interposal of responsible ministers

between King and subjects is looked upon as a particular item in the evolution of modern governments essentially adventitious. When the matter is understood in this light it will be seen at once how the subtlety of General Smuts has managed to emasculate modern citizenship of its most vital factor. Let us frankly say this. If the South African doctrine is accepted as the root of spring of Imperial policy, it will mean the end of the Empire. There cannot be within one State (we refuse to be misled by the confused meaning attached to the word Dominions) subjects and citizens. Subjection is political slavery; citizenship, freedom. It was Abraham Lincoln who came to the central truth of democratic citizenship, when he declared about America that the nation could not be half free and half slave.

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The names of Dr. Kitchlew and the All Brothers have become a veritable red rag to the *Times of India* and their slightest activity fills it with a nightmare of alarm. In a pungent leaderette in its issue of the 14th instant it empties all its vials of spleen on their heads for what it chooses to describe in its own considerate manner their "brazen effrontery", in bringing about the leaders' conference at Amritsar to consider the Akali situation in the Punjab. It feels puzzled how Mahomedans can feel any real interest in a "quarrel which has nothing to do with them or their community", and goes on to observe that much as it might differ with many of the actions of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akalis "they have behind them the motive of an awakened communal and religious consciousness", and that they are acting under "the influence of the deepest of all sources of conduct"—but that "the so-called Mahomedan leaders have no excuse of this kind. With them..... it is a cold-blooded wish to stir up trouble." We are glad for the grudging admission regarding the purity and nobility of the Akalis' motive. In our opinion it furnishes the completest and the most powerful argument in favour of participation by the country as a whole in the Akali struggle. If an organisation like the Prabandhak Committee, which on the admission of the *Times* itself has behind it "the motive of an awakened religious conscience" and is moved to action by "one of the deepest of all sources of conduct" and at the same time has established a reputation for a perfectly peaceful and non-violent character that is admitted even by its opponents is to be meted out the treatment that it has been by the Punjab Government, it is certainly time for the nation to look up, for that would mean an absolute end of the very principle of free association and peaceful action for the enforcement of legitimate rights. The *Times* thinks that the present matter is not one "which either affects the feelings or the interests of Mahomedans." We take leave to suggest that the Mahomedans with the scar of the Khilafat wrong (which still remains unsettled) still fresh on their body might possibly care more for the principle of freedom of religious organisations for peaceful action than it suspects.

The highly gratuitous and disinterested advice that follows viz. that the Mahomedans should keep aloof "until matters of vital importance to them are satis-

factorily settled"—which in effect means nothing but a pious wish that they should abide their turn till the Government has finished with the Akalis—we hope will be returned with thanks. The journal concludes with a solemn warning that an attempt to drag the Mahomedans into the present quarrel between the Punjab Government and the Sikhs will finally class the Mahomedan leaders concerned as no Mahomedan leaders but professional agitators. The seriousness with which the journal has taken upon itself the function of pronouncing anathemas and issuing certificates of merit in the right high pontifical style, seems to us to be more amusing than impressive, for, we assure the *Times* that the word "agitator" scarcely conveys to an average Indian the terrible significance which it seems to attach to that word, and Messrs. Kitchlew and the All Brothers know perfectly well how to regard it. We are afraid our Anglo-Indian contemporary has counted without its host and it will not be long before it discovers that for once at least in its life it is beating for its hare about the wrong bush.

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In a previous article we canvassed the possibility of the dropping of the prosecutions in Ajmer, Saharanpur and other places. We approached the matter from two points of view: one of Non-co-operation and the other of social security. From both points of view aiding or abetting the prosecutions is a suicidal course. As we have said over and over again it is an uphill task, but it is one which ought to be faced. A similar but a comparatively much easier situation has arisen out of the trials against the Sikh leaders in Amritsar. The trials are not the result of internecine strife. The aspect of social security is hence absent there. The best of our men, the flower of the Akali army, are arraigned for fighting for their faith and their country. Some of them have already stood the test of trial more than once. That there should even be a talk of defence in their case is unbearable.

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It is not that any one of them is not prepared for suffering. Is it that any one of them has any faith left in the British courts? We wonder. The circumstances are more propitious in the Punjab than anywhere else. The prosecuted are the leaders themselves, but they are acting under the advice of men like Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshabandhu Das, who, in spite of their faith in the obstructionist programme, cannot be accused of having the slightest faith in the law courts. They have questioned the Gandhian method of Council boycott, but they have never questioned the method or the necessity of the boycott of law courts. If they had, we have no doubt they would have gone back to law courts as surely as they are now pushing forward their obstructionist programme. May we not then count on them to persuade the Sikh leaders to abandon defence even now?

• •

We are tempted to venture the suggestion because of something definite we have heard about the Sikh attitude. It is said that the Sikh leaders do not want to offer any defence in the sense that learned lawyers should make out a strong case for them out of their legal knowledge. No. They do not want that any law of the Government should be pressed into aid in order that they may escape punishment. What they want is that some one should put their case truly and fully before the Government. They want the help not so much of those who can make them out to be guilty of no offence under the law, as of those who can place before the Government the true Sikh position, the real offence of the Sikh community. They know that no one can do it better than Pandit Motilal Nehru or Deshabandhu Das, and hence their request to them for their advice.

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* *

The question then is: should Panditji and Mr. Das appear before the Court and give the public even the slightest cause to imagine that they have any faith in having justice at the hands of the Government? We believe they should not. We submit a far simpler manner is open to them—the manner employed by themselves when they stood their trials a few months ago. Panditji, we remember did not even care to prepare a statement. His was the first case of the kind before the Allahabad Magistrate. We do not think that the Magistrate was prepared for the brief straight speech with which he declared his refusal to plead before a government that stood discredited and unworthy of any confidence. That unwritten speech had more effect on the country than many a long statement. Deshabandhu made a statement which was hardly characterised by length. We submit they could help the Sikh leaders in drafting a similar statement setting out their whole position. We are sure the Sikh leaders will appreciate their advice and agree to making a joint statement before the court, and abstain from taking any further part in the proceedings. We do not think we are asking too much either from the Sikh leaders or their advisers in offering this suggestion. The moral effect of the step will be great enough so far as the Sikh community is concerned. It will be greater, and substantially reassuring on the nation which has yet to fight its battle through.

Khadi Notes

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Raw Cotton

It would be a study for the observers of the exhibition if each province would send its cotton of all varieties in its different stages and as many particulars about it as they can; for instance, the average of rain fall, its season, the acreage of crop, the ginning percentage, description of soil with a sample of it and other useful information.

Implements

Improved spinning wheels, carding bows, ginning charkhas must be brought to the exhibition, but the senders must have a knowledge of the various things

manufactured in different provinces, so that they can have an idea of their own speciality before they send them for exhibits. If exhibitions are to be economically conducted these things should be attempted to.

For the future guidance of inventors and manufacturers of implements it is necessary that photos should be taken of such new and important things as are brought to the exhibition, and give them in a report with all the details. We have not had any such report of the last two exhibitions, but as they promise to become a part and parcel of the great yearly gathering, it is but proper that arrangements should be made beforehand to take exhaustive notes and give them in the form of a report which should be published in our *lingua Indica*. This means expense of course, but it will be repaid by serving as a guide to the would-be exhibitors, inventors and manufacturers, who are likely to be saved a good deal of time and trouble.

In the weaving section, looms working various designs are usually put up. This is well as far as it goes. But it would be instructive to the public if reed making, heald making, size brush making etc. are also included. In reed making various kinds of splints are used in different provinces. It would be worthwhile to send samples of these things to the exhibition. In heald making we have to see whether those made by the old method could be replaced by the healds of the new patterns, and whether the latter could be prepared in village homes. These new healds which are being used in mills and factories require a sort of varnish on it. It would be worthwhile to know whether this can be prepared by our country folk out of indigenous materials. Then there are sizing brushes which are difficult to obtain. These, again, are of various kinds, different grass roots are used in it. It would be instructive if demonstrations of tying these brushes are given. Seeds and plants of the material used should also be exhibited. There are many such things which are important for simplifying the manufacture of khadi in every corner of this country, and if khadi workers of different provinces take to the work seriously, they can make the coming exhibition a place of deep study.

Ingredients

As Dr. Roy has said, the old inheritance of the comprehensive art of dyeing and printing is practically dying away. Several vegetable ingredients which were abundant and cheap some years ago are things of curiosity now-a-days. *Majith*, *Al*, *Surangi* and such other dyeing ingredients are scarce. It would be profitable to show on which soil they grow and how they are cultivated.

To make the exhibition a success for all those interested in the progress of art and industry, exhibitors should try their level best to exhibit things and demonstrate experiments and working of things of national utility. It is for those in charge of the management of the exhibition to make proper arrangement of food, shelter and sanitation for exhibitors, demonstrators and competitors, just as is done for delegates to the Congress.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

Young India

15-11-23

Poppy Day

Monday was celebrated as Poppy Day in memory of the Allied dead that fell in the fields of Flanders strewn with poppies—poppies which in the eyes of imagination display a deeper colour because of the red blood that has flown to water its roots. The Government has chosen to make use of the day's celebrations for the collection of funds to help the ex-service men who are now in distress. Somehow the whole procedure struck us as a sickening piece of hypocrisy. The Government and its supporters exploited the memory of the sacred dead for their own purposes. Those who made the supreme sacrifice are beyond praise or condemnation. What really concerned us was the mean use to which the memory of great deeds was put for political and mercenary advantages. The mere fact that the governments of to-day have failed in their duty to such an extent as to fill the Empire with sad detellets of unemployed ex-service men is condemnation enough of statesmen and administrators. If they had any self-respect, they should promptly vanish from their places and make room for others who would look upon the relief of such unemployed as their primary responsibility. For modern governments to hold office without putting an end to this reproach is bad enough. But when they proceed to appeal to the common people to relieve them of their duty, because the victims of governmental neglect were the peers of those that fell, the thing is unspeakable. It is the exploitation of personality. It is almost like our own politicians who seek particular narrow ends in the name of Mr. Gandhi and cry "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai". But such pageants have in them the richness of noble possibilities. The memory of great achievements and transcendent heroisms are good for the chastening of national conceits, the building up of strength. But in that case, we should look to wide human impulses, not to the service of narrow egotistical ends. The Day was dedicated to the memory of those who fell amongst the red poppies. But it is not only Englishmen, Indians, Belgians and Frenchmen that found their resting places amidst the blaying fields of sleep and light. Those who were counted enemies also had a share in the making of the plants that are waving their tragic blooms. If we must remember the heroism of the great of our race made one in death let us not engage ourselves in the wicked business of honouring "our" dead and leaving out of account "theirs". The young men whose bodies were given, did not belong to "them" or to "us"; they are a perpetual possession of the human race. We should very much like to see the ritual of a Poppy day in which the celebrants, wise of intention, pure of motive, dedicated and merciful, will remember only the strength and sacrifice that made slush and

sand dunes sacred, and disregard the wicked ambitions in the background. But we do not think that the world is now capable of such an action; we are sure no government is. And till such a deed is possible, we should prefer that the souls of those that died be left in peace.

Changes in the Constitution

The Committee appointed by the Delhi Congress to enquire into the necessity or expediency of amending the Constitution has a number of problems to solve. The Committee has decided that there is no need for the members formally to meet, and we think it is a wise decision. The work is such that a good deal can be done by way of correspondence. Before the final recommendations are drafted (we assume there will be nothing in the nature of a voluminous report) the members will have to meet and talk things over. We think that this necessary conference can be had in Cocanada itself. But it would be probably necessary that the members of the Committee should get to the place a day or so earlier. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the convener of the Committee, has managed to get together a series of suggestions from various Congressmen. As far as we can make out, the more important of the proposed amendments relate to the Creed, the number of delegates, discipline and the creation of fresh bodies to control finance and election disputes.

The controversy about the Creed has now become almost a perennial. Before Surat, the Congress had no constitution, much less a formal creed. The original creed was framed in 1908 by the Allahabad Convention—the objective being the attainment of self-government on Colonial lines. The method was constitutional. In Nagpur, the creed was changed; the political goal being an undefined Swaraj, and constitutionalism disappeared in favour of peace and legitimacy. Such opposition as there was to the new creed came from those who hold that Swaraj *Sans Phrase* was too violent an extremism and was intellectually and practically undistinguishable from sovereign independence. But there brought its revenge at a remarkably quick pace. A year later in Ahmedabad the Nagpur Creed was severely assailed, and it fell to Mr. Gandhi to save the Creed as against those who wanted to go to the whole hog. Mr. Jinnah in Nagpur thought that Swaraj without qualification was the dreaded declaration of independence and the beginning of the revolution. In Ahmedabad that very absence of definition became a rock of offending with Maulana Hasrat Mohani. He reckoned that the ambiguity of the word Swaraj had in it the seeds of weakness and thwarted purpose. The Maulana failed to carry the Congress with him. The advocates of "Independence" returned to the attack in 1922. The glory or shame of Gaya was the coming into existence of the Swaraj Party; but in our judgment the acutest words said there fell from the lips of Begum Hasrat Mohani. She said that the constitutionalism amounting to the repudiation of Gandhian Non-co-operation was the logical consequence of the

rejection of her husband's resolution at Ahmedabad at the instance of Mr. Gandhi. It was a profound saying and was not inspired by the accident that it was Maulana Hasrat Mohani who led the l's in the great tournament. The confusion that Gaya bred was resolved by Delhi; but in the interval was the Kenya decision. Kenya sent men back to the attack foiled in Ahmedabad and Gaya. Then happened a curious and significant thing:—Maulana Mahomed Ali opposed the change, and he was able to carry the Congress with him. The story of all these incidents has this meaning:—The formula fancied by our fathers in political life, of indispensability of British rule, is actively repudiated by the revolutionary school of our time and generation. As for ourselves, we cannot imagine for a minute any set of practical conditions which can keep India within the British Empire. History, geography, philosophy—everything is against the perpetration of this unnatural bondage. We may be prepared to tolerate some of the elements of the affliction as an inevitable evil; but there is in us no wish or assurance of its permanency. If we are forced to choose between Empire and Independence, we would certainly repudiate Empire. But we are not in a hurry to make the declaration: the existing formula of the ciced is satisfactory enough. One consideration weighs with us. We have not yet made good our right to think of a formula which would transcend what was considered good in Gaya. Individual opinions may vary; but the Indian nation has no moral right to-day to handle the high tokens of Independence and international equality. There must be a balance between achievement and desire. As for altering the word about the means, we should prefer to leave it alone.

II

The question of the strength of delegation to the Congress strikes us as altogether premature. Amendments to the constitution are not to be proposed on purely abstract or doctrinaire grounds. We have to be guided by recent or accumulated experience. We find no reason to suppose that anything that has happened in recent politics (for good or for evil) was due to excess or defect in the number of delegates returned to or attending the Congress. The present rule is to have one member to represent not less than fifty thousand of the population. It is true that the Special Session in Delhi was not numerously attended; but it was not due to any unsoundness in the scheme of representation. Weakness and internal conflict had reduced the vigour of political life; the most perfect constitution in the world cannot pour vitality into a people that are debilitated. We can quite understand the plea that 6,000 is too fantastic a number for a deliberative assembly; so it is; but 3,000 and 1,500 will be equally unmanageable. At the present moment the Congress is not a deliberative assembly at all—it is a popular referendum for registering the popular will in the

broad lines of policy. It is true that distances make it impossible for the Congress to be even an accurate Referendum. If we wish to achieve that object, the right way is not to go about reducing the strength of delegation, but to devise other machinery for the purpose. We would rather prefer following the practice of the English Trade Union Congress. But we are not intimately acquainted with the procedure. But roughly speaking, we should like to evaluate the votes recorded in the open sessions. For that purpose, there is no use our falling back on the population as recorded in the Census Reports and claiming that they are all back of the delegates. We know they are not, except in a vague and wide way, which for political purposes is no way at all. The only section of the public on whose support we can go forward is the members of the Congress organisation—the four anna voters. We should like to see devised a scheme by which each individual delegate might know automatically what is his quantitative, democratic, political worth. But we confess we are not ready with one at the present moment. There is no harm, however, in waiting. The definite need will arise some time soon; we shall deal with it then. But the need is not there.

III

The discipline of the Congress is all important. If it is to function as an organisation and not degenerate into a rabble, there must be means to bring individual members and component bodies under a common instruction. The constitution is perfectly helpless against the defiance and rebellion of members, individually and in groups. Indian politics in 1923 was the story of a rebellion which succeeded because there was no provision in the constitution to deal with it. Not that we are oblivious of the difficulties of framing sanctions in a purely voluntary association. Our organisation can survive and work together for good only by general consensus of opinion. In the light of this conflict of considerations, nothing in the nature of drastic action against recalcitrance is possible. But we regard that it will be necessary some day, and we shall have to face the prospect with equanimity. For the time being, the position should be canvassed along the lines suggested by Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar. The Congress should make a distinction between mandatory and advisory resolutions. The distinction can be founded on one or both of two facts.—Quality and quantity. If a resolution is specifically advisory, there's nothing more to be said. But if a resolution commands action or prevents action in clear terms, the quantitative test comes in. It may sound mechanical, but in the absence of anything better the rule may be as follows:—If there is a substantial majority, say two-thirds or three-fourths of the votes recorded, there should be mandatory effect. That is the utmost extent to which we can go now. If the question is pressed:—"What is to be done if even a mandatory resolution is disobeyed?" we confess we have no cogent answer. We must leave it to public opinion.

IV

Elections have been giving trouble nearly all through the past year—disputes as to validity. If controversy related to individuals, there should be little difficulty in decision. But unfortunately the quarrels have gone on party lines and in the present state of Indian politics it is nearly impossible to get at an *ad hoc* tribunal free from the suspicion of party bias. The present procedure for the settlement of such disputes is as follows:—The right of appeal in provincial disputes lies to the All-India Committee. The All-India Committee, whenever this jurisdiction is invoked, refers the questions to the Working Committee, which in its turn passes the matter on to one or more of its members for enquiry and report. (In the case of the Bengal dispute, the reference was not to a member of the Working Committee.) The report is made; the Working Committee makes a recommendation to the All-India Committee. The All-India Committee in its turn appoints a sub-committee to make a report. On the report it gives its decision. Beyond that, there is a final right of appeal to the Congress, but it is seldom exercised. The very statement of the procedure demonstrates its complexity. But more than that, it is vitiated by party bias. Election disputes have to be disposed of in an atmosphere of judicial impartiality. That is the last thing secured now. For all practical purposes, it is the All-India Committee that decides the question. The Committee is too big to act judicially, as a matter of fact it decides on party lines. The easiest way of getting out of the difficulty will be to make provision for the appointment of an All-India Tribunal by the Congress. It should be independent of the Executive, and its decisions irreversible except by the Congress itself. The selection of members should be guided by the sole desire to get together a body of men whose decisions will convey the impression of integrity and impartiality. To ensure this result, we would prefer the constitution of the Tribunal on a three-yearly basis—there should be three members, one of whom will go out of office every year. It is important that the Tribunal as a whole should not be affected by the passing currents of political opinion, which tend more and more to work themselves out on party lines. During the first two years, the one to go out of office may be determined by lot. At the end of three years, we shall have the Tribunal as nearly impartial and judicial-minded as any specific arrangement can make it.

Then there is the need for the creation of an adequate machinery and the framing of rules to ensure the regulation of Congress finances. The Congress is now handling large sums of money and it is time that we got beyond the habit of relying on personal honesty and accuracy for the proper administration of funds. The recent experience of the Khilafat is warning enough to those who have eyes to see. We imagine it would be possible, with the assistance of an experienced accountant, to frame the necessary rules in the matter.

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A Liberal's Revelations!

In course of a reply to a Swaraj party electioneering manifesto a writer writing in the *Servant of India* over the pen-name "A Liberal" runs full tilt against Non-co-operation and Non-co-operators, flinging all sorts of horrible accusations that he happens to stumble against in his indiscriminate rage, against them. The article is an extremely self-revealing one. The writer seems to be a firm believer in the bureaucratic theory of law and order and certainly deserves to be congratulated on his wonderful feat of keeping his faith in tact in a theory, practical application whereof illustrated itself in such blood-curdling events like the Guru-kq-Bagh that has shocked and horrified the conscience of all right thinking people in the world from Romain Rolland downwards.

If the writer had merely confined himself to affirming his faith in his pet theory with all its natural implications including the incarceration of thousands of peaceful citizens under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, for which he holds the law-breaking campaign of the Non-co-operators to be solely responsible, it would have been understandable enough. It would have only served to prove what is obvious enough that the bureaucratic mentality is not merely confined to the white officials but is also the estate of several people who claim Liberalism as their creed and that given a chance they would act exactly as the bureaucracy has done. But one is rather taken aback when in the same breath the writer goes on to claim the credit for getting repressive legislation abrogated. There certainly seems to be some confusion of ideas here. For, if the laws were just and proper the right course would have been to retain and uphold them and assume full responsibility for their enforcement; but if they were really oppressive then certainly to approve or enforce them against public conscience cannot possibly be called by any other name except repression, and if the Moderates directly or indirectly participated in their operation they cannot escape the charge of having aided repression. But that is precisely the thing that the writer of the article denies. "The Moderates have neither approved nor supported repression." One would infer from this statement that the Government enforced penal measures against the Non-co-operators in the teeth of the Liberals' opposition. Let us see what the Government of India itself has to say on the matter:—

"It is with the co-operation of the people of India that British rule in India hitherto has been carried on, and it is essential for its continued success that there should be such co-operation. It has therefore been regarded by the Government of India as of the utmost consequence that they should carry with them so far as practicable in any measure that they took against the Non-co-operation movement, the approval and acquiescence of Indian opinion. Evidence is given by the recent debates in the Indian legislature that in this they have been largely successful." (See the Viceroy's despatch to the Secretary of State dated Feb 6, 1922) *Italics are ours.*

Let us point out here that the measures used against the Non-co-operators mostly consisted of those very measures which the Liberals themselves later on tried to get repealed on the plea of their being of a repressive character though not always with the same result. We feel we may safely leave to history to judge whether the Liberals can escape responsibility for Government repression and the resulting suffering by the shoving it on to the Civil Disobedience campaign started by the Non-co-operators against laws which not only they but the Liberals themselves considered as oppressive and repugnant to conscience. But, that is not all. Not content with charging the Non-co-operators with the consequences following from the operation of repressive legislation, to which the Moderates on the admission of the Government of India themselves gave moral support, the writer proceeds to trace all the ills that the country has suffered from, or that his imagination can summon, to the activities carried on and supported by the Non-co-operators out of the T. S. Fund, and draws up a long list of all the riots and disturbances that took place in the country during the last years 1921 and '22 as illustrations in point. We feel that no greater compliment could be paid to the administrative genius of the Non-co-operators than that they should be expected to achieve in the years 1921 and '22 what the Government of India with all its machinery of law and order backed by the entire revenues of the country failed to accomplish in the years 1922 and '23. A glance at the comparative figures about the communal and political riots in these two periods respectively will amply bear out what we mean.

"What compassion for the starving poor, what anxiety for their well!" exclaims the writer. May we point out to our enthusiastic friend that at least 50% of the Tilak Swaraj Fund was spent purely on Khadi work which went solely to the amelioration of the starving and half-starving poor of the country, and in praise of which men like Dr. P. C. Roy have paid such a glowing tribute? May we again point out that the major portion of the remaining 50% was again spent on the removal of untouchability and preaching of temperance in which matter according to the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Paddyfoot Johnson himself, Mr. Gandhi achieved more in one year than any one else in any other country of the world in the same period?

If to these we may add the amount that was spent on national education, it will be seen that the money left to the Non-co-operators for general propaganda to which the 'Liberal' ascribes all the troubles in the country is very negligible indeed. We do not think a completer refutation could be offered of the charge of misuse of the T. S. Fund.

The 'Liberal' concludes by referring to the Swarajists as the head of a tragedy—the tragedy of theory killed by fact. We think the phrase furnishes the best description of the Moderate party itself. It is still clinging to the corpse of the Reforms from which life has departed. It feels it but cannot tear itself away from the delusion. What a pity!

A Farewell Message

Mr. Andrews writes:—

"It has been almost impossible during the last few days either to think or to write—the strain has been so great. But I wish very much indeed, as I go to England, to take with me the prayers and blessings of those I love. It became quite clear that I should not go to Africa. Mahatmajl himself had given me instructions not to go to Africa, *if my visit was likely to inflame the White settlers*; and the general opinion was that it would. The President of the East African Indian Congress, Mr. Manubhai Desai, felt that I should not go to Africa but to England. He wished me especially to take up the question of Kenya Immigration restriction, which still remains unsettled. The two Governors of Uganda and Kenya are sending their own recommendations, which are likely to be adverse to Indians. This is a question which I have very thoroughly studied, and on which I can give expert information. I have to acknowledge, also, that there is a real need to consult a nerve specialist on the ground of health; and this may mean a great deal for my future usefulness and service. This can best be done in England and the doctor here has advised me to go on this ground alone. Further more, I am specially anxious to make the truth about Mahatma Gandhi known among my own countrymen and to contradict the false impressions about him. Lastly, I have a very sacred duty to perform in visiting the brothers and sisters of Mr. W. W. Pearson, and leaving to them personally the prayers and the sympathy of all who loved him in India."

Sikh Affairs

Muktsar

It is significant to note that the Police at Muktsar are using every means to provoke the Akalis into becoming violent. They enter the Gurudwaras forcibly, with uniforms on and do many acts of high-handedness. The Akalis on watch at the gate are abused and threatened.

The jathas from Amritsar on their way to Jato stop at Kabar-wachha, Dist. Ferozepore. Since 15th October the tehsildar, sub-inspector and zaildar have been busy forbidding the people to give food to the Akalis. However, people are serving the Akalis in every possible way.

S. Kahan Singh Rais has been sentenced to four years' imprisonment for refusing to carry out the order of torturing S. Barkat Singh by putting him in confinement.

This written order was proclaimed in the meeting that was held at the instance of the authorities in the Muktsar Tehsil:—"As the political movement in the ilaga is progressing, some steps should be taken. As the Patwaris can be very serviceable in securing information, they should send a weekly report of their respective ilaqa. Special messengers should be employed and they should be strictly directed not to show the letters to anybody on the way. We hope that all of you will work whole-heartedly. The reports should specially mention the following items:—

(1) Date of a meeting held, (2) Lectures and topics of their lectures, (3) Amount of provision supplied to Akalis and by whom? (4) The names of

those who took active part in supplying the provisions, particularly of Numbardas, Zaildars and Suphedposhs.

(2) A special report of Akalis showing:—

(a) Serial number (b) name with parentage and residence (c) age (d) Active members should be specially noted (e) Specific number of Akalis coming to a village and (f) a list of the workers.

Severe action will be taken against those who show any sign of negligence.

Ludhiana

The houses of Sardar Gullbadan Singh S. Birsingh and S. Harnam Singh who were arrested at the Gillan Diwan have been searched. Along with the search warrants of S. Birsingh's house, there was an order for the confiscation of his property.

Arrests were made on 27th Oct. of S. Ramsingh, Assistant Secretary of Dist. S. G. P. C. and of S. Ranjit Singh, Secretary District Sikh League, on the charge of circulating the communiques of the S. G. P. C. Randhir Singh, Secretary District S. G. P. C. was also arrested, along with a volunteer. The Police searched the office of the District G. C. and took away all papers, bank book, and some cash. The office of the Gurudwara Committee of Tehsil Ludhiana too was searched.

S. Balwant Singh of Gajar Khan, member of S. G. P. C. writes that his private letters are being intercepted.

Amritsar

A Jatha of 100 Akalis led by a military band with badges "unlawful associations of S. G. P. C. and Shromani Akali Dal" walks daily in the streets of Amritsar, while large processions of over 3000 Akalis have at regulated intervals been held at important centres like Lahore etc.

Jaito

The 25 Akalis that reached Jaito from Muktsar were arrested and kept without food the whole night.

The Jathas of 25 each reached Jaito, one from Muktsar and the other from Amritsar. The Jathas were arrested and were kept hungry not only for the night but, unlike before, were not given food even before proceeding to Rawal.

The daily Jatha of 25 reached there as usual. It refused to agree to the condition of returning after two hours, and was arrested.

Ferozepore authorities have hit upon a novel method of procuring witnesses for identification of the arrested Akalis. On Arrival at Ferozepore the arrested Akalis are photographed under the orders of the police and witnesses are trained to identify the man with the help of these photos.

Government have begun to resort to very base means. Even those who feed the Akalis on their way to Jaito are being molested by Government for their hospitality. In a village near Ferozepore six Sikhs have been arrested for the "grave" offence of supplying food to the hungry Akalis.

Statement of receipts and disbursements of the All India Congress Khaddar Department from 1st July to 30th September 1923

Receipts	Disbursements
Balance as on 1-7-23	Loans to Provinces for Khaddar Production
In fixed deposit with the	Kerala 10,000-0-0
Bank of India, Ltd., 2,00,000-0-0	Sind 5,000-0-0 15,000-0-0
Bank of Baroda, Ltd., 1,00,000-0-0	Expenses of the General Department
Union Bank of India, Ltd., 1,51,935-0-0	Pay Stationery Travelling
Shilohri Bank, Ltd., 25,000-0-0	256-15-0 9-12-0 52-12-3
In current account with the	Postage Miscellaneous
Central Bank of India, Ltd., 1,849-6-0	12-10-6 11-4-9 343-6-6
Punjab National Bank, Ltd., 9,209-6-3	Expenses of the Production Branch
Bachhraj Jammnalal on behalf	Travelling Postage Stationery
of the Member in Charge 85,090-6-4 573,084-2-7	1147-13-6 42-15-0 12-10-3
Khaddar Fund (ear-marked) 1,057-0-2	Pay Samples Miscellaneous
Interest 5,352-12-9	1867-8-3 2-7-6 33-9-6 3,107-0-0
Brokerage 336-7-4	Hawking of Khaddar 1,627-3-0
Advances recovered 2,394-1-9	Dead-stock
5,23,224-8-7	Information Bureau 175-0-0
	Production Branch 11-4-0 186-4-0
	Advance paid 6,469-11-5
	Cash and Investments
	In fixed deposit with the
	Bank of Baroda, Ltd., 1,00,000-0-0
	Punjab National Bank, Ltd., 2,00,000-0-0
	Union Bank of India, Ltd., 1,54,610-0-0
	Shilohri Bank, Ltd., 25,213-12-0
	In current account with the
	Central Bank of India, Ltd., 63,280-15-0
	Punjab National Bank, Ltd., 11,880-1-9
	Bachhraj Jammnalal on behalf
	of the Member in Charge 1,500-15-11 550,490 15 8
	583,224-8-7

Auditor's Certificate

I beg to certify that all my requirements as an Auditor, have been complied with.

I certify that in my opinion, the above return of receipts and disbursements exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the All India Congress Khaddar Department's affairs according to the best of my information and explanations given me and as shown by the books of the above Department.

110, Meadows street, Fort Sd C. H. Sopariwalla
Bombay, 27th October, 1923. Hon. Auditor

All India Congress Committee.

Sd. M. N. Padwekar Sd. Jammnalal Bajaj
Accountant. Member in Charge

All India Congress Khaddar Department

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

Vol. V

Ahmedabad, Thursday 22nd November 1923

No. 47

Notes

There is published elsewhere in this issue a summary of the Leaders' Conference held in Amritsar. The decisions are fairly clear and becomingly modest. In their present shape, they amount to no more than recommendations to the Working Committee; but they truly represent the minds of those who had assembled together last week. It is a matter of regret that there were not members of the Working Committee sufficiently numerous to constitute a quorum, and to get the resolutions technically passed. Prompt disposal would have been heartening to the Akalis. That is however a formality. The Government and the writers in the semi-official press were not blind to the real truth. What really mattered was the presence of all the leaders of the nation at the shaping of counsel to the Sikhs in the hour of their need. Barring the few that were kept back by physical infirmity, they were all there. Every one present recognised that the Government's attack on the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee was due to the efficiency of its organisation towards religious and political ends unacceptable to the Bureaucracy. Every one sympathised with the Sikhs and was anxious to learn how most efficiently outside assistance could be rendered. The Prabandhak Committee leaders made no secret of the fact, that they were engaged in a religious struggle and they were not daunted by its political consequences. There were long and frank talks which were helpful to both sides, both in teaching and in understanding. We are confident that the Working Committee when it assembles together here in the course of the week will make full use of the information already gathered.

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The position itself is both interesting and difficult. Let us clearly understand the balance of forces. On the one hand is the Government. Of its resources we need not speak—they are well-known. But the way it has come to its policy of to-day and its exact present content are worth observing. In the affair of the Keys and at Guru-ka-bagh the Sikhs had come up against only a local Government. The local administration was undoubtedly an agent of the Government of India, but it was humanly and constitutionally possible to make a distinction between the Punjab and the Supreme Governments. Defiance of a Governor is not exactly the same thing as defiance of a Viceroy. Now there is no doubt that the issue is truly between the politically-minded, puritan Sikhs and the British

Raj. The interposition of the Punjab Government for legal purposes does not mask that fact. It is a big thing and is being handled anxiously by Delhi. The first intention of the Government was to destroy the movement by what might be called an economic blockade. The Sikhs are not primarily agriculturists; their profession is soldiering. As a race, they are either soldiers of the Raj or its pensioners. A short while ago, there was an official communique threatening pensioners with the withholding of payments as penalty for political agitation. The idea was that simultaneously with the severe operation of pension rules, a regiment or two of Sikhs would be disbanded, with a view to bringing home to the Community how closely beholden it was to official patronage. A certain amount of trouble from the discontented pensioners and the unemployed soldiers was to be reckoned with; but the bureaucracy felt that it was within its power to put down violent disorder. But nearly at the last moment, there was an unexpected reversal of policy. The change has puzzled certain observers, but we think we can guess the reasons. Famine amongst the pensioners and soldiers, even the outbreak of widespread violence would have left the Prabandhak Committee in power and in the full command of its resources. Growth of violence might strengthen Babbarism but would leave the policy of the Committee unshaken. Why, on the other hand, the confusion and sufferings caused by violence would have shown up to the Committee's policy of non-violence in the favourable light of contrast. As for unemployment, it was conceivable that the disciplined ex-soldier might seek employment under the aegis of the Committee, and learning the lesson of non-violence be faithful in the new allegiance. Whatever the reasons, the policy which is now being put to the test is far otherwise. The men who are supposed to be the brains of the Committee are arrested and the Government hopes that the Jathas will scatter after a little while. The theory is that just as Non-cooperation weakened after the arrest of Mr Gandhi, the Gurudwara movement also will weaken to death. The fact that the brain of the former was in one man's head and that of the latter was in the heads of fifty-eight different individuals should make no difference. The Police have therefore been instructed not to arrest the Jathas on any account. There may be processions, demonstrations, speeches,—all in flat defiance of the law; but it is all to be ignored. The expectation is that in course of time, the morale of the Dal will weaken. When deterioration has set in to the desired extent the Government would proceed

to "rally" the demoralised elements, institute a fresh body of "reformers" and in their name take possession of the Gurudwaras. In one word, it is the policy of the French Government in the Ruhr, leading up to a new series of Separatism.

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The position of the Sikhs is equally intriguing. Their assets are these:—A just cause, non-violence, men and funds. They are fighting for their very existence, and dare not dally with any counsel of compromise in the matter of the inalienable civil right of free, non-violent organisation. As far men, there is no doubt that the Akali Dal is a numerous body. Various figures have been mentioned, the highest being a lakh (100,000), the lowest 50,000. They are all obedient to the orders of the Committee. Though this is the sowing season, even the agricultural Sikhs have responded to the call, and Amritsar is full of them. It is expected that at a later stage, nearly the whole manhood of the community will be available. In the matter of funds, the case is slightly complex. Almost all the Gurudwaras have come under the administration of the Committee. They have endowments (some of them quite large), and at the moment of writing, their annual income is estimated in lakhs. A good deal of the money is vested in Bonds and the rest has to be paid over by the Mahants. As a result of the pressure from the Government on the plea of the proclamation under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Bonds are refusing to honour the drafts and cheques of the Committee. Some of the Mahants, never over-restful under the violent administration of the new regime, are inclined to create difficulties. Things have not come to a crisis yet, but it is quite conceivable they may. If the financial stringency should be simultaneous with the creation of a new "Prabandhak Committee", the position can be difficult. But the Sikhs are not worrying themselves about it. So much about the position of strength. The elements of weakness are also there; but the most important of them is the lack of a directing brain. The members of the Committee now standing their feet are men of experience and affairs and possess the confidence of the community. There is no doubt that their removal from the sphere of action has caused inconvenience. The men who have succeeded them are younger but are otherwise sane, self-possessed and resourceful. But in one respect, they are at a disadvantage—popular confidence is lacking. There is a second element of defectiveness. In spite of these truly revolutionary proceedings, the country as a whole has not poured out that measure of sympathy which is justly the Akalis' due. The Government has often complained against the efficiency of Sikh publicity. But the charge did the Committee injustice. The meaning of the struggle has not been allowed to be lost on the Sikhs; but as far as the rest of the country is concerned, there was no publicity whatever. The Sikhs can no longer afford to pursue the former restricted policy.

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In the existing situation, then, there are two needs to be met, well within the power of the Congress to fulfil—Publicity and Direction. These are just what the Akalis want and it is what the Leaders' Conference have recommended the Working Committee to do. Acharya Gdwan is already in Amritsar and he may be invited by the Working Committee to organise and co-ordinate the Sikh publicity on a wider and more efficient scale. It has been suggested that Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may assist the Sikhs with advice.

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But it may be asked:—What is to do next? The Government does not desire to arrest the "law-breakers"; they do not want to be embarrassed with multitudes of prisoners. The lesson of Gurmukh-Bagh is not lost on them. The Akalis in their turn are equally anxious to bring their masses into action at the earliest possible moment. They want to force the hands of the Government to the point of shooting the Jathas down or of resorting to arrests on a large scale. Just now, the initiative seems to remain in the hands of the Government. Some bold calculated stroke may easily transfer the initiative, and the Government will be compelled to adjust itself accordingly. The exact manner of bringing it about is difficult to predict, but we shall not be a bit surprised at quick developments. The trial in the conspiracy case is going on, and a good deal will depend on the development of evidence.

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The fourth Parliament of the present reign was dissolved on Friday last and Great Britain is in the throes of the General Election. The issue on which Mr. Baldwin has professed to go to the country is the one that was familiar twenty years ago.—Protection or Free Trade. The question has been pushed to the front by unemployment. The protectionists contend that the shutting out of foreign (not Colonial) goods will give a new chance to home industries to develop and that the revival of manufactures will absorb the labour for which there is no present use. Mr. Baldwin is concentrating on Protection as his election cry. But in the background is the undoubted fact of the inefficiency of the present Government at home and abroad. Mr. Lloyd George is on sound ground when he says that the feebleness of the Cabinet during 1923 has brought Britain into contempt in the Councils of Europe. It is true, but there is not one of the old Government of Europe that is really efficient. Inefficiency is a universal disease for the simple reason that the war and the destruction wrought by it have given rise to tremendous epic problems that are beyond the power of statesmanship to solve. The revolutionary Governments of Russia and Italy have in them a reasonable measure of vitality, because the energy that was big enough to overthrow the established order has in it the truth and suggestion of greatness. If a true revolution is brought about in England, there will be hope of strength and movement. But the passage of power

from the Tories to the Liberals will not be drastic enough to constitute a revolution of sufficient potency. Mr. Lloyd George, in spite of all opportunism and unscrupulousness, is far and away the strongest man in British politics; but he represents a governing order that has exhausted itself. The emergence of Labour into prominence may meet the need of the time; but we strongly suspect that its hour is still to come. It does not matter how the necessary revolution comes about, but the party machinery of perpetual talk will break down and yield a more searching test of truth. In Russia it was bloodshed; in Italy the overwhelming power of Mussolini avoided bloodshed; England waits for her turn.

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India has a remote interest in these doings, but she should be wise to resolutely shut up her mind against the temptation to read the signs of political weather. But in the simple things that worried the politics of a Liberalism that has now vanished from the Indian scene, the fortunes of England are not without significance. There is the ever recurring distress of quarrel between Whitehall and Delhi and it is possible to imagine that the fall of the Tories from power will help to restore the sweetness of Mr. Montagu's suave days. We do not deny the possibility. But there are difficulties. If such a thing as Liberal-Labour co-operation can be ensured, it will no doubt mean the end of Toryism and the return to power of a hyphenated government of more or less "democratic" sympathies. Colonel Wedgwood or Mr. Montagu or Lord Bitha might be the Indian Secretary. But let us say at once that we do not believe that it is going to happen. Labour has got a scheme of its own, a policy and philosophy, that is not yet ripe for fulfilment. What will happen, however, if the Conservatives by themselves should count less than Liberals and Labourites combined is puzzling enough. They will be strong enough to prevent the coming of protection, and the formation of a Government by Mr. Baldwin. What more they will do, no one can confidently prophesy. But of one thing, we may be certain. With three groups in the House in their present state of equilibrium, it is clear that it is impossible to form any stable government whatever. Formerly it was the swing of the pendulum that converted Parliamentarism into a diverting and cynical spectacle. Now it is a more complex phenomenon—it is a triangle of forces.

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An Anglo-Indian friend has been pressing on us the problems raised for him as a member of his community. Here is what he says:—"We are in a great difficulty. There are varying strains and degrees of European blood in us but we are Indians in every essential respect. Hitherto, we have been depending on the Government, and the Railways. Now we are being discharged from our places, because Indians could be had cheaper. There is no room for us in the higher appointments owing to lack of University

education. The Government does not want us, but we cannot do without the Government. We are all Government servants and we cannot therefore fight for our rights. We shall get the sack. There is no kind of future before us."

We appreciate every word in this statement, and we sympathise with the community. But as far as we can see, the process of dislodgment of Anglo-Indians from Government and Railway services is really inevitable. The sooner the community makes up its mind to stand on its own legs, the better. It is an unhealthy and parasitic thing for a group of people to remain perpetually dependent on any Government for their daily bread. Our correspondent will have to make up his mind that his people's future is bound up with the fate of the country and not with that of the Government in power—it does not matter which. It will mean a revolution in their lives, and there will be a good deal of inconvenience. But the inconvenience should be faced now or later—whenever the growth of the community and the alignment of political forces make it impossible for the Government to absorb all the young men. There is only one thing to do—they should go to the land, and lead the normal productive life of agriculture.

An Interesting Interview

For the following cutting from "The Advertiser," Adelaide, we are indebted to Mr. Benarsi Das Chaturvedi. It is an interesting document to Indian readers. Mr. Drow Pearson was in the Ashram before he went to see the "official" in Poona. The "official" is Sir George Lloyd.

On Gandhi Day—just a year and a half after the Mahatma's imprisonment—I visited the gaol near this city where he is confined, and talked with the man who more than anyone else in India was responsible for his arrest. The latter official, whose name I cannot divulge, is one of the highest in India. In words so graphic that I could almost picture the slender figure of Gandhi sitting before him, he described his talks with the Mahatma and the events leading up to the arrest. It was a story which probably few people had heard.

At the height of his campaign of Non-co-operation my informant had called Gandhi to his office. Gandhi had been staging great bonfires, burning English cloth, had begun a most successful boycott of the schools and courts, and had organised such an effective campaign against the Prince of Wales that the streets down which his procession passed were almost empty.

Then, to use the words of my informant, "Gandhi pattered in here on his little bare feet and sat where you're sitting. And I warned him. You don't know what you're doing," I said, "but you insist on going ahead with this devilish programme, I'll hold you responsible for every man, woman, and child that is killed."

"There won't be any, your Excellency," he said.

"Yes, there will," I replied. "You're preaching non-violence, but that's all theory. In practice it

won't work out. There's no such thing as non-violence in such a campaign as you are waging. You can't control men's passions. Remember, I hold you responsible."

His Excellency shook his finger at me as if I were Gandhi sitting opposite him.

"Gandhi came in again after it was all over—after the riots and murders at Chauri Chaura. And I said:—

"I told you what would happen. You are responsible."—He covered his face with his hands and said, "I know it."

"You know it! Well, can your knowing it bring back to life the men and women whose heads were ground into dust by the heels of your Indian mob?"

"Put me in gaol, your Excellency," he moaned.

"Yes. I'll put you in gaol, but not until I get good and ready. Do you think I want to put a crown of thorns on your head?" He said he was going to fast for a week.

A Colossal Experiment

His Excellency paused and leaned back. In a less animated tone, he added:—

"Just a thin spindly shrimp of a fellow he was, but he swayed 319,000,000 people and held them at his beck and call. He didn't care for material things, and preached nothing but the ideals and morals of India. You can't govern a country with ideals. Still that was where he got his grip upon the people. He was their god. India must always have its god. First it was Tilak, then Gandhi, now some one else to-morrow. He gave us a scare. His programme filled our gaols. You can't go on arresting people for ever, you know—not when there are 319,000,000 of them. And if they had taken his next step and refused to pay taxes, God knows where we should have been! Gandhi's was the most colossal experiment in world's history, and it came within an inch of succeeding. But he couldn't control men's passions. They became violent, and he called off his programme. You know the rest. We gaol'd him. I saw him three days ago—in prison. Life seemed a little dull. I think he would like to get out. He complained that I wouldn't let him have any newspapers. "Why, I don't even know who is Prime Minister," he said. "The best way to keep posted in politics is to keep out of gaol," I told him. "You'll be glad to know that I'm leaving in a few months. You and I were never the best of friends, but at least we were candid with each other."

Here I interrupted to put the question I had come to ask—permission to visit Gandhi in prison.

"Absolutely impossible" His Excellency cut me short. "The only way to gaol Gandhi is to bury him alive. If we allowed people to come here and make a fuss over him he would become a martyr, and the gaol would be a Mecca for the world. We didn't gaol Gandhi to put a crown of thorns on his head."

When I asked if there was any likelihood of Gandhi being released before his six year's term expires, he replied, emphatically:—

"Not while I'm here. Of course, my term expires in December. They can do whatever they like with him after I go back to England."

After describing Mr. Gandhi's life in gaol Mr. Pearson proceeds:—

Mr. Gandhi's religious creed, as explained to me by his son, is based upon two things: truth and non-violence. He is willing to dispense with all forms and ceremonies which the world calls religion, and retain these two basic principles.

According to his son, Mr. Gandhi does not wish to be released from prison by the pressure of a popular demand, but only by the Government itself, when it has suffered a change of heart towards the Indian people. He will win his release by no promise to abstain from politics, but promises to devote the rest of his life to the liberation of his country.

Compared to Christ

I have given the reasons for Gandhi's imprisonment from the lips of the man who was responsible for it, and I have described briefly the life of the Mahatma in gaol. There remains only to give the opinion of the mass of Indian people on the imprisonment of their "sain" and leader.

India is religious. Whether Hindu, Moslem, Parsi, or Sikh, it respects religion and knows the history of other religions. Consequently, India knows Christianity. And everywhere in India I have heard Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment compared to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

Gandhi, they point out "climbed down to the depths of human misery and woe, where men toil desperately and die miserably down to the dark places of sweat and tears." And like Christ, he found "that the mastery of the world waits upon him who is willing not to make others suffer, but to suffer himself". He wore a loin cloth that no man in all the land should be embarrassed by a poverty greater than his own. Great crowds of 25,000 to 75,000 followed the Weaver of Sabarmati as they did the Carpenter of Nazareth. Four times he was imprisoned, thrice beaten by the mobs, and once left in the gutter to die.

When Gandhi lay stricken in a South African hospital after an attack which had broken his arm, he was asked what legal procedure should be taken against his assailant, and he replied, "Why should I seek to injure or punish him? The man did what he thought was right, risked his life for it, I believe in that man; I shall love him and win him to me." And he did.

The Crucifixion

An Indian Moderate who is a Christian, a national leader, and a friend and admirer of the English, made this graphic comparison between the trial of Jesus Christ and of Mahatma Gandhi:—

"When the Roman Pro-consul arrested and convicted the Carpenter of Nazareth, Roman prestige was maintained, property and vested interests were protected, and the populace quieted down and forgot all about their momentary leader. The Pro-consul showed undoubted discretion. Roman prestige was at stake—Roman prestige, which for generations was the guarantee of world peace.

"Not that the Roman Pro-consul was without a perception of the greatness of the accused. He had probably heard something of His teachings and character. The silence of Jesus, that Non-co-operator in excelsis, made a profound impression on the magistrate and he tried feebly to save the prisoner. But

the 'system' had tied him hand and foot. He could only wash his hands in futility, and hand over the accused to the extreme penalty of the law.

"So the judge, addressing Gandhi, the Weaver of Sabarmati said—"The law is no respecter of persons. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried, or am likely ever to try. Also, it would be impossible to ignore that, in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader, or that those who differ from you in politics look up to you as a man of high ideals and leading a noble and even a saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is my duty to judge you as a man subject to the law, who, by his own admission, broke the law and committed what to an ordinary man must appear to be a great offence against the State."

"Indian opinion," concluded this Indian Moderate "believes that when the great British statesmanship, with its claim of record, in governing alien races, has no resources beyond arresting and convicting Mr. Gandhi, it has openly declared its insolvency, and has started on the road which Rome followed."

Young India

22-11-23

The Mind of a Governor

The account of Mr. Drew Pearson's talk which we publish elsewhere, with His Excellency the Governor of Bombay a few months ago is supremely interesting. Indian publicists have had opportunities of knowing through the currents of private talk the kind of man that Sir George Lloyd is; but this is the first time the world has come into knowledge of the depth of his mind through a public statement. He has been frank, disconcertingly frank, about Mr. Gandhi. There will, therefore, be no impropriety in our being frank with him. The most striking impression left by the report is that Sir George Lloyd is a very hard and intensely narrow man. It is not surprising that he has not responded to the spirit of Gandhism; the failure is really due to a spiritual blindness which he shares with nearly all Englishmen. But we have the right to expect understanding from a Governor; courtliness of language, suavity of mind, flexibility and catholicity of outlook. But we miss it all. On the other hand, the hardness and cruelty is of a drill sergeant's, the mentality is that of Mr. Gandhi's first custodian in Yeravada, the Superintendent who kept him standing all through a long interview. Let it be clearly understood that we do not complain because Sir George Lloyd imprisoned him (that particular grievance is against the whole of India—but let it remain at that). We can quite believe that he regarded the imprisonment as essential. We dare say Pilate thought the Crucifixion was essential for the maintenance of the Roman Empire in Syria; but Pilate recognised spiritual mastery when he saw it and " marvelled greatly". There was in him the magic gift of wonder-

the vision of sorrow. But Sir George Lloyd is a stranger to wonder and vision. Take for instance Mr. Gandhi's joke about the abysmal ignorance in which not only he but all political prisoners were kept. "Why, I don't even know who is Prime Minister." There were a hundred right ways in which the implied reproach could have been met; but the reply "the way to keep posted up in politics is to keep out of gaol!" is clearly one which would never have been made by Pilate. To put a man into prison, to hold the keys in your hand, to keep him out of touch with the living days of man, and then, to insult him because he chooses to remain in jail in the service of a truth far beyond your possibility of vision—all this strikes us symptomatic of hardness, narrowness and essential cowardice.

At Amritsar

The Leaders' Conference invited by the President of the All-India Congress Committee for the 13th instant was fairly well attended. While the deliberations were seriously handicapped by the absence of a few notable men (owing to pre-occupation in the election campaign of some, and illness and pressing provincial work in the case of others) the presence of both the All Brothers was sufficient guarantee of the success of the Conference. Others present included Konda Venkatappaya, Lala Lajpatral, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, George Joseph, Prakasam, Mrs. Naidu, Maulana Abul Kalam, Dr. Kitchlew, Ansari. The Hindus, Mussalmans and Sikhs of the Punjab were well represented. The questions raised by the Akali situation are of so serious and truly national a nature that Mr. Venkatappaya felt rightly the need of calling into counsel leaders of authority not on the Working Committee.

For reasons already indicated a certain number of other workers were not present. Consequently there was no formal meeting of the Working Committee, and the conclusions arrived at Amritsar were framed as recommendations to the Committee. It is therefore in a position to take the ultimate decision with a clear sense of the mind of the most important men in the public eye.

Before I summarise the course of the discussion in the Conference it is necessary to observe that the final word was being forced by a different method of persuasion. The most impressive sight in Amritsar and its moral were not lost on those who had come from far and near. Evening and morning, Akali Jathas of the Dal accompanied by irregulars as well as women and children were marching up and down the streets carrying the message of defiance to Government. In front marched the trained men in the black uniform of Sikh Puritanism led by a military band marching at a steady pace. Over their head was a declaration in English, Gurmukhi and Urdu of their "unlawfulness". The members of the Conference saw the processions and some of them accompanied them. The atmosphere created by those demonstrations and the series of meetings in the Jallianwalla Bag penetrated the Chamber of the Conference itself.

The debate itself was prolonged, significant and, in the end, decisive. It took two days. The first

meeting was a protracted and heated duel between Maulana Shaukat Ali and Pandit Motilal Nehru. A number of other people also joined, but they merely helped to fill up the pauses. The Maulana characteristically enough, wanted something to be done at once and regardless of consequences. Stung to reaction, Panditji adopted a *non-possumus* attitude, and tried to extinguish the Maulana's fire-works. Dr. Kitchlew added the suggestion that whatever there was to be done could be accomplished by the Satyagraha Committee if only it was authorised to do so. But it was all inconclusive. In the second meeting also the earlier stages were marked by a repetition of the first day. Finally, the discussion was brought to a point by Mr. George Joseph, who proposed a draft resolution. The draft was modified in consultation with Acharya Ghidwani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Mahomed Ali and passed unanimously in the following terms:—

1. "This Conference declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shikhandi Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of the free association of all Indians for non-violent activities and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsees and all other people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle.

(1) This Conference is further of opinion that an Akali Sahayaka Committee consisting of the following members with the power to co-opt be appointed to do effective propaganda all over the country, regarding the whole situation and to render necessary assistance including financial aid to the Akalis:—1 Mrs. Naidu, 2 Messrs C. Rajagopalachari, 3 T. Prakasam, 4 Deshpande, 5 R. Krishna Swami Iyer, 6 Kelkar, 7 Vallabhbhai Patel, 8 Jahanndas, 9 Jawaharlal Nehru, 10 Motilal Nehru, 11 Kitchlew, 12 Lajpatrai, 13 Ansari, 14 Meghavendia, 15 Jammal Bajaj, 16 Aney, 17 Rajendra prasad, 18 C. R. Das, 19 Phookan, 20 Mohamed Ali, 21 Shaukat Ali, 22 M. A. K. Amel, 23 Bharucha, 24 Ghidwani, 25 George Joseph, 26 Hakim Ajmal Khan, 27 Venkatappaya and 28 Santapan.

(2) That two members of this Committee shall reside in Amritsar to render all possible help to the Akalis and to organise a Publicity and Intelligence Bureau on behalf of the Congress to keep the Working Committee and the country in touch with the developments.

2. This Conference resolves that the foregoing resolution be recommended to the Working Committee for consideration and acceptance.

The members of the Civil Disobedience Committee who were in the leaders' conference subsequently also had a meeting of their own committee and made the following recommendations to the Working Committee:—

1. That representatives of the Congress should be kept in Amritsar to render every possible assistance to the Akalis and keep the Congress in touch with all developments of the Akali situation in terms of the resolutions passed at the informal

leaders' conference this afternoon. Also that the Congress should organise effective publicity of the Akali cause. In case the representatives of the Congress are arrested or otherwise prevented by Government action from carrying on their duties in Amritsar, steps should be taken to replace them immediately by other representatives.

2. In view of the fact that it is desirable for Congressmen to associate themselves with the Akali cause and offer them every help and as the Committee is informed that it is possible for non-Sikhs to become Associates of the Akali Dal which has been declared as an unlawful association by the Government, this Committee recommends that Congressmen should become such associate members of the Dal and should continue to do so in spite of any action which Government may take against them.

As some of the members of the Working Committee, owing to health and other unavoidable reasons, were unable to meet on the 13th instant at Amritsar, an emergent meeting is fixed to be held at Ahmedabad on the 25th November 1923 to consider the above resolutions.

D. G.

Mr. Rajagopalachar's Address

Following are the extracts from the presidential address delivered at the Second Karnatak Provincial Conference, by Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari:—

I shall not detain you with any lengthy address. I shall not attempt to exhaust all the topics that engage the public attention, and crave your permission to leave many things untouched. Obviously, late in November, with the coming sessions of the Congress approaching us fast, it is not necessary or advisable to take up questions that must find final solution only in the Indian National Assembly. We cannot, however, at a Conference like this, fail to give public expression to widespread feelings on some topics, at least as an indication of opinion which may be useful in shaping the decisions at Coonada. But the main business of the Conference is to organise your Province for the work before you.

The Congress suspended propaganda on the Council boycott and permitted those who were convinced of the ability of entering the Councils to do so. This compromise was agreed to as a necessary evil. We deliberately allowed this breach in the fortifications, but we should not let it widen into anything bigger. Respect and tolerance for difference of opinion is an essential feature of all Gandhian methods including Non-co-operation. We should not prevent any man from acting according to his convictions. The Moderates and other co-operators enjoyed this liberty, and the Swaraj Party too had the same liberty. But they wanted something more than respect and tolerance. The hold of the Congress and the Non-co-operation programme over the people was so great that they wanted on our part a suspension of action according to our own convictions, in order that they may have fuller opportunities to put their own beliefs into practice. Rightly or wrongly, for the sake of peace this was done. But we cannot be led further into a path which we are convinced is contrary to the essential principles of Non-co-operation. We cannot permit the Congress to be identified with the activities of any group

inside the legislatures. For the sake of peace we sacrificed a splendid opportunity to organise the most striking national answer to the Salt Tax, to Kenya and to Nabha. For the sake of peace we gave up the golden opportunity of confirming our hold on the voters and to educate them in the Gandhian principles. If we but compare the educative value of the boycott campaign of 1920 with what has been done by the Swaraj Party this year in getting themselves returned we can see how much has been sacrificed by us. But not to regret the past which cannot be recalled, and to turn to the future, let us not allow ourselves to be dragged into the counter programme any further. There is no doubt there is grave danger. We do not know the further programme of the Swaraj Party. They may wait till another general election for getting their full strength, or for the Congress to give up the Triple Boycott *in toto*. They may join other members in the legislatures and try parliamentary methods from total obstruction down to co-operation and discriminate opposition. They may join the Convention proposed by Mrs. Besant and await the fate of a newly drafted constitution. But the Congress cannot take any part, active or passive, in any of their proceedings. Unless this is rigidly laid down, the Congress would be led to a repudiation of the great Non-co-operation programme.

The political situation has been taxing Congressmen to the uttermost point. The dynamic force of the great tide raised by Mahatmaji seems to have spent itself out. Ideals and methods which in the freshness of first promulgation by the great Mahatma roused surging reaction in the hearts of men, seem now by very reiteration to have lost their magic. Everyone wants something new and never yet every day. The old truths fail to impress men. The great expectations and hopes that buoyed up the spirit of the people at first and created an unexampled energy have yielded to a sense of disappointment and failure. Doubt and circumspection reign in the place of courage and hope. Knowledge and experience have made people wiser but also more apprehensive of failure and unwilling to act.

Our enemies whose first shock and surprise at the revolution aided our efforts and encouraged us to push our campaign on with vigour, have now naturally regained their stability and rallied themselves to a more effective defence against us. People thus feel that the Government is stronger to-day than they were during the earlier days of Non-co-operation. The situation is in every way more difficult than it was in the first phase of our revolution. Mahatmaji himself found the difficulty developing, and was trying to meet it. No wonder that after no was taken away from us, lesser men find the problem difficult.

While on the one hand those who stand by Mahatmaji's programme are faced with this situation, the forces that never believed in the Gandhian method of suffering and non-violence have taken advantage of the inertia to reassert themselves. Men, who were compelled by the irresistible force of the national upheaval to adopt the Gandhian programme against their real political convictions, have thrown off the oppressive spiritual burden, and are seeking to interpret and shape the programme into a form of political resistance more

suitable to their own temper and convictions. The forms and shibboleths are retained but the guiding principle is different. Not love but hatred; not *ahimsa* but violence such as can be put forth; not self-suffering but cleverly organised embarrassment of the enemy with the minimum amount of suffering on our part; this is the easy Satyagraha sought to be interpreted and practised by the new school of practical non-co-operators. To these folk the basic law is that man is a non-spiritual being, essentially selfish and violent, who can only be compelled by pain and punishment to respect others; whereas the whole basis of the Gandhian method is a truth that man is essentially good and spiritual, and responds to love, not to fear; to sympathy, not to punishment.

The German Government too attempted to sustain Gandhism on a basis of hatred and organised embarrassment without the life giving Gandhian principle of love and suffering. They ordered non-violent resistance on a large scale. The Government supported the population and reduced suffering to a minimum. The attempt was gigantic and seemed near to success, but failed. German resistance was not Gandhian Satyagraha even as the very best mechanical engine is yet not a living thing.

Non-co-operation interpreted as mere political embarrassment is far from Satyagraha, and is foredoomed to failure or relapse into futile agitation, pure and simple. You can no more set up non-violent coercion of this kind into a living force, than make a living man out of an electrified mechanism. Such non-violence will be nothing more than second-rate violence and will have to acknowledge its weakness. Only if we have the courage and the faith of Gandhi according to his own interpretation, can we organise his movement as an irresistible battle of the Spirit against the Devil. Suffering, maximum love of the enemy, true and genuine, the love and pity that filled Christ's eyes with tears as he was led to Golgotha,—not suppressed hatred, finding legal and constitutional shape but feeding its endless vicious circle all the same,—without these Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience can be of no avail, indeed cannot live for long, even as political formulae.

In my opinion, the one and only way out of the present situation is the Constructive Programme. Back to Nagpur as Maulana Mohammed Ali beautifully put it. It may be difficult to fight a fire with damp sticks. I do not know how many of you have had experience of the depression and the agony of lighting a fire with damp fire wood. To work the Constructive Programme now is very much like such a process. But it must be done if the cooking is to be done and the household kept going. Other programmes may be easier to catch, may look more glorious, may indeed be necessary now and then. But the first and the main work is this work of construction sketched at Bardoli. Even the Constructive Programme includes more things than can be at once strenuously concentrated upon. I would ask people to narrow it down for the present in practical working and widen it with progress. Spinning in every house is the one programme I would ask you now to concentrate upon. That the Charkha means non-violence, means removal of untouchability, means saving the people from the curse of drink, means social service, means Hindu-Muslim

unity, means the whole of Gandhian Reform, is not a mere figure of rhetoric but is actual realisable fact. The Charkha and active strenuous propaganda for establishing the doctrine of non-violence must be our programme. Do not speak about the Charkha but actually spin and get people to spin.

Speak boldly, frankly and fully upon non-violence. Non-violence is losing the universality and firmness of conviction which Mahatmaji has secured for it. The assaults upon it are too many. We must re-establish it firmly upon the throne of the people. This is the great secret of Hindu-Muslim unity in India. The creed of non-violence alone can establish Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis. No committees of arbitration, no mixed panchayats will achieve much. Ready-made panchayats for deciding disputes will only create disputes where none existed before. That is our experience of the establishment of courts and consequent increase of litigation. Allopathic treatment will fail here as elsewhere. The constant insistence and spread of the fundamental doctrine of non-violence is the only remedy and the only hygiene for healthy communal life and unity. We have been too long treating non-violence as a Gandhian idiosyncrasy in an otherwise practical programme, giving to it a condescending toleration and nothing more. In truth, however, it is the bone of the whole programme, that which gives it strength to oppose the violence of the Government and the anarchy of the people, the most vital part of it, without which the rest will crumble to pieces. Peace and order are necessary for our movement. The essential implication of the Gandhian Revolution is that the Dharma of Non-violence must be established as a substitute for the Tyranny which is now policing the country. If we do not work for this the tentacles of the existing Government will continue to hold us in its grip.

I have described the difficulties of the situation, and insist on what I deem to be the only right path before us. The difficulty of problem—the stalemate as some would call it—was only to be expected. Unless we won the whole war in our first campaign this second and more difficult phase was inevitable. It need not depress us. This nation wants freedom, will surely want to-morrow even if it is apathetic to-day; and when it wants freedom, it is bound to have it without doubt. Our difficulties are not in the methods we have employed being unsuitable or inadequate or in the strength of the enemy. It is only the subsidising of the hunger for freedom that makes work difficult. Let us attend to this mainspring of action. The rest will take care of itself. I am convinced that this great nation is bound to see its own good, to see that freedom is life, and that slavery is hunger, misery and death. I am convinced that for our freedom there is no way but the Gandhian way. I am convinced that the nation is bound to take it up to-morrow if not to-day, and reach its appointed goal, even if it puts it by for a while now. There is no need to feel depressed or sad. Nothing can be more foolish than the assumption that Non-co-operation is dead. What is the meaning of the death of Non-co-operation? Is it that not having achieved success by it, the Indian Nation will abandon it as a political weapon, or that the Indian Nation abandons the gold of freedom? Neither can ever be true.

I am certain that the Ali Brothers can revive the life, and raise the tide once more as of old. They can

take the word of Mahatmaji and speak as with authority scourging the idle and the needless and giving hope and strength to the faithful and the diligent. They can transform the conditions, as no one else can.

I have not referred to many a topic but I should not close without a word about Nabha. Nabha is a belated recrudescence of Dalhousie-ism. People have been fooled by phrases like Sovereign British Government, Suzerain Power, Feudatory State, and the like. Indian Princes may be weak, may be deprived of their armies, may be controlled and emasculated by treaties, but in law they are free and sovereign like the Government of India. There are many little states in Europe now which are as weak as Hyderabad or Mysore or even as Nabha or Patiala. But a neighbouring Government does not go and claim the right to depose the ruling Government for maladministration. This process is tolerable only in past history, as one of the many wrong things that made the British Empire in India, even like the forgery of Olive or the extortions of Hastings. But we cannot tolerate a repetition of it now when we are masters of our own time and its moralities. Whether Nabha voluntarily abdicated or was compelled, is beside the point. He was either forced or scared into abdication. Coercion of one kind or another is there. What kind, does not matter. If there was maladministration, the British Administrator has no greater legal or moral right than you or I to take charge of the State. We must see to it that the people of a State are the only tribunal entitled to dethrone a Rajah and they are the only authority entitled to elect a Board of Regency to govern in the place of a Sovereign dethroned for misrule. The Congress which stands for popular rights and liberties and whose function is to prevent encroachments upon these, must consider the British Administrator's inroad into Nabha as but an act of unconstitutional violence and must help to resist it. The Sikhs are fighting it bravely, and when the call for general help comes, there can be no doubt as to our duty.

The battle has spread outside Nabha. War has been declared on the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, and the Akali organisation is sought to be crushed. The battle is accepted and India will stand behind the S. G. P. O.

In this connection I must deplore one capital departure from the principles which guided the Akalis hitherto and led them to victory. The Guruka-bagh fight was fought according to strict Gandhism without defence in Court and with faith in the efficacy of suffering. The engagement of lawyers and the offer of defence in the present campaign is a retrograde step. Guruka-bagh is a victory of Gandhism pure and unsullied. I know the object is not to save themselves from punishment but only to expose the Governmental misdeeds. But truth and suffering are their own propaganda. Defence and the doctrine of suffering are incompatible. Engagement of lawyers and Non-co-operation are incompatible. The propaganda and publicity of cross-examination are a fatal substitute for the self-lustration of truth and suffering, even as Parliamentary obstruction is a fatal substitute for Non-co-operation.

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Our Duty at Cocanada

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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Notes

For the first time after the Delhi Congress, the Working Committee met in Sabarmati during the week. A good deal of business had accumulated in the meanwhile; but far and away the most important of it all was that which related to the Punjab. It will be remembered that the informal conference in Amritsar had recommended a set of resolutions to the Committee for acceptance. Though some difficulty was felt about the formation of an *ad hoc* body to carry on business primarily within the competence of the Congress executive, the recommendations were adopted out of deference to the source from which they came. The point of the objection was this, and in a constitutional aspect, serious. The constitution has provided for an Executive of the Congress. If its work is delegated to various committees, as is becoming the fashion now-a-days, the position becomes extremely difficult. The Working Committee is saddled with responsibility, but the power is taken away from it. Either the present Committee is capable of doing its work or not; if it is, its authority must not be whittled down; if it is not, the Committee must resign and make room for one that is able to fulfil its functions. Individual groups of men may come and go, but authority and efficiency must be maintained. We grant the force of the contention. But it was an extra-ordinary situation that arose in Delhi. It was an atmosphere of unanimity that pervaded the proceedings. Else the Nagpur Working Committee should have resigned and the All-India Committee should have elected another which represented the truth of the transaction. But unreality was everywhere; and the offer of resignation was constituted as a violation of the compromise. The members in office therefore elected to continue. They sowed the wind and are now reaping the whirlwind.

Whatever the constitutional difficulty, the Working Committee decided to ignore it. It went forward and made the following dispositions.—Dr. Kitchlew and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were requested to remain in Amritsar as Advisors and Acharya Gidwani was put in charge of Publicity. We cannot predict future developments; but as far as we can see, the *interim* arrangements are satisfactory enough to keep things going till Cocanada. If the Congress proceeds to assume graver responsibilities in December, it will be excellent. In the meanwhile there are a number of elements still in process of clarification. The Congress can afford to wait.

The second problem of importance that the Committee discussed arose out of a resolution of the Delhi Congress. It embraced what may be called the Colonial question. The Working Committee was directed "to organise educative propaganda in the country regarding the position of Indians in the Colonies and to help the Kenya Indians in any political programme." The extensive propagandist work of Pandit Benarasi Das Chaturvedi was brought to the notice of the Committee. The decision was that venturing on wide publicity measures, for which the Congress had no separate department, and as a temporary measure, the Committee should co-operate with him in the work. Opinion was clear that the whole business of keeping people in touch with emigration would have to be reconsidered and placed on a satisfactory basis at an early date; but for the time being, the arrangement with Mr. Chaturvedi was considered to be sufficient. Regarding Kenya, the Committee had the advantage of hearing Mr. Desai now touring this country in a representative capacity. Debate followed the lines indicated by a set of questions which was presented to the Congress on behalf of Indians in East Africa, and subsequently referred to the Executive. It was finally decided that the most satisfactory course would be to dispatch to East Africa an Indian representative, directed to study the question locally and to offer such counsel as might be justified with reference to local conditions and to the state of public opinion in this country. The Working Committee nominated Mr. George Joseph as the representative.

In the meanwhile, affairs in Kenya are being brought to a head at an alarming pace. When Dr. Sapru brought forward the Committee proposal as a serious contribution to a settlement we were doubtful about the nature of its application to Kenya. The Duke of Devonshire declared the impossibility of reopening the recent decision of the Cabinet but promised to consider the representations of the Committee. But now it is clear that the declaration was everything and that the promise was nothing. One of the matters pressed by the Indian representative was, that pending the labours of the Committee, the Colonial Office and the Dominion Governments should hold up anti-Indian legislation. He used the following words:—

"Let the Dominion Government who have Indian populations, let His Majesty's Government in areas under their direct control such as Kenya, Uganda, Fiji and other places where there are

Indians resident, appoint committees to confer with the Committee which the Government of India will send from India, in exploring the avenues of how best and how soonest the principle of equality implicit in the 1921 resolution may be implemented, and lest the course of enquiry be prejudiced I shall couple with my proposal the request that any anti-Indian legislation which may be pending should be stayed until the reports of these joint committees are available."

The request for the suspension of anti-Indian legislation was the crux of the whole matter. The doubt we raised is now made clear. Before Dr. Sapru's arrival in India, the East African Government has issued the Draft of an Ordinance which is the end of every single one of his hopes. The ordinance is professedly intended to regulate immigration into East Africa in the interests of Africans. That is what is stated in the preamble, but the operative part of the Ordinance is clearly devised to shut out Indian immigrants. Here is the most significant passage from the summary of the Draft made by the Associated Press:—

One clause in particular lays down that any person desiring to bring an employee into the Colony must first satisfy the authorities that he is unable to obtain in the Colony itself an employee who would be suitable, and also the immigrant must satisfy the authorities that he is a desirable person and, if necessary, make a cash deposit before being allowed to enter. If the immigrant desire to carry on trade, business or other occupation, the authorities must first be satisfied that an opening exists for such trade and that it is in the interests of natives that such trade be undertaken.

The first clause has no practical application to Europeans immigrating to tropical countries in modern times; while it does apply to large numbers of Indians. In other words, the usual type of enterprising young Indians, going into new countries in comparatively obscure capacities and finally making good, is altogether shut out. Consider, then, the condition about traders. We know what the policy of the Colonial Office is; the discrimination will be against the Indian and in favour of the European, if it is humanly possible. As is well known, the limits of human possibility are pretty extensive. There are two lines of defence open to the Colonial Office if Dr. Sapru should charge it with breach of faith. One is that his request in regard to pending legislation was not accepted; the plea is founded in fact in the letter, because in the proposition as finally accepted by Mr. Baldwin, there was not a word said about the suspension. But it is a violation of it in spirit; but Dr. Sapru has only himself to thank for it he elected to rely on vague sentiments as the foundation of far-reaching political decisions. The second defence will be that the ordinance is not "anti-Indian". We hope that the contention will not be advanced. The plea would be manifestly dishonest. The obvious conclusion is that the process of "disillusionment" in this case has come about much more quickly than is the wont of the Government's pious declarations.

But it is not only in Kenya itself that the logic of the Cabinet's decision is being worked out. The reaction has reached Mauritius also. There is no communal franchise in that Island and the two lakhs of Indians resident there have equal rights with the lakh and odd of the rest of its inhabitants, European and African put together. Mauritius was under French occupation till a hundred years ago. It was in 1810-14 that the Island came into the possession of the Government partly by conquest, and partly by Treaty. As a result of the French domination, the doctrine of equality which is of the texture of Gallic institutions, is there, and the communal franchise is a thing unknown. But there is now a strong volume of opinion being rallied to the extension of the Kenya doctrine to Mauritius. The controversy has a curious setting. There are two political parties in the Island. There are several French Colonists who have a definite policy. They are interested in restoring the Island if possible to France. They have therefore organised the party of Retrocessionists. By the essential fact of French inspiration, the party stands for the maintenance of political and civic equality. Opposed to them is the party of Revisionists, as definitely English, as the "Retrocessionists" are French. Revisionism is opposed to the re-establishment of French authority. As is the way of all political partisanship, Revisionism means a number of other things besides. One of them is the communal franchise on the Kenya model. We have already said that the Indians are nearly double of the rest of the population. The Revisionists are pledged to grant the Indians no more than three seats in the Council, reserving the remaining fourteen for the Europeans, Arabs and Africans. It is the Mauritius variety of the Colonial Office's anxiety for the good of the natives of East Africa. The odd thing, the disheartening thing is, that it is not only the Englishmen that are Revisionists but the Africans, the Arabs, the half-castes; in short, everybody that is not Indian or French or Frenchified. We do not know how the issue will be decided at the forthcoming Elections. The triumph of the Retrocessionists may be dismissed as nearly impossible. The issue is not merely of domestic politics; it is of Imperial complexion. In the present state of Anglo-French relations, England will not part with a square of soil for France's benefit, and the cry of Retrocession has no practical meaning. But Revisionism is a potent. It has in it meaning of disaster for the Indian population. The mark of hellory that has fallen to the fate of Kenya Indians will brand Mauritius also.

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The Sikh struggle is in the middle of an apparent pause. The word apparent is deliberately introduced, because there is no pause in fact. It is appearance, not reality. The Jathas are marching to Jaito, the base at Muktsar is maintained in full activity, and from Amritsar is poured forth the religious enthusiasm that keeps the whole campaign vital and aglow. It is not the suggestion of a pause that comes to us in

the contemplation of the moving spectacle, but the world's memory of the conflict that disappeared in the death-grip amid the trenches of Flanders and France. The nations got tired of the watch, but the combat of wills went on by an inner necessity. So also in Amritsar. The struggle is on; but it is not spectacular. There are bewilderments enough:—deliberate defiance of the law and elaborate defence in court; open challenges and secret counsels; religion served by politics—politics whose life-breath is religion. Beyond them is all a certain lack of definition and clarity which are irritating to the pedant. But we do not say all this by way of criticism—it is the mere sign of life, the cause and parent of eternal effort and confusion. Judged from a political point of view, the significance can be sketched in a few sentences:—The period of waiting is come, both parties watching with patient eyes. Almost any time the monotony will break, and the masses will be drawn into action dramatically. The initiative will remain in the hands of the Sikhs, and we suspect that the Government knows it too. We are slightly intrigued about the exact purport of the series of searches in the offices of the Prabandhak Committee. Press reports indicated the anxiety of the Police to secure possession of "writing machines"; but we were told that the raid was unsuccessful. We shall wait for developments which are clearly not very far off.

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The story of the death of another Irishman who hunger-struck came to us with a sting. We do not know whether it is a strain of ancestral Moderatism hidden away in the depths of opinion; but we may confess that our sympathies had been with the Free State in its struggle against the Republicans. As far as we could judge, the large mass of Irish opinion was in favour of the Treaty and De Valera had landed himself in political Impossibilism. We admired the hard efficiency of Cosgrave amid terrible surroundings. Even the story of the imprisonment of nearly 15,000 Republicans without trial did not move us deeply. But the universal hunger-strike by the prisoners, the death of one of them, and the subsequent suspension of the ordeal—all in pursuance of external discipline, are staggering facts which go to the foundations of belief. Faith in Irish Republicanism which has in it energy for such a performance cannot be a dead force; for a moment one is inclined to grant that it has the gift of immortality. The question forces itself to the foreground whether De Valera is an Impossibilist indeed, whether he has not in charge by some mystic means the soul of his race. A believer in non-violence likes to assume that the Irish nation will by the intensity of its suffering, and the success which waits on sacrifice help in the settlement of the world's pressing problem of freedom without violence. We doubt whether Ireland has any cognizance of the purpose which she is fulfilling. Ignorance will handicap her. But she is on the right path. It may be against her deliberate will; but her place in history is unquestionable.

The Triple Standard

The evidence that is being led before the Public Services Commission is significant. It is defining itself on familiar racial lines. But back of race, perhaps because of it, is the astounding claim of the European Associations. They are frank about it, and want the condition of their service (especially the salaries and pensions) to be determined and secured by the British Parliament. The claim is intended merely for to-day, but against the time when there will be "responsible" government in India. Everyone conversant with public opinion knows that India would not tolerate the claim for a minute; it will be the very negation of Swaraj. The thing of import is this:—The very fact that it is possible for Europeans to exact that, it will be admitted, illuminates their conception of the "responsible" government they are engaged in preparing for India. The men who compose the Civil Service are educated and know something of history and politics. There is not one of them will deny that the permanent services will be subordinate in every single particular to cabinets in responsible governments. Why do they expect India to part with this right? The expectation can be explained only on one ground:—"Responsible Government" means one thing in the mouths of the Europeans, and another thing in history. In the light of this preposterous and inadmissible demand, everything else pales into insignificance. Judged absolutely, they are bad enough.

In reference to salaries, the Commission is asked to provide for an unparalleled scale of extravagance. Money is asked for the running of three separate establishments:—for the children in England, for the wives in the hills and the husbands in the plains. No government in the world can afford to provide for its servants in this manner; if the trial is made, the government will end in bankruptcy or precipitate a revolution. One feels almost thankful that Englishmen are not polygamists. Otherwise this demand may be doubled or quadrupled. But to be perfectly serious, we venture to say plainly that India cannot afford to have in her service men of this type. The British official will have to make up his mind to live on a reasonable scale. In any event, he will have to go some day; but the day will be precipitated with terrific speed if the Triple Standard is insisted on. The nation is too poor for such escapades; what is more, she is too serious to permit extravagance and lack of restraint in her servants. Room for Englishmen will be found as long as there is the need, provided they set an example of thrift and hard living. Otherwise, whatever the consequences may be, we shall have to dispense with them. If we may offer friendly counsel to European civil servants we would say this:—The presentation of fantastic figures does not really help their cause; if India is convinced that the European Civil Servants are serious in the matter, she will, out of the mere instinct of self-preservation, be forced to dismiss them at the earliest possible date. There is political bias enough against the presence of Europeans, which is unfortunate; but the economic argument might well seem conclusive in the light of the contentions of the Services in the United Provinces.

Young India

29-11-23

Our Duty at Cocanada

The Swarajists wherever they put up candidates have had striking success. This was only to be expected. The electorate could not but prefer them to the candidates who opposed them. In returning them with overwhelming majorities, the electorate has given its unmistakable condemnation of the policy of co-operation. How could there be the least hesitation on the part of the voters to prefer Congress workers and leaders who stood by Mahatmajl in his campaign to those who sided with Government whole-heartedly or otherwise? How could the electorate give their votes to men who opposed the National Programme of Non-Co-operation and assisted in the measures of the Government against Non-Co-operators? The undoubted success of the Swarajists in the elections while it clearly means a popular condemnation of the policy of co-operation does not, however, mean either that the Swarajist programme is right or that the people have endorsed that programme as against Mahatmajl's programme.

The Moderates supported co-operation. The Swarajists appealed to the electorate in the name of the Congress and Non-Co-operation. The answer was inevitable. The electorate was not asked the question whether they preferred the Swarajist programme to that of the people who stood by the Gandhian programme. Indeed the Swarajists' single aim was to avoid this contest and that is why they struggled for and finally obtained the permission of the Congress to go to the polls, thereby restricting the issue between themselves on the one hand and the Moderates and Loyalists on the other. Though however the Swarajists' success cannot by any means be interpreted to be an endorsement of their programme as against Non-Co-operation, the natural result of the Swarajists' activities will be to divert the hopes and the attention of the people from self-reliant constructive activity of the Non-Co-operation programme to the fight in the Councils. It is only too easy to draw away a nation suffering under the effects of slavery to the path of reaction and dependence and to the ways and methods of weakness from the difficult path of courage and endurance. The propaganda of the Swaraj Party has done harm enough, but the people have still not been entirely drawn away. They still refuse to hope for anything from the Councils or any programme therein. While yet it is not too late we should clearly reiterate the Gandhian programme including complete dissociation from the Legislatures and go on with the constructive work with redoubled vigour. The present Congress position is full of ambiguity so far as the people are concerned, which if not removed will lead to a

gradual dissolution of the Non-Co-operation programme.

The policy should be clearly laid down. Without the background and the atmosphere of Non-Co-operation as Gandhijl conceived it there is no chance for building up this nation. At Cocanada the policy of those who stand by the programme should be made clear and the Congress should be asked to endorse it. The great programme initiated by Mahatmajl and adopted by the people of India is the only way to freedom and national emancipation. We cannot permit it to be thrown into the lumber heap of lost enterprises.

The fruits of Mahatmajl's work and the nation's sacrifices can of course never be lost. But as a living programme of action giving intensive and exclusive shape to the national will, it is sought to put an end to it and to revert to politics of the pre-Gandhian type, of course modified to suit changed times. The Gandhian programme is sought to be broken up by the forces which were fed upon that very programme and still derive their strength from it. The difficulty in defending the programme against such assaults is therefore doubled.

The first clear call of this reaction was sounded when at Calcutta in November 1922, one of the Swarajist leaders addressing the Bengal Khilafat Conference said that our national work cannot be based on love but must be built upon hatred and retaliation. Hatred and weakness are the double key-notes of the new reaction. Our own failings—the failings of the party that stands by the programme of Mahatma Gandhi after his incarceration have given strength to the forces that seek to undermine it. It is not that there was no opposition when he was himself conducting the campaign. But he carried a spiritual atmosphere with him wherever he went and it frustrated all efforts at opposition. If any one questioned the validity of his doctrine of good-will to all and self-suffering, before the consuming power of his smile all such doubts evaporated. On the other hand now our failings give an added strength to such attacks. Against the Khadi ideal and the Charkha are set the Swadeshi ideal and the mills. The emphasis on spirituality and non-violence is deliberately sought to be removed. The nation is asked to turn to obstruction and other parliamentary action as against Non-Co-operation: demonstration, foreign propaganda and retaliation as against self-reliant construction and suffering. The natural consequences of this alteration of spirit and change of emphasis are bound to be quick and fatal. It is our clear duty to save ourselves before it is too late from lapsing back into pre-Gandhian political life and to keep the fire of Non-Co-operation and the spirit of revolution unquenched until the goal is reached. So long as we are convinced that the Gandhian programme is the only way out of the moral, economic, and political slavery that is killing us, our clear course is to stick to it and pursue in it. Whether we find immediate success or not, whether our progress be quick or slow, as long as we are certain that other paths cannot take us to emancipation or strength but

only to further weakness and dependence, we are bound to pursue the Gandhian programme. Whether Congress stands by and reiterates the programme of Non-Co-operation or not, our duty is plain and that is to stand by it. But it is our first duty to put the issue clearly before the Congress and get its answer even as Mahatmaji put it before the Congress at Calcutta in spite of the strongest opposition.

We gave permission to those who clamoured to go back to the Councils and complained that the Congress and its influence stood in the way of their plans. They are now free to make their experiments at obstruction as the Moderates experimented at co-operation. But the people would be committing a fatal blunder now in stopping their own work because the Dasites are trying obstruction. We should refuse to be parties to the Council programme of the Swarajists as to the Moderates' plan of co-operation. We should go on with our own programme without minding the new plans of Swarajists' obstruction as we did before without minding the plans of the co-operators. The constructive programme is the only way to salvation. Unless we build up popular organisation and shape and discipline ourselves into a strong, united and self-reliant people we cannot succeed in the peaceful revolution that we are conducting.

If we fulfil it we will automatically dissolve the Government which we are seeking to destroy. All other aggressive steps such as the final steps of Non-Co-operation or general civil disobedience depend on this preparation even as a student's examination depends on his previous studies. Even as real education depends on one's studies and not upon the examination, the real work is the constructive programme and not civil disobedience or any other of the final stages of the campaign which will follow as a natural consequence of resistance to the will of a nation that has attained strength. For carrying on this work of construction the political and spiritual background of Gandhian Non-Co-operation is absolutely essential. Construction by co-operation will push the day of emancipation further and further away. Construction by obstruction is a futile idea. To feed the nation on hopes of freedom from work of any sort in the Councils is fatal to constructive effort and the development of the will to suffer which are essential for the Gandhian revolution.

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America's Message For India

(By Brian Padraic O'Seainin)

To readers of American news and patrons of American movies in the far East it must seem that the United States is the theatre for life, presented as a violent and melodramatic spectacle! And this impression seems justified by the criminal statistics of our nation. Our gunmen are as famous as our pugilists.

The fact is that Americans, speaking in general, have never attained that deep-seated reverence for peaceful customs which characterizes old and historic races. The history of the American people has been a succession of incredible adventures of revolts, wanderings and conquests. They are still a young people. And as if the native air were not exciting enough, for a century or more, the adventurous millions and the criminal thousands of all the world have come to these shores. It is no wonder that the melting-pot bubbles!

However there is a simple explanation of all this violence. It is the exuberance of youth, the rush of a creative race seizing and mastering the hidden forces of nature, the furor of a people intoxicated with its own achievements, which in truth are remarkable. Also it is certain that underneath the violence of the surface, there is in the States a deep, steady current of interest in the life of the Spirit. India remembers how wonderful was the reception accorded to Vivekananda when he came, bringing the abstract monistic Vedanta philosophy to America. New York was the birth-place of the Vedanta Society and before that, of the Theosophical Society. The writer has seen a great audience gather in the stately Town Hall there of a Sunday morning to listen to B. P. Wadia of Bombay delivering a spiritual message. He has seen in a smaller hall a well-dressed crowd, jammed in masses, stand for two hours to listen to Mr. Wadia developing his profound interpretation of the Gita. And three minutes walk from the same place he has seen the punctured and shattered glass, the bullet holes made by whistling shot in a battle between bandits and police!

Let us admit at once that Americans are playing with occult forces, brought down into the material plane prematurely. The woes of Europe and of the Occident in general can be explained by understanding that unless the wisdom-status of a race is on a parity with its discoveries in the laboratory, the powers of science falling into the hands of undeveloped souls will bring trouble upon the people. Bombing planes, submarines, modern chemical warfare, the chemistry of food-adulteration, the poisonous power of the cheap press and movie, hypnotism and suggestion as embodied in war propaganda and salesmanship—all these are the modern use of formerly occult knowledge. Was it not perhaps a perception of this fact which was embodied in the ancient idea of caste—the conception of knowledge as the sacred privilege of those who were developed spiritually as well as intellectually? Certain it is that America is now flooded with knowledge, formerly deemed occult. Salesmen are openly taught the principles of suggestion and all classes have learnt about the dangerous and hypnotic power of the press.

During the war, the British propagandists slipped into control of the organs of government and of the press, and through mass propaganda hypnotised the United States! Only the Pacifists and the Irish managed to keep awake. *See Kipling's Kim* (by repeating the multiplication table, as it were!). The country is now recovering from its war effort and wondering what it was all about and why it happened.

There is a message for India in all of America's experience. It is mainly a message of avoidance; and that warning is embodied most perfectly in Mr. Gandhi's attitude. India cannot swallow Western civilization whole—and exist thereafter as a spiritual force. She would be poisoned, and I fear is being poisoned to some extent now by our patent foods, patent medicines, cheap movies and shoddy Occidental dress. I am a European and I make bold to assert that the Occident has noble gifts for India, but these gifts will not necessarily be found among the wares of the travelling salesman who visit the Aryan fatherland. Beware of those Greeks who come bringing gifts! Young men of India, do not poison your blood—the sacred gift of your race, with patent medicines and patent foods. Do not let your native crafts languish while you introduce into your country the twin curses of the factory and the slum. Seek the open air, the forest, the ashram, the playing-field, and there, clad in your native cloth build up a body equal to the work that the soul requires of it. Mr. Gandhi's spiritual intuition revealed to him the vast seduction that the Occident was exercising over India. He put his whole soul into a great trumpet—last of all, "aroused India from her sleep of centuries." There are hundreds of thousands of Americans who, revering India on account of her ancient fame, would be bitterly disappointed should she exchange her native Khaddar for the smart suit of the travelling salesman, or give up the thoughts of the Rishis for the cosmopolitan patter of the streets India, we are on our way—the young souls of America—the Coming Race. We will be at the rendezvous with the ancient salutations and we expect to meet you there. Do not yield to the temptations which we are putting behind us here in the West. We know you will not. We know that having slumbered you are awake.

America has gifts of her own for India, and the Ideal American all over the land is in revolt against the Golden Calf and the Sign of the Dollar. We will yet put the Calf where he belongs and we will take down the Sign of the Dollar from its high place. We too in our young life as a nation have a tradition of idealism. If you would know some of the spiritual leaders of the future America, take down our Thoreau, Emerson and Whitman. In them you will find the Aryan idealism. Then read on into our modern note of revolt against materialism.

Young India, old India, land of the Rishis—the far West greets you! Your time is at hand. Hold true to the faith! The truths of our Aryan forefathers have circled the Globe. Watch for the Dawn!

India and Africa

(By C. F. Andrews)

To night we reach Aden and all the day long we have been making our way up the Gulf. The air that comes from the mountains of Arabia is fresh and cool. We are close to the passage where the two continents of Africa and Asia nearly meet, and all through the coming days we shall have Asia almost within sight on the one hand and Africa on the other. Every time that I have crossed the Indian Ocean, I have felt more deeply the intimate connexion which exists by Nature's own law and choice between India and Africa. Yet we are told to-day by arrogant and insolent voices, that India has no place in Africa at all, but must be excluded from Africa not only in the South but in the East.

"We have shut," says Major Grogan, in a well-known passage, "the front door from India into Africa at Durban; now we must shut also the back door into Africa at Mombasa." In equally insolent language, with a touch of blasphemy added, Lord Delamere has written from Kenya:—

"There is a wider aspect. Our concern for our homes in Kenya and the well-being of the native people does not blind us to the fact, that the *danger* (from the Indian) to the Empire and to Christianity is greater. If the East is permitted to penetrate Africa and the Trusteeship of the vast native population be transferred to other and alien hands, then gone is the dream of a series of Christian African States, created and linked together to the genius of British Colonisation. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa have all closed their doors to Indian immigration. All have seen the *danger*. To those on the spot, the menace is apparent. To those at home, it is vague and indefinite. For this reason we desire investigation here. To sum up:—

(i) Is England to be marked with the stain of betraying the African native to Eastern rule?

(ii) Is the young growth of Christianity and Western civilisation to be supplanted by Eastern creeds and superstitions?

(iii) Is the pioneer and the man who is "up against the wilderness", in spite of solemn pledges, to be made the sport of political opportunism? "*(The Italics are mine.)*"

I turn from this passage, filled with rancour and hate and malice and all uncharitableness, to the picture which I have ever kept fresh in my own mind of Mahatma Gandhi in his Ashram at Phoenix in South Africa. Let me draw it over again:—

We had been occupied all day at the store yard of dear Parsee Rustumji's shop, at 110 Field Street, Durban. From morning till afternoon, Mahatmaj had been overwhelmed with the burden of a thousand cares. The whole compound had been full of Tiffin women and children, who had come for help at the climax of the Passive Resistance struggle. He had soothed them by his words; he had ministered to them with his hands; he had prepared food

for them; he had taken their little babies one by one and nursed them while a smile had made his face beautiful and a tender light had shone from his eyes. I had watched the scene, while waiting to be of any service, and the thought had come again and again to me of the passage which I love best of all in the Gospel Story:—

"They brought young children to Christ, that he shall bless them. But the disciples rebuked those that brought them.

"But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased and said: Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a man be changed in heart and mind, and become as a little child, he shall in no wise enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

"And he took the little children up in his arms and laid his hands upon them, and blessed them."

It was even so,—with just such love and tenderness as that!—that I saw Mahatmajī, that morning, as he took the little children up in his arms and blessed them. I watched many a poor mother's face, coarsened by the hard evil life of the coolie "lines", break into tenderness, as Mahatmajī took her own little child and laid her own little baby in his arms and blessed it. Each mother went away radiant with joy.

As the day went on, I wondered how the strain could be kept up. There was no time, even to take food; and there was not a moment's rest.

Then, at last, Mahatma Gandhi told me to get ready to go to Phoenix by train from Durban Station, which was close at hand. We reached Phoenix just as the sun was beginning to decline. The station master, a European, was a friend, and welcomed Mahatmajī back after long absence. We reached first of all an Indian store on the way and the store keeper ran out to greet him. I noticed also that the Africans who were seated near the store were full of respect and almost reverence for the frail figure as he greeted them, bare-footed and bareheaded, with his home-spun peasant's garments. The scene, as we reached the brow of the hill, was one of indescribable beauty, and the peace of it entered into my heart, bringing back to me the vision of Shantiniketan itself.

I cannot tell a fragment of the story of that evening. As it grew dark, we sat there in the moonlight together. There was an African Christian woman who lived in the same compound with us and helped Mrs. Gandhi in household matters. Her face was worn, but it was lighted up with a smile as Mahatmajī drew near. Then Mr. Kallenbach came running up quickly, brimming over with fun, carrying a child in his arms. The mother of Mr. West was there and Mahatmajī greeted her with reverent regard. But the tiny children immediately laid their own claim to Mahatmajī, and he gave himself up to them with all his heart. A pale invalid Mahomedan boy claimed

his attention most, and obtained the most love in return. It was very evident how dear the sick child was to Mahatmajī. All through the evening the little one sat upon his knee and Mahatmajī would stoop tenderly to ask him whether he had pain. A Zulu girl came in from the Mission who was loved by all. So the evening wore on. In the silence of the night we sang our religious songs and prayed to our Father to bless all mankind. When I retired, after saying 'good night', my heart was very full and tears not of pain, but of joy, came to my eyes. There, in Africa, I had found Christ, whom I had sought in vain in the proud churches which refused to allow any one except 'White' men and women to cross their threshold. I sat for a long time in silence at the end of that day, and the Gospel scene came back to me so fresh with new meaning that I could almost picture Christ moving about in the Ashram, sitting with us at our evening meal and joining with us in our worship of the Father of all mankind.

I turn to Kenya, and my mind recalls an early morning on the Railway, when I met Lord Delamere face to face, as I got out of the train and walked along the platform. He stared at me with a cold gaze. He must have known who I was; for the Indians of the neighbourhood had come with a garland of flowers to greet me. I could see him standing near by and could divine his thoughts. Here are some of them now before me, written down—the words I have just quoted:—"There is a wider aspect", thus he writes,—"*Our concern for our homes in Kenya and the well-being of the native people does not blind us to the fact that the danger (from the Indian) to the Empire and to Christianity is greater. If the East is permitted to penetrate Africa, and the trusteeship of the vast native population be transferred to other and alien hands, then gone is the dream of a series of Christian African States..... Is England to be marked with the stain of betraying the African native to Eastern rule? Is the young growth of Christianity and Western civilisation to be supplanted by Eastern creeds and superstitions?*"

I come back from that cold scene of disdain on the Kenya Highlands, in the chill early morning, and love to dwell once more on the moonlight evening at Phoenix when Christ seemed so visibly present, not among the rich and mighty, not among the racially proud and arrogant, but in that family circle of the poor and lowly, with Mahatma Gandhi in the midst and the little children round him, and Kallenbach and the young Zulu mission girl, and the Kaffir housewife, who did the cooking for us, and Devadas and Manila and others.

Khadi Notes

Khadi in place of worsted cloth

Out of the letters received in reply to the questionnaire issued by this department regarding the economics of *Khadi* two have already been published in previous issues of this journal. Winter has set in. It would be fitting to publish one more, suitable to the occasion. It runs as follows:—

"I cannot give you figures of expenses on my clothing, asked by you, as I hardly keep any account of them. You will be satisfied, I think, if I prove that I have benefited by adopting *Khadi*.

"Once I had to visit a prominent gentleman carrying considerable influence with the government. A *Khadi* user generally likes to ask a person dressed in foreign clothes why he is not using *Khadi*. This gentleman, on the contrary, asked me why I was using *Khadi*. The following was the conversation which took place in a perfectly good spirit:—

"Q.—Well! you look like a wholehogger in respect of *Khadi*! Do you hope to achieve *Swaraj* by adopting this dress?

"A.—Sir, I am not a man of politics and might be unable on that account to describe to you the political aspect of *Khadi*, but being a merchant and a man with a family I hope to be able to explain to you its economical aspect.

"Q.—Yes, let me know with what object in view you have become a devotee of *Khadi*.

"A.—I shall describe my view-point by giving an instance. Even till the last winter, sir, I had to buy woollen cloth for my family, and it cost me heavily, but my people insisted on going in for it. Fortunately, this year, all of them, young and old, asked for *Khadi* only and so the whole family became *Khadi*-clad at a stroke. It required no special effort on my part to convince them of the advantages of their new effort. The advent of *Khadi* in the house put a stop to a number of undesirable wants and out of the savings effected I have been able to buy them some ornaments. Well, sir, I think that is a sufficient proof to show that neither I nor anybody else commits mistake in using *Khadi*.

"Hearing my reply the gentleman was greatly pleased and began to approve of my ideas.

"I think this will supply the information you have asked for."

The winter is on. To those who might like to try *Khadi* in place of flannel or other worsted cloth we would recommend Cutch and Kathiawar stuff. Cheap *Khadi* of various widths, and fine texture is now being manufactured in many parts of India, but that of 24"-30" width which is manufactured in Cutch and Kathiawar and which can take the place of woollen fabric, can hardly be had anywhere else. The Kathiawar *Khadi Karyalaya* of Amreli has asked this department to help it in disposing off its stock of such *Khadi*. A sample piece has also been sent to us. It is bleached and is 27"-28" wide. It is sold at nine annas a yard at Amreli office. Besides plain *Khadi* they have got a big stock of towels of double warp and weft, and a good stock of small square napkins. We have received samples of these too. The price per towel 1½ yards × 27" is 12 annas and that of a napkin is 4½ annas. Another offer for sale has been made

by the manager of the *Arabindo Tattva Pracharak sangha* of Bhdada, a village in Cutch. Samples have been received from there also. The width is 27" and a little upward and the price of this unbleached stuff at the office is 8 annas per yard.

Merchants or customers wishing to buy any of the above goods should communicate directly with the sellers. We advise them to see the samples for themselves and settle the prices beforehand. The Kathiawar *Khadi Karyalaya* of Amreli can also supply coloured *Khadi* for coating etc., dyed in indigenous colours according to the process prescribed by Dr. P. C. Roy. They manufacture also coloured carpets of thick texture for use on benches in the railway carriages.

Supply Depot

The spinners of Ahmedabad often complain of lack of silvers, arrangement for the repair of *Charkhas* and so on. Arrangements have therefore been made to keep silvers for sale at *Vankar Vidyarthi Ashram* in *Maganbhai's wadi* at Gheekanta, Ahmedabad. The spinning and weaving teacher Sjt. Datar will in his spare time attend to the repairing of *charkhas*, if approached personally or through post. Silvers made in *Satyagrahashram* will be available there between 2 to 4 P. M. at prices varying from 12 to 18 annas per lb. according to the quality of cotton and fineness of carding. If anybody wishes to supply silvers at a cheaper rate arrangement can be made to place them for sale at that Ashram.

The object in publishing such local news in this bulletin is to suggest that similar (or even better) arrangements might be made in every place. Just as a spinner is careful to use each and every one of his or her spare moments in spinning, the *Khadi* worker should be careful to see that each and every spinning wheel is kept working. Complaints are often received from Surat and Bombay that numerous *Charkhas* are lying idle for want of some trifling accessory. It can be easily conceived what the condition in other small and big towns might be. If a young man trained in all the different processes of *Khadi* is kept in every one of such places the payment made to him for his work would not be too much for the town. A number of workers are engaged in village propaganda with the object of making the villages self-sufficient at least in the matter of clothing, and, no doubt, they are laying the foundation of nation building; but there is no reason to think that there is no work to be done in towns. There are hundreds of people in towns longing for village life but unable to go back to villages owing to some circumstances or other. People with such a bent of mind always welcome the *charkha*. It is desirable to take up earnestly the work of setting up *charkhas* in every one of such homes by rendering all necessary help.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

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Notes

The upshot of the censure debate in the Madras Council leaves lines of reflection trailing behind. The Ministry was saved by the official bloc. Here are the figures as analysed by the President of the Council: The total number who attended the meeting was 118; of them, 108 persons voted, ten remaining neutral. 43 members voted for the motion and 65 against. All the 43 members who voted for were elected; of the 65 who voted against, 44 were elected members. As regards the 21 non-elected members, 5 were nominated officials, and 3 ex-officio members. Technically, the Ministry was saved by a majority of 22 votes. Even according to the strictest interpretation of constitutional doctrine, the Ministry had a majority of one. It is the undisputed right of Ministers to vote or pair in such motions, to hold otherwise will be riding pedantry to death. But it is obvious that no Ministry in the world can hope to carry on relying upon the basis of a majority of one. The Ministry was really saved by the official and nominated votes. In our judgment, there is or ought to be nothing startling in the discovery. We have always contended that that the Councils under the Reform Act are so constituted that the Swarajists' policy of "wrecking" them by obstruction is a pure illusion. The thing was absolutely obvious. Once the Europeans, the Landlords, the Zamindars, the special non-Moslem Communal seats are counted out of the Swarajist philosophy, what is there left? Nothing; the Government can throw in its weight and the weight of its nominated members and maintain any practically conceivable Ministry in existence. In Madras, it is the re-actionary faction known as "Justice" party that the Government has made use of. In the other provinces, it will be some other similar group. From the very nature of things, a powerful government is bound to have a certain number of supporters. The total strength of the Madras Council is a little above 120. Mr. Reddi who tabled the motion against the Ministry calculated the nominated members at 37 which is a little less than a third. It is a problem in elementary arithmetic to see that a power that is in control of a third of the whole voting strength is in a position to impose its view on a fraction of the remaining third. Imagine for a minute that Lord Willingdon elected to throw in his weight with the Counsellors of revolt, the Ministry would have fallen. Just now it is the ~~fact of power~~ that the Executive Government

fancies; tomorrow it may be Mr. Reddi. But in any event, the continuance in "power" or the fall therefrom does not depend on the elected members or the electorate. "Reform" or no "Reform" "Diarchy" or "Cabinet" Government, the only strength in Indian administration is the Governor, who himself derives his power from the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, who in their turn are the puppets of the Bureaucracy.

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The primary condition of Swarajist obstruction and wrecking having never existed, we can quite imagine disillusioned politicians claiming the credit of an historic exposure. We have already said that there is no exposure — the thing was there for the whole world to see. But grant that the dramatic sensationalism has lighted up a dark corner; even then the credit of it does not go to the Swarajists. It belongs to the discontented non-Brahmins and the disappointed Mussalmans — neither of whom are pledged to Swarajism. We do not know how much of politics there was in the Hindu opposition, and how much of the bitterness of disappointed place-hunters; as for the Mussalmans, they were frankly in the opposition because the Ministry had no room for a Mahomedan. The Swarajists counted a bare eight in the final reckoning; and till almost the last moment, weighty counsel was not wanting to suggest that they should remain neutral. The particular cry with which the Swarajists went into the country has died on their lips. What has happened in Madras will happen elsewhere. Obstruction bursting forth into the flower of certification and Civil Disobedience has found its place in the limbo of forgotten political panaceas. We would not throw a stone at the heretics for unfulfilled promises. Indian politics is fraught at every turn with failures. But there is no use pretending that failure is success.

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Observe the next item in the demoralisation and the descent from the magnificent expectation of the falling of the walls of bureaucratic Jericho. The leader of the Swaraj Party in the Madras Council has given notice of a resolution asking the Government to withdraw from the British Empire Exhibition. The boycotting of the British Empire Exhibition is an excellent thing. Logically, there are three ways of bringing it about — see there are four. First: Responsive

co-operation, such as the tabling of a resolution; second: Swarajism—obstruction to the Government to the point of paralysis and the launching of civil disobedience; third: the Non-co-operator's way of appealing to the exhibitors and to the people, to the end of their being strong, self-reliant, and self-respecting enough to boycott the Exhibition; fourth: Violence: Violence needs no word. By the Swarajist hypothesis, Non-co-operation is a thing of futility; nobody will listen to you if you make appeal to patriotism, suffering and the spirit of sacrifice. But what happens to the prescription of "wrecking"? It is dismissed without a thought. We promptly find the Madras Swarajists falling back into responsive co-operation. Responsive co-operation is a perfectly intelligible and honourable policy, and we shall not quarrel with anybody for adopting that formula of neo-Moderatism. But we suggest with all respect that the Swarajists, professed Non-co-operators, have by the logic and history of their policy, no right to go about moving resolutions that the Government should do this thing or that, feeble inconsequences, which have in them neither the promise nor the fact of Swaraj. It was only a short while ago that Pandit Motilal Nehru declared that Swarajists would refuse, by the implication of their negative policy to support even a motion asking for the release of Mr. Gandhi. We do not hold the Pandit by an old promise—because he claims the right to change his policy minute by minute, if need be. But when a revolutionary change comes about, the contrast being marked by refusal to vote for the release of Mr. Gandhi at the one end and the request of the Swaraj party in a province for the withdrawal of the Government from the Empire Exhibition, the country has the right to be notified of the change and the reasons for the change.

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A brief resume of Mr. Vallabhbhai's presidential address at the Borsad Taluka Conference which was delivered *ex tempore* is published elsewhere under the caption "The Outlaws of Borsad." This caption is significant for more reasons than one. The acute situation in Borsad Taluka of Kaira District is occasioned by the outlaws of Borsad; the Government in muleting the innocent people of the Taluka is no better than outlaws; the punitive police imposed on the Taluka are the veritable outlaws in Borsad to-day—they are behaving worse than the original outlaws; and the latest outlaws are the Non-co-operators who under the leadership of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel have invaded the Taluka to protect it from all the other outlaws. Mr. Vallabhbhai presided at the Taluka Conference at Borsad on Sunday last, which met to consider the grave situation that has arisen out of the impost of Rs. 240,000 on account of the punitive police imposed on the people of the whole Taluka. The whole people—all adult population—with a few exceptions (some Government servants) has been sentenced, so to say, unheard, to pay a fine of Rs. 2-7-0 per head. The Conference resolved that the fine was unwarranted and oppressive, and advised the people not to pay it, and peacefully undergo all suffering consequent thereto.

The White Empire

(By O. F. Andrews)

Quietly and at leisure, on this huge steamer with very few passengers on board, I have been thinking out the problems that confront us in India, and I shall try to fulfil my promise to Mahatma Gandhi better than in the past by writing regularly to *Young India*—the paper which he loved so much, and over which he took such care amid all his countless journeys. As each point comes clear to me, I shall try to write it down. Just now, I have had in my mind the temptations, which are being offered to India, to sell her own soul, and to take part in a 'White Empire'. There are three theories which are being applied to India by the masters and the rulers of this Empire, with the determination, in their heart of hearts, to keep it 'White'—whatever words about 'equality' and 'self-determination' and 'equal partnership' their lips may utter. I shall call these three theories, (i) the 'bullying' theory, (ii) the 'good boy' theory, and (iii) the 'jackal' theory. In what follows I shall explain my terms:—

(i) More and more we are likely to hear from the political authorities in England speeches of the same threatening tone as that brilliant, but altogether impossible improvisation by Mr. Lloyd George as Premier, when he referred to the perpetual need of a British steel frame for India, and warned Indians that the privileges of Government, which had been given, might be taken away, unless a proper attitude of meekness were observed. This is what I would call the 'bullying' theory of Empire. It clearly contemplates a 'White Empire' to the end of the chapter. India must always be in subordination.

At the Imperial Conference, everything was done to keep this idea of inferiority out of sight, though every one knew it was there. It was only the speech of Mr. Fitzgerald of the Irish Free State which laid bare the truth, that the White Empire principle was still in operation. He said, in so many words: "We have been kept in an inferior position ourselves so long, that we understand what it all means."

I have been reading, while on board, some English newspapers and reviews. It is clear to me, that this 'bullying' attitude towards India is very strong to-day. Mr. Sastri comes in for the brunt of the attack. If some resolute action is not taken soon—it is said repeatedly—India will again get out of hand, as she did when Mr. Gandhi and the Non-co-operators boycotted the Prince of Wales. The Royal Family must never suffer such insult again; and the boycott of British goods and the British Empire Exhibition must immediately be stopped.

It is very interesting and instructive to me to find, that a very large section of the educated public in England, who have the conservative temperament, including many leading politicians, have not yet discovered, that this 'bullying' attitude is now completely out of date. They do not realise how fast things have been moving in India, and what an

immense difference these last three years have made in Indian affairs, owing to the Non-co-operation Movement.

(ii) Then, secondly, there is what I might venture to call the 'good boy' theory of the 'White Empire'. It is the attitude of perpetual benevolent patronage. It carries with it, wherever it goes, the air of the Lady Bountiful, who expects unending gratitude for benefits endlessly received. I have ventured to call it the 'good boy' attitude, because it always reminds me of the nursery rhyme, which every English child learns from the picture book in infancy :—

Little Jack Horner
Sat in the corner,
Eating his Christmas pie.
He put in his thumb,
And pulled out a plum
And said: "What a good boy am I!"

The plumes, which are to be pulled out of this 'Christmas Pie' are titles, Rai Bahadurships, emoluments, offices, honours, etc. If only the leaders in India will always be satisfied with these 'plums of office, which are enough to go all round, then how smoothly everything might go on! There would be eternal gratitude on the one hand, and eternal benevolence on the other. What more could you want? Here again, it is strange to find how little even the Liberals in England realise, that the 'good boy' theory of Empire is nearly as dead as Queen Anne, as far as India is concerned. It has amazed me to find such an undoubted Liberal as the new Editor of the 'Review of Reviews' writing seriously about India as follows:—

"The Maharajah of Alwar spoke admirably at the opening sitting of the Imperial Conference. "We assemble" the Maharajah said, "round the hub of the Empire, as members of the family of nations, all united in one cause,—the uplifting of the British Empire; all cemented by one force,—the British crown."

It is strange indeed, that an able writer and publicist like Mr. Wickham Steed, has not yet found out how completely antiquarian in India such language is; how it belongs to a past generation, and is only kept up, for flattery's sake, by those Indian States, that are still themselves under feudatory rule.

(iii) A far blunter and therefore more refreshing exposition of the Imperial relationship between India and Great Britain as members of a "White Empire" has recently been put forward by a European paper published in Africa. Unfortunately, I have lost the extract itself, and cannot give the name of the paper and the author; but the substance of the article, once read, could not easily be forgotten. The writer, who is an out and out White Imperialist, appealed to the duplicity of India. He made a bid for the selfish interest which India was assumed to have in her own self-preservation. India should be thankful (so it was said) that she was in a position of dependence on

Great Britain. Owing to that good fortune she was able to fasten herself on to the greatest power in the world and get all the benefit of British Imperial protection. Compare, it was said, India with China. India was clinging on to the British Empire, therefore India was saved from revolution. But China was clinging on to nothing. Therefore China was in a state of anarchy.

The writer then went on, from this, to put forward what I might call the 'jackal' theory of Empire. He assumed, that the British Colonists, and the British Colonists only, had themselves, by their own courage and bravery, won the whole Empire and done that pioneer work which was all important. The British Colonists, therefore, must obviously possess the land. The British Lion must have the spoils. It was absurd to think of anything else. The Kenya Highlands were one of the spoils of Empire. They had to go to the British. But if India were sufficiently docile and would stop all wicked agitation and seditious propaganda, and would follow in the steps of the British Lion, then, as a reward, India might get the pickings. India might pick the bones which the lordly British Lion has not thought it worth while to devour. This would mean, of course (so the writer said) that the Indian must give up for ever any idea of social equality or political equality with the white man. Such a thing as equality could never by any possibility be granted. Indians must confine themselves to petty trade and business which are hardly fit for the dignity of the superior White man in Africa. Then and then only, to put it quite bluntly, could anything come to Indian Colonists at the hands of the White Colonists. To repeat the simile used, the jackal *always* follows the lion: it never walks by the lion's side. It waits till the lion has finished the meal, before it takes its own share. Even so Indians might receive some Crown grants of land in the Lowlands of Kenya, after the Highlands had been marked off for the White man. It is clear again, that according to this theory, the British Empire remains a White Empire through and through.

I have found everywhere—even in South Africa itself—a little group of idealists, who detest all these different theories of 'White Empire' as strongly as Indians do themselves. It is to these that Mahatma Gandhi has appealed openly in his public papers again and again. They are to be found in every nation and in every climate. They are the world's conscience—the beating heart of all humanity, which throbs with the suffering of the world. The movement for Indian independence has found its home among them. In the end the truth of the ideal will prevail; for it is founded in God's will.

S. S. Mooltan

Nov. 15

Wanted

Agents for *Young India* in all the principal places of India. Full particulars about terms can be had on application from:

Manager, *Young India*,

Ahmedabad.

Young India

6-12-23

Questions Answered

"What is the meaning of *Back to Nagpur*?" the editor of the *Voice of India* asked me. I answered the question as follows, which has already appeared in the *Voice*:—

"By '*Back to Nagpur*' I mean that we should keep the Non-co-operation programme as settled at Nagpur unaltered.

The triple boycott should be the policy of the Congress, though parts of the programme may be in abeyance so far as active propaganda is concerned. Nothing should be done contrary to the implications of the triple boycott, though we might not be doing active propaganda.

My view is that constructive work should be concentrated upon and also that it should be done as part of, and in view of the fulfilment of the Non-co-operation programme. This is what we did after the Nagpur Congress and we should try to do it again."

Mr. Belgamwalla is one of the most sincere of Congressmen and an earnest worker. He has his heart in Khadi which is the life-blood of the movement. His doubts deserve the greatest consideration. After my speech at the Bilapur Conference, he sent me a number of queries which I have tried to answer in this article.

It seemed an easy thing for the Congress to grant "permission" to those who sought to go to the Councils. Indeed, to many generous minds, my attitude of obstinate opposition was understandable. The truth is and it must be evident now to all, that the matter cannot stop at this concession. The Swaraj Party goes to the Councils not to achieve anything there individually. Their whole plan depends on the support of the Congress behind them. They can carry no weight or influence there except as representatives of and commanding the active support of the Congress. Just as their success at the polls depended on their invocation of the name of Congress and their connection with Mahatma Gandhi and Non-co-operation, their prestige and influence inside the Councils depends on the continued support which the Congress gives them. The Swaraj Party cannot rest content with the mere permission given by the Congress. The next logical step is for them to seek a living connection with the Congress. To get this explicitly or by implication they must strive. Without that stream of life, they must suffer from anaemia and wither away. They cannot rest on mere permission. They must get the Congress to adopt them as their representatives in the Councils, or they must appeal over the head of the Congress to the people. For this last alternative they must attack the

prestige and influence of the Congress. There is no third course really open. The Congress on the other hand must choose between dissociation from the Government Councils and going back to a Parliamentary programme.

It was because all this was clear as day-light that I opposed the lifting of the ban on the Councils. The permissive resolution might have appeared innocuous, but it was bound to lead to further and further identification of the Congress with work inside the Councils.

If the Congress cares to keep Non-co-operation as a living ideal before the nation, the triple boycott must continue to be the Congress creed. Whether we now do active propaganda or not in furtherance thereof, the Congress cannot adopt measures negating any of these fundamental items of the programme of Non-co-operation. The Congress may not carry on a fresh campaign now by calling upon lawyers and students to withdraw from Government Courts and Colleges, but it will be unthinkable for the Congress to encourage or support litigation or defence in prosecutions. It would be ridiculous and wrong to make grants to deserving cases for education in Government Colleges simply because we have suspended active propaganda for the boycott of Government education. No less fatal to the plan and campaign of Non-co-operation would be to yield to the temptation of running support to the Congress members in the Councils and seeking assistance from them. Let us remember that camouflage cannot hide or protect us in a life and death struggle based on non-violence and truth. We must decide to have Non-co-operation or to put it aside, and act one way or the other. We cannot have it both ways.

So far as I am concerned, of two things I am certain. We can never hope to get the full measure of freedom that we want, as a result of propaganda or parliamentary action of any kind. I know that what we want is Swaraj and nothing less. I know that anything less than fullest freedom to manage our own affairs means only extra taxes, greater poverty, misery and helplessness, though with every show of self-Government. We must seek a way to wrest freedom in the fullest sense from this Government. This can only be by the peaceful negation of co-operation, sacrificing every temporary advantage therefrom, thereby rendering the present system of Government impossible. All other methods, even if not absolutely futile, can lead only to something very short of freedom the Congress wants and hence must be rejected as useless.

The second thing I am convinced of is that we can have true Swaraj only if we successfully undergo the privations and the discipline of this peaceful revolution we have undertaken. If we should be successful in getting the privilege of ruling ourselves without fulfilling this programme of complete self-reliance, we

should find ourselves unable to discharge our responsibilities. At best we can only have the present misrule in another form. If people are convinced of these two truths they can have no difficulty in seeing why I hold so hard to the programme initiated by Mahatmaji. I cannot agree with those who believe that the people cannot rise to the heights of that programme which, they therefore hold should now be abandoned. For one thing I have faith in the people, and for another, I see no good in adopting any other plan which may be more agreeable to a people incapable of making sacrifices or organising itself, but which can never lead to the real freedom that is our goal.

I hold that the Council programme of the Swarajists is wholly inconsistent with the programme of Non-co-operation. They cannot be blended together. The revolution of thought that we seek to achieve is impossible if at the same time we keep the people engaged in Parliamentary activities in the Councils. If we allow the Council programme to take possession of the Congress, the speedy dissolution of the Non-co-operation programme is a certainty. The two cannot thrive together in the same organisation. If we desire to keep to the path of Non-co-operation as the only way leading to our goal, we should avoid this fatal trap. It does not matter if those who believe in the Council programme sit in the Councils, so long as the Congress does not allow itself to be dragged into it consciously or unconsciously. Every one must be free to make experiments. But if the experiment entirely depends on the support and identification of the Congress with it, the latter must make its choice and the experiment should be abandoned. We cannot permit the adoption of the course endangering the Congress policy and programme. It would be only individual weakness for me to abandon my post in the fight for freedom, on the ground that it is prolonged beyond my endurance. But on that ground to take the whole nation into a futile path would be positively wrong.

If we are convinced that a certain course is right and also that it is the only course open, there is no way for a reasonable person but to stick to it, whether we should attain our goal in a year or have to wait for ten years. The only issue is whether we want real freedom or anything else. Mr. Belgamwalla asked me some other questions. Why should we not make Congress a federation of groups and organise Non-co-operators into a separate league? Yes, if the Congress throws out Non-co-operation. We cannot form parties outside the National Assembly unless compelled to do it. After the Liberal rout, would you not invite the Liberals to the Congress and give them a panel on the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee in proportion to membership? Coalition executives are ever inefficient. Coalitions cannot work except on the highest common factor principle. The highest common factor between Liberals and the Congress cannot certainly be Non-co-operation, not even, as far as I can see, exclusive Khaddar, Mill-Swadeshi and demonstrations would be the high-water-mark of joint action.

C. R.

The Outlaws of Borsad

(Mr. Vallabhbhai's Address)

Congress or Councils?

We have to consider first which is to be our saviour, the Congress or the Councils; which shall we fix our attention on with hopeful interest, the Congress or the Councils? I may tell you that you need not depend on the handful of educated men who claim to represent you, and to deliver you from the bondage of another handful that governs three hundred million people as so many sheep. A band of such educated people used to play chess with the bureaucracy on a board arranged by the latter according to its own will. You have removed that band and placed another instead. But they have gone in not professing to gain anything from, but to destroy, the Councils. The Congress does not believe that they can do it, but has allowed such of them to go in as insisted. We are not concerned with whether they break them or not. Let us be sure that the Councils cannot help us. You cannot ride two horses at a time. Let us decide before going to the field of battle which we shall ride. Do not hope to get the impost removed through the Council. The Council will sit two months hence. If you tell the Government that you do not want to pay the fine, you will get into direct touch with them. That direct touch is the horse you will ride and not the horse of the Council.

Mahatmaji's Way

Mahatmaji showed us the right way—viz. Non-co-operation. You know that we ourselves are responsible for this impost of Rs. 240,000, the Policemen are our men, the men who have reported to Government that you have harboured dacoits and outlaws are our men, even the present Collector is our man, and the men who will come to realise the fine will also be our men. These men cannot non-co-operate for sheer selfishness. Let us then non-co-operate. You can easily do so, you can easily spin your own yarn and weave your own cloth, produce your own food, and refuse to provide Government the wherewithal to pay its Collectors and Commissioners. Immediately you have done so, these people will have ceased to tyrannise over us, our famines will cease, and the dacoities also will cease.

Inquiry Committee's Report

Immediately after the Delhi Congress the Provincial Committee came to know of the Government action in this matter, and deputed Mohanlal Pandya and Ravishankar to investigate it, and to report as to who were the outlaws, why they have turned outlaws, what sort of crimes they commit, who are their victims, how the police tackles the situation, whether the people like the punitive police, whether they are prepared to pay the impost. They went about from village to village and have submitted their report. It seems from their report that an outlaw named Babar made his appearance in Golel in 1917. He indulged in petty crimes in the beginning. When the Government fails to detect crime or imposes on a wrongdoer punishment out of proportion to his crime the man turns into a brute. Babar has been at large all these years, and has committed numerous crimes.

Instead of arresting him, the police sent panicky reports against the people and have tried to make out that they are guilty of complicity in his crimes. On these reports Government imposed punitive police on two villages, Khadana and Jogan two years ago, and ordered the cost to be realised from a poll tax on Patanwadias and Dhralas, the communities alleged to be guilty of complicity. But you know how entirely useless was the police. In Jogan itself Babar murdered a man named Shibhai in broad daylight. The police could have caught him there and then, but they rested content with alleging that people do not give information against the outlaw. In Golel the outlaw assaulted the punitive police. The people saw the District Magistrate and said they could not pay the fine. The Mamlatdar also reported that it was impossible to realise fine from people who, not being contumacious, were too poor to pay it. This he said in his letter P. O. L. 245 dated Borsad 16th February in which he protests against the imposition of any further burden. "No villager," he said, "seems willing for the continuance of the additional police in the villages." The District Superintendent of Police disagreed with this Mamlatdar—the man on the spot—and insisted that the impost should be continued. His reasons were that Babar and his gang were still at large, that though Babar killed Shibhai in broad day-light no evidence was forthcoming! What are the policemen in the village doing? How are the people to furnish evidence, if the police are impotent to do so? The third reason is that Khadana Patanwadias never give information about outlaws, that they on the contrary shelter them and give them food and drink, and so on. One of the reasons is that some of the Khadana Patanwadias would join Babar's gang were it not for the check imposed by the special police. The funniest part of the affair is that the Collector disagreed, in turn, with this Superintendent of Police, and he reported entirely differently to the Commissioner. His letter too is in my possession. He was against the continuation of the additional police in either of the villages because "the additional police are useless to prevent" Babar's being sheltered in the villages, but he felt that there was a general increase of crime in the whole of the Taluka, and "every village is directly or indirectly more or less responsible for the general breakdown of order," and so he suggested that some additional force may be imposed on the whole Taluka as may be proposed by him after consultation with the D. S. P. It seems that consultation is at the back of the impost. I may also add that the Collector admitted that the people do not give information or shelter the miscreants "from fear or from selfish desire to save themselves immediate trouble". The Commissioner disagreed with the Collector and the Mamlatdar; he felt that the superintendent had given solid reasons for the continuance of the police in the two villages for another year and issued orders accordingly. That was in June. How all of a sudden in October Government resolved to impose the police on the whole Taluka passes comprehension. I have not those communications in my possession. But I am sure

about my facts. Every one I have met has told me what has happened. There is a Mussalman outlaw abroad named Alia. When Babar could not be got hold of, the police made friends with this new genius, sought to get rid of an outlaw with the help of an outlaw, and provided him with arms and ammunition. Oh the pity and the shame of it! The Government ceased to rule, making room for the outlaw. Who is going to punish the Government for having leagued with this outlaw? God alone. Government surely know what a number of murders and dacoities this Alia has committed, having been armed by the Government itself. No doubt its intention was to catch Babar through Alia, but how are the people to know? I hold the Government responsible for all the misdeeds of that miscreant Alia.

Another thing to be noted is that Alia himself was not an outlaw originally. He had murdered a Borsad Vakil in broad day-light, just a stone's throw from the police station. But the police could not lay hands on him. Surely any one who can thus see through the impotence of Government, and when later he is made fiends of, he would turn an outlaw.

The Government Case

The only reason assigned by Government for punishing a whole people is that they do not provide information or evidence. Let us see how far this is true. Babar has to his credit 22 murders. Not one of them was a rich man. He has not murdered his victims for the mere fun of it. He murdered them as they were the informants. If after 22 such informants were murdered, the Government seriously argues that the people do not give information, shall we ask how many policemen were murdered? An informant was crucified to a tree by Babar. How many would Government have to suffer the fate of this informant? An informant's job is no easy job then. A first class magistrate was waylaid by an outlaw on his way from Wasad to Borsad. The outlaw gave a smack on his face, and wrested his rifle from his hands. The poor fellow had to represent that he was an ordinary clerk and not a magistrate, to escape with his life. A government with such a magistracy has no title to exist, has surely no title to punish a people.

Bankruptcy

Alls these things go to show that the Government knows that the people are innocent. But the Government has no money. It still wants to hold its head erect before the native states in the vicinity. Those states have imposed on their villages additional police, to protect them from these very outlaws, but they have not taxed their subjects. Government must appease these states and impose the police, but money it must find out of the people's pockets. Well, if it wants money, let it beg of us. But why should they cast a slur on our name, why should they asperses our behaviour, treat us as criminals and extort the cost of the police as fine?

The Exemptions

What then should you do? I see that there are some exceptions. Those who can be charged with the utmost complicity in the crimes are exempted—viz. the Government servants. My information is that every petty village officer knows the whereabouts of these outlaws, but is afraid of them. We may note that even the new M. L. C. is not exempt from the fine. What a curious commentary on the Government which thought our Reception Committee Chairman good enough to be elected to the Council, but not good enough to be exempt from fine!

Fight Then

Let us then make up our minds. Do not for a moment think that you are fighting for the paltry amount of Rs.2-7-0. If you do so, the sooner you pay the fine the better. You are fined because of complicity in crime, because you shelter the outlaws, because you are their friends. I ask you to fight only if you are convinced that no power on earth has the right thus to impugn your character. Let us plainly tell the Government that we are honourable men of character, we shall not sign certificates of our bad behaviour with our own hands. We refuse to pay the fine. You might plunder us if you like, like the outlaws, and realise the fine. That is Mahatmaji's way. Fight the fight then like his men—his men do not need a stick or a *dharia*, they need brave backs to receive blows. Do not be tempted into anger, do not be tempted into violence, for the tempter will be there. Now then I ask you if you are prepared to fight raise your hands. (*Up went all the hands.*)

One thing more. Complaints have reached me that the punitive police is oppressing you, that they are plundering your fodder, that they have not even hesitated to molest our sisters. A Government servant told Mr. Tyebji Yesterday that steps are immediately taken whenever such complaints come; the people should only put in complaints. I ask you not to put in such complaints. The police is imposed to prevent *swolum*, and you have to complain against their own *swolum*! We shall not recognise this police. Let us have our own Volunteer Corps. I ask you to raise a corps from amongst you. I ask young men to give their names to Durbar Sahab Gopaldas.

I appeal to all such present here, as have ever helped the dacoits in any way, to realise that it is a hateful thing. I ask them to give up that nefarious business. I ask *Dharalas* amongst you to give up drink. I may warn you that Government thinks of removing you from the District, and penning you up in a criminal settlement. That will be a sorry plight indeed. I ask you each and all to reform yourself, and let not a whole people suffer for the misdeeds of a few ruffians.

Khadi Notes

Result of a Concession

People have already begun to take advantage of the concession in weaving rates announced in a previous issue. Some public as well as private weaving institutions have welcomed the scheme.

If the spinners learn to know the defects of their own yarn and take care to avoid them in future it will be as easy to weave it as mill yarn; the weaving charges will become cheaper; and the concession offered produce full results.

A suggestion was made in the bulletin referring to concession rates, viz. hanks should be prepared having five small leas of 100 threads each. It is being complained in this connection that many a female spinner does not know how to count. In such cases it will be sufficient if the number of threads in a lea is only kept approximately correct. The best way would be for the yarn to be taken out on a reel after finishing every ten slivers.

Besides this, the following points should be brought to the notice of every spinner by the weaving institution that handles the yarn:—

(1) The yarn should be sprayed with water without fail just after reeling it; (2) The hanks when free of moisture should be folded and compressed by twisting them up into a sort of knot; (3) the thread should be joined properly and well, when it happens to break while spinning; (4) the yarn should be spun in the right way; that is to say, it should not be spun by drawing first and twisting afterwards, but by drawing and twisting simultaneously.

Other help

People while sending their yarn for being woven complain about the difficulties experienced in getting slivers and cotton, the high rates that have to be paid, and the amount of dirt in cotton as well as slivers—difficulties which make a beginner almost feel disgusted with the art and oblige him to give it up. There are other people who ask for an arrangement to be made for repairing spinning wheels, gins, etc. free of charge; while others asking for the same are ready to pay for the expenses. It would be well if something could be done to meet these requirements.

A fresh Offer

An Ahmedabad gentleman has sent a sum of money to be devoted to this purpose, which we have decided to use for the benefit of Ahmedabad spinners.

One anna per pound on the sale of slivers and two annas per pound on cotton will be refunded to such customers as buy these things for themselves from the supply depot referred to in a previous issue. The idea in returning more on cotton than on slivers is to encourage spinners to card their own cotton. By doing so, the spinners can get cheaper as well as better slivers.

From a Corner of the Punjab

A Punjab student, trained in Khadi Vidyalaya, Saharnaj, writes from Kotla Surajmal (Jullunder District).

"I am working here with two or three other workers. The wives and daughters of the farmers of this place are fond of weavings; so they learn carding too, with interest. About 40 ladies of this village, which has about 50 homes in it, have learnt carding with a bow, and making slivers."

We would like to address a few words to spinners who experience difficulty in obtaining alivers. It is not too much to hope that spinners in different parts of the country who have to depend on others for alivers will also try to learn carding, after knowing that the Punjab farmer's daughters and wives can spare time for learning carding and making their own alivers even while engaged in spinning and weaving their own cloth.

A Word about Carding

The Manager of the *Dakshinamurthi Vidyarthibhawan Bhavanagar*, writes:—

"We card our own cotton. But some of the students suspect that carding generates some sort of disease. We have to use *Mathia* cotton of the last year. Will you please let us know if there is any particular defect in this variety of cotton? It would be better if my doubt is removed through the bulletin so that others feeling the same doubt might also take advantage of it."

So far there has been no case within our knowledge of any person having contracted any disease through carding although our students and teachers have been working for full eight hours every day during the one month or so that is required to complete the carding course. No doubt it is a laborious task, and one is likely to feel tired after work. But if one takes nourishing food while undergoing this course he would in our opinion positively gain in health and strength and the work will not be felt to be difficult at all.

The breathing in of particles of bad and dirty cotton would perhaps be harmful, but if carding is done properly and in a place protected from a draft but well-ventilated, the particles will not be inhaled. Even when carding is done for long periods at a stretch, if one breathes only through the nose and covers his mouth and nostrils with a piece of cloth as a professional carder does, there will be no possibility of any harm. Cotton full of dirt and dry leaves should be well dried in the sun and thrashed with a stick before carding. It is just possible that carding of the cotton taken out of mattresses used for patients suffering from infectious diseases might be harmful. But there is no reason to fear any such thing if carding is done with cotton coming direct from the field. Some of our students have practised carding continuously for even four or five months but no disease resulted therefrom.

Acknowledgement

A gentleman from Prome (Burma) who does not desire to publish his name has sent us for the All India Khadi Department, a sum of five hundred rupees, collected by him for *Charkha* on the *Charkha Dwadashi* day. We acknowledge the receipt of the sum with thanks. He had determined to collect money sufficient for supplying a hundred *charkhas* on that day, calculating the cost of a *charkha* at five rupees. Some people gave him money for one *charkha*, some for two, some for four, while one gentleman gave him money enough for 40 wheels. The list of contributors has also been supplied to us, but we withhold it from publication for want of space.

The meaning of "Charkha Dwadashi"

The birthday of Mahatma is generally known by the above name. The gentleman who collected on that day this sum referred to above has sent us his programme for that day. It would not be irrelevant to publish the important portion of his letter here. It runs as follows:—

"For the last few days I had been thinking of how best to observe the birthday of *Bapu*. I made up my mind to collect money for *charkha* propaganda and to devote the whole day to spinning or carding at the same time consecrating the mind to the Almighty. I felt that I should devote all my time to *charkha*, as I saw in it the observance of truth, non-violence, celibacy, Hindu-Muslim unity and anti-untouchability to a certain extent. But as there was some urgent business to be attended to at my master's shop, I did not ask for a holiday that day. I subdued my desire thinking that doing one's duty would certainly please *Bapu*. I did not ask for leave therefore for the whole day.

"I got up before four in the morning, chanted a few hymns and prayed for some time. Then I went to the bank of the *Irawadi* (*Ganla*). It was raining at the time gently. A Burmese lady was going on the road to catch a steamer. She was walking fast leading a child of two three years by the hand. She had a burden of about a maund on her head. I helped them with my umbrella. After I had walked some distance, the steamer was seen standing below, about 150 to 200 ft. down the banks at the quay. The wooden steps leading below, had become slippery on account of mud; the same was the case with the steps made of planks. This lady who was carrying a burden on her head, and at the same time had to lead a child along was in constant fear of slipping and falling down into the river which was as vast as the sea. I thereupon took up the child in my arms and led them both to the steamer. My shirt was smeared by the muddy feet of the child. But it gave me joy to look at it. I thought that that was just the thing that would be pleasing to *Bapu*. My mind was filled with a feeling of satisfaction and devotion. I returned home and after finishing my morning duties, went to attend my duties at the shop at about eight; and came back at about nine at night. During the day I was able to spare some time and went round to collect money for *Charkhas*. I had visited a well-known Gujrati merchant with the hope of getting twenty *Charkhas* but I got forty instead. At night I carded cotton for four hours, chanted Gita and went to bed. I was constantly thinking as to when I should have the fortune of seeing *Bapu* released by a free India. In this way I passed the *Charkha-Dwadashi* day. I went to beg money for the rest of the *Charkhas* the next day and fulfilled my resolve."

The *Charkha Dwadashi* day has thus been spent by many in the service of *charkha* in one way or the other. Some ladies and gentlemen have sent to us their home-spun yarn spun in celebration of the day. It has been credited to the All-India Khadi Department.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

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Among my own Goondas

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by George Joseph

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No. 50

Notes

The Late Mr. S. K. Iyengar

In the death of Mr. S. Kasturianga Iyengar, the Editor of the *Hindu*, India has lost one of her foremost leaders. His great services to the country as premier journalist are well-known. When Mahatmaj started the Satyagraha Campaign as well as when the Non-cooperation movement began neither age nor failing health made him falter, but he threw himself at once into the fight and gave Mahatmaj the greatest assistance. To South India especially his death is an irretrievable loss.

The Second Convocation

While the other provinces are torn by internal dissensions and constructive work is almost at a standstill everywhere, Gujarat is steadily, if slowly pushing on the constructive work. The Gujarat Board Department is the most organised in the country, and the National College under the Principalship of Mr. Kripa and is one of the best conducted institutions in India. There are over two hundred students at present and as Acharya Gidwani rightly emphasised in his Convocation Address last Tuesday, in spite of its shortcomings the College strives its utmost to impart education of a truly national character. Exceeding languages and sociology, most of the subjects are taught in Gujarati. Acharya Gidwani gave away the Graduates' diplomas to 50 students, this year, and Mrs. Gandhi blessed them in a brief but moving speech. Mr. Gidwani in his forceful address early disposed of the question of a 'career' with which every aspirant for national education is sought to be scared away. "I do not think," he said, "the question arises at all. So long as we have not sent 2,000 workers in the villages of Gujarat, the question cannot arise. We started on our endeavour, with the determination to close for ever for our students all careers that supported this system of Government, which we are out to demolish." Mr. Rajagopalachariar who should have delivered the Convocation Address was prevented by illness from undertaking a journey to Ahmedabad. He however telegraphed the following message:—

"My humble congratulations to the professors and scholars for work so far done in discharge of sacred duty undertaken and prayers for strength and faith for further effort, to the sons and daughters of freedom on whom degrees will be conferred in this convocation.

"Do not lose yourselves in the endless pursuit of wealth or worldly position. Remember that you are

the reserve army of the revolution that gave birth to the Vidyapath. It is in Freedom's battle those that are in the Front are called your duty is to march forward and carry it on to Victory. If the goal is reached even then you must be ever on duty to guard that Freedom from being sullied by oppression or hatred. Your conduct in life should ever bear the stamp of Ahimsa—the culture for which this Vidyapath stands. In your constant and fearless allegiance to truth and in your gentleness of thought, word and deed the gospel of our Great *Kutapath* should find fulfilment and renewed life so that the nation may draw continuously therefrom as from a reservoir. Let the knowledge that you have acquired fill you not with satisfaction or pride but with pity for the millions still steeped in ignorance. Not to serve tyranny but to constantly render service to the people: this is the double vow you take at this convocation.

The Secret of Hindu-Muslim Unity

Compacts are good and useful so far as they go. The settling of local disputes that have arisen is necessary. The establishment of joint local committees of arbitration for future disputes could help the cause of peace. But the fundamental secret of Hindu-Muslim unity is non-violence. It is this which alone can make and maintain national unity in India. Her people cannot for the sake of political emancipation give up differences of religion and caste and adopt one creed and one caste. In Hindus, Moslems, Parsis and Christians do not wish to give up their respective creeds, and yet desire to be component parts of a united nationality that may live not in hourly dread of disruption and mutual suspicion but in security and confident of harmonious communal life, non-violence must become the fundamental creed of all the people of India. The appeal to force must be banished for ever from the sanctions available for our internal affairs. If full opportunity and support are given to the spread of Mahatmaj's doctrine of Ahimsa, all the people living in India can assimilate it, and so far as our mutual relations are concerned, non-violence can become an inviolate rule and be the firm rock on which national unity can stand impregnable.

We need not wait for all creeds to become one or for all castes to be abolished, or even for amicable adjustment of all disputes and claims. Differences, disputes and jealousies may remain as they must, and even new ones may arise with growing freedom and power. But what is essential is that in all our mutual affairs Satyagraha and not force must be the

sanction. People must be brought up to look upon appeal to force in such matters as a sin against religion and national destiny. If this is secured, our unity and therefore our freedom is assured. It is permissible to doubt or accept only with reserve Mahatma's doctrine of non-violence in international affairs, but in internal affairs Satyagraha must be the last word. Let us establish non-violence, and we need not be anxious about Hindu-Muslim unity which is its necessary consequence. Let there be any dispute about music, or procession, or about *Tajia* or *Taboot*, or about *Bhuddhi* or conversion; let us but teach the people that Satyagraha and not the appeal to brute force will bring us justice, permanent and useful, and we shall have solved the great problem. There ought to be no distinctions between creed and policy or between the Hindu or Congress position, and that of orthodox Islam as regards non-violence. So far as the internal affairs of the nation are concerned, it should be the inviolable creed of national life.

Lord Reading's Tour

The Viceroy is touring in the South. His track is marked by imprisonments under the security sections, policemen guarding the route, and soldiery marched up and down to over-awe the people. If a ruler cannot secure the affection of the people, fear naturally seizes his mind. It is a sad sight indeed to see thousands of policemen drafted into the quiet cities of Trichinopoly and Madura and closely lining the streets through which the Viceroy is to pass to complete his knowledge of India. Deserted thoroughfares, barricaded streets, guarded Railway lines, policemen and soldiers everywhere,—thus is India presented to the rulers who can find no means but force to keep India within the Empire. The artificial receptions and official addresses of welcome got up as a variety here and there cannot deceive either the people or the Viceroy. He knows what the people think of him and they know that he is but the helpless embodiment of the Spirit of Force that rules India. The waste of military and police protection is a needless insult. But how can wrong sleep or move about with a sense of security, despite our assurance of non-violence? They judge others by what they would do under similar circumstances.

How they get up the Shows

The cult of assassination may be quite forgotten but official reminders keep it alive. The following notice was served by the District Magistrate of Trichinopoly on every householder in the streets through which the Viceroy was to pass on the 7th inst:—

Sir,

You are hereby informed that you are responsible that no stranger or person for whose character and behaviour you cannot vouch is allowed in your premises in.....street from 1 p. m. to 7 p. m. on 7th December 1923, when His Excellency the Viceroy of India visits this town.

You will also please give the necessary help and facilities to the police officers on duty at your

place to scrutinize and have a watch over the route etc., from a convenient spot during that time.

P. MacQueen
District Magistrate,
Trichinopoly.

This openly published notice gives an indication of the other subsidiary but less notified precautions. Police officers are practically taking possession of all the balconies, rooms and windows opening into the Viceregal route. Streets opening into it are walled up with railway sleepers. House owners are requested to lock up their upper stories and hand the keys over to the authorities so that there may be no risks undertaken. Notices are being issued to get the street facings white-washed under penalty of being summoned under municipal sanitary provisions. I learnt this as I saw many houses pointed with fresh lime-wash and asked if people kept their houses tidy in honour of the Viceroy's visit. People in other countries cannot guess the thousand ways in which officials in India can put pressure and get things done against the people's will. Whole cities can be got up to present all the appearance of overflowing loyalty and rejoicings,—welcome arches, illuminations, decorations, music, dinners, cheers and every other festive sign, while along there is nothing but sullen anger in truth and no sort of loyalty or welcome. Every activity of communal life is kept in official control, including even the sad old temples and mosques, not to speak of the so-called self-governing local bodies, schools, and colleges. Municipal addresses, school children's shouts, illuminated temple towers and all other things, which in other countries are generally associated with the free will of the people, are here controlled most effectively by the wishes of a single European officer.

The Freedom of the Services

If any proof were wanted for the utter futility of relying on doles of freedom from the British Parliament under the pressure of constitutionalism, whether it be of the co-operation or of the obstruction brand, we have only to study the proceedings of the Lee Commission. While Freedom is tugging one way, Racial Domination is tugging for all it is worth another way before the Royal Commission. Indian poverty, both national and state poverty, may be anything you please, but the "Superior Civil Service" wants more pay, a "substantial improvement all round", with retrospective effect, pensions and commutations made more liberal, and protected against any possible democratic assaults, more T. A., more house rent allowance, more everything. You may be talking about constitutional changes but the Civil Service wants absolute freedom from Indian political control, and more and more guarantees for it. The services in India refuse to be subordinated to the people and want no power on earth to control them. The Secretary of State should alone be their guild-master with no powers of delegation even to the Government of India. You may give any reforms you like, say the Collector, the Commissioner, and all the other English officers, but we cannot be subordinates of your new-fangled democracy. We must continue to hold power, to be

nabobs absolute and irresponsible. There are details which are also noteworthy, such as the claim for medical men of *their own race* and *free attendance* for the families of European officers, travelling allowance to be non-votable, loans from public treasury for paying passage home, etc.

Freedom cannot be secured by any number of constitutions unless all the servants of the State are completely and effectively subordinated to the will of the people. The most complete subordination is the most thorough efficiency.

And this cannot be got by India except after a bitter struggle wherein with strengthened nerve and power of suffering we prove our power of resistance and establish our freedom.

C. R.

* *

The Swaraj Party in Bengal have had as many as forty-five of their members returned to the local Legislative Council. They do not form a majority; but it is claimed that in combination with the Independents they would number more than all the rest. We do not mind confessing that we are slightly sceptical about the permanence or reliability of such political alliances; but if the Independents should fulfil their part of the compact, and if the obligations of the Swarajists should not prove fatal to their distinct political method, the situation is full of promise. The exact contingency contemplated by the Party will come into being at least in one Province. A Ministry would not be formed; the Budget would be thrown out; Darchy will be at an end; rule by Certification will supervene. At the moment of writing these are all assumptions; but it makes no difference in the matter of the appeal to the people. When all is said and done, it is they who count in the long run—their strength, their organisation, their capacity to suffer and survive the uttermost exercise of force. The adventure and destruction inside the Council Chamber will avail naught without the slow, patient upbuilding of strength and sufficiency. Judged by the standard of the Councils themselves the programme of reconstruction is absolutely essential. We use the word "re-construction" deliberately. What is known as the Constructive Programme or the Bardoli Programme is a vast and comprehensive thing, aiming at many objects, yielding various results. Some of them are political, some social, some broadly humanitarian. What we call re-construction is that part of the Bardoli Programme which had in view the re-organisation of the Congress:—the enrolment of a crore of members, the raising of the Tilak Swaraj Fund annually on the basis of voluntary taxation and the maintenance of the Congress as a fighting organisation. We venture to think that the efficiency of the Congress is as necessary to the Swarajists as it is to the Non-co-operators. As a matter of fact the need will be greater. For the time being they are engaged in the task of fighting the Government according to their lights. It is essentially a game of bluff;—bluff as against the Government and in regard to themselves the nursing of strength by self-suggestion. But the peculiar danger and exhilaration of the process is that there should be an external prop. That support will be the Congress, if at its best; and it can be nothing else.

Swaraj

(By O. P. Andrews)

There is a very remarkable saying attributed to Christ in the New Testament, which has been badly translated in the common version of the Bible. Christ speaks of a time coming, when nation shall rise against nation and people against people, when there shall be wars and revolutions. Men's hearts, he says, shall tremble for fear, because of their anxiety about things that are coming upon the earth. Christ then tells his own followers not to be down-cast at such a time but to lift up their heads with joy, for deliverance would be near at hand.

After that Christ gives them a parable. "Behold", he says, "the fig tree and all the trees. When the fig tree begins to put forth new leaves, then you may be certain that the winter is over and summer is nigh at hand. Even so, out of the very midst of difficulties and dangers, the new life of God's Kingdom will surely appear upon the earth."

It is at this point, that Christ utters the saying about which I have spoken.—He says:

"In your fortitude, ye shall win your souls."

It has always seemed to me, that this was one of the greatest *mantrams* of all for passive resisters. It contains the very essence of Swaraj. It is Swa-Raj—the Kingship of the Soul!

We have so often been told by Mahatma Gandhi himself, that Swaraj is to come from within outwards: that we are not to say 'Lo, here!' or 'Lo, there!' expecting it to drop down from heaven, but to build up the spiritual fabric of the new kingdom, the new Raj, the Raj of 'Swa' of the Self, the Soul, by changing the whole fashion of our inner slave-mentality, till we become free men indeed.

"In your fortitude ye shall win your souls."

What a wonder of beauty it was that I saw at Guru-ka-Bagh, outside Amritsar, where with my own eyes I beheld the fortitude of those brave Sikhs, receiving blows and insults, which were hardest of all to bear, but never returning blow for blow or insult for insult; standing up to each blow with infinite spiritual bravery, rising again and again from the ground, to be beaten down again. In their fortitude they had won their souls.

I could not help contrasting this scene with that which I had witnessed before, in the same Punjab, when the Sikhs had been taken unawares, in those days of Martial Law, in 1919. At that time leaderless and helpless, like children crying in the night, in panic and dismay, they had *lost* their souls. Oh! the pity of it! Oh the pity of it! At Manianwala and elsewhere, without leaders, without preparation, they had *not* stood firm, but had given way. As I went among them and loved them passionately, these men with hearts like children—as they told me their own terrible story—the insults to their women worse than death,—the insults to themselves worse than death;—they had gone through it all,—not with fortitude then, in 1919, but with fear. But thank God, *hatmaji* had come among them, and in a

moment they had responded. He had told them to endure, not in panic, but with fortitude, and they had endured! Now they had won their souls. The events that were witnessed at Gun-ka-Bagh in 1921 had, to my mind at least, redeemed the events that happened in 1919.

I was not present at Nagpur in the months of June and July this year. The duty which I had undertaken concerning Kenya was one that could not be laid aside, and I only came back from England in the middle of the struggle. But I know well the leader, Seth Jamsal Bajaj, as an intimate friend. I know well his heart of love and tenderness and my own heart was filled with joy at the bravery and pity he showed. I have also seen, since that time, at Shantipketan and elsewhere those who were imprisoned in that struggle—simple, modest, humble men of heart, full of the spirit of love. As I have talked with them and watched their faces as they were kindled with joy, I have known the truth about them also, that 'in fortitude they have won their souls.'

And what shall I say of countless others, who have gone to prison without a word, without a murmur, counting it all joy to suffer and endure? Again and again I have met them, in North and West and South and East of India, wherever I have travelled and wandered. Never yet have I heard a single word from these of bitterness or hate. They have often suffered untold hardships, of which they speak but little—their worn faces often tell the tale without the need of words—they have endured suffering patiently under the present Indian prison system—a system which has been condemned long ago by every one who knows what prisons ought to be. But never have I heard from them a bitter or uncharitable word. On the contrary, I have seen their faces filled with the light of love and peace, and I have known afresh the meaning of those great words of the suffering Christ:—

"In your fortitude, ye shall win your souls"

I go to England, partly to recover health, partly also to take up with all earnestness the cause of Indians abroad there at the centre, London, where alone work for them can be done by me at this juncture. But I go also with the deep heartfelt longing and intention of making known these very things about which I have been writing—the things which I have witnessed with my own eyes in India and heard with my own ears. I ask that it may be borne in mind by those passive resisters who have suffered, that my own English fellow countrymen do not yet know the truth; that the truth never reaches them through cablegrams and newspapers which give only a one sided point of view. I ask, and I have a right to ask—the right of love—that the English people to whom I go—my own countrymen—may be as dear to you as they are dear to me. I ask you to believe from me, that their hearts are warm with love, as mine is, and not cold and hard. My one prayer is, that they may know the truth, and understand the truth about what is happening in India to-day!

Among my own Goondas

"Hurra!" shouted the soldiers in response to their Captain's cry. His Excellency lifted his hat with a beaming smile. It was a pleasant break in the monotony of passing through silent streets and dumb policemen.

"Hurra!" The sepoy shouted once more and yet once more, taking their time from their European Officer.

The car slowed down a little to allow full play to this carefully planned welcome.

"These are faithful folk", His Excellency said to himself as his mind wandered again to the ungrateful millions that seemed to avoid him in his tour. "Why are all these doors and windows shut?" softly enquired His Excellency.

"There is no Hartal, Your Excellency" answered Sir Chaperon. This was an awkward reply. At least so thought the Civilian Magistrate of the District, who hastened to add, "I ordered it so to be done myself, Your Excellency, to avoid the risk of *badmashas* doing some mischief."

"Oh! you are afraid of the bomb" said H. E. laughing.

"Oh, no!" said the Magistrate, but thought, "yes I won't take any risks with these Gandhiwans."

"Is Gandhi coming here?" asked H. E.

The Magistrate started, wondering whether he had spoken his thoughts aloud.

"Oh, no" he promptly answered looking at Sir Chaperon, with a smile that invited correction.

"People shout his name here, too, right enough, but he is not very popular. A handful of agitators keep up the show, but the masses are sane and sober. They are loyal to authority" said Sir Ch.

"Exactly the same in all places," nodded H. E. with approval.

The chauffeur knew some English and smiled; but no one could see the smile except the steering wheel over which he bent.

"Then why all this soldiery and Police?" whispered the steering wheel.

"Shut up" rebuked the chauffeur sternly, as he gave a sharp twist to the impertinent wheel and turned the car into the road that branched off the Railway Station.

"Forward! Quick March!" the Captain shouted behind, and his men marched off to the station to give a send off to the great ruler.

Among my own Goondas I march in splendour and pomp, They line the broad roads and they keep me from the bomb.

They make up the welcome, and shout the joyous shouts, There is much pomp, much show; but I have my doubts. The people's dark faces show no love for me, But unaccountable wrath I clearly see; As if I broke their temple and stole their God.

The special train steamed off. The soldiers marched back to their barracks and the European officials motored off to their Burglows.

The Indian officials hung on to the platform ostensibly to thank the Station Master for the arrangements but unwilling to return to the work-a-day world and face the people.

"Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jail" shouted a little imp running away from a group of struggling policemen. It seemed a relief to everybody for they all laughed aloud and the noise of the world was resumed once more as if nothing had happened. C. R.

Young India

13-12-23

Released to die

A typical case of Governmental brutality is the treatment accorded to Pratap Narain Vajpayee by the Madras Government. This brave youth has found his freedom at last. No Government can extend its violent hands where his soul now rests in peace. When Mr. Devadas Gandhi was in charge of H. of Prachar in South India, he introduced Pratap Narain to me as one of the best workers sent by the *Hindi Samaj*. His subsequent work confirmed this testimony. He showed matchless power of suffering and sacrifice. I need not lift the veil over his private sorrows or bereavements. There is no martyr in the great movement but a noble tragedy of domestic life enacted in sacred privacy. The Great Mother can be ransomed only with such priceless offerings and many such unknown tragedies. Shortly after Mahatma's trial, Pratap Narain was arrested and condemned to a year's hard labour, as he refused to give a bond for "good behaviour". He contracted serious illness during his incarceration but he served his full term and was released in April last. He went to Bangalore at once for treatment, but hearing that the Government was after him again, he returned to appear before the Magistrate and received sentence for another year's imprisonment with hard labour. Thus within less than a month after release he went again to prison with health broken but spirit unaltered. Then there was a race between fell disease and Government. His hearing, sight and voice all went one after another leaving but a quickly dissolving shell behind. The Government insisted on keeping him in prison in spite of public agitation, as he would not give any undertaking. On the 3rd instant, when everything was over and death was certain, he was suddenly put in a car with two bottles of medicine and sent out of the Trichinopoly gaol. One bottle was labelled "mixture for calf" and the other was unlabelled. "Calf" probably stood in jail spelling for "cough". Being in the last stages of consumption there was no mistake about the cough. But the spelling was a travesty to the indignation of the general standard of care prevailing in this institution for over two thousand wards of State including many political prisoners. A man ran up to the car as it started from the gate, and told Dr. Shastri that a wrong mixture has been put into the car, and that the medicine was not intended for the patient. This was probably a caution against outside doctors examining the medicine and condemning the medical treatment accorded in the jail. However there was no need for it as Mr.

Shastri was certainly going to take better care of Pratap Narain than that. But it was too late. In the midst of friends and their children, for whose company the loving soul was hungering, he waited for Death's merciful footfall. He expired in the afternoon of the 5th instant with a sweet smile still playing on his emaciated face. His remains were carried to the banks of the Cauvery in whose sacred waters his ashes were joined as the last act of his allotted duty of uniting North and South. The memory of this youth from Patna will for ever be enshrined in the history of Hindi progress in South India. C. R.

Greetings to the Governor

It is difficult to characterise what has been going on in a Taluka of the Kara District these two weeks under the name of law and order, and the attempts of the local Government to keep the country in the dark about these sinister proceedings. The Borsad Taluka Conference met ten days ago to consider the grave situation that had arisen out of the unwarranted deposit of police on the Taluka, and under the leadership of Mr. Vallabhai Patel decided not to pay the fine of Rs. 2,10,000. In a speech characterised by a thorough study of the situation, and close and accurate reasoning, he demonstrated to the hilt that the people were innocent, that they had done nothing to deserve the fine, that the police had betrayed serious inefficiency during the last three or four years, and advised the people to resist with all their might the way in which an unjust demand was cast upon a whole people. He did more. He not only found the police guilty of serious inefficiency, he charged the Government with having leagued with a dacoit whose guilt they were seeking to fix on the people. Instead of meeting this serious charge, they tried their best to prevent publicity of the proceedings of the Borsad Conference. What is more immoral is that they should have seditiously set about realising the poll tax by attaching the property of these villagers, and the local officers have even threatened them with attachment and sale of their lands.

It is time that the public realised the seriousness of the situation. Perhaps it would be best to restate some of the facts. Long before Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa the Criminal Tribes Act was applied to the Dharalas in Kalia District. No attempt has yet been made to reform this community which has been set down as being always addicted to crime against person and property. Long before Gandhiji returned to India the District was terrorised by notorious dacoits like Gulab Raja. But the latest method of punishing a whole people for the crimes of a few ruffians was devised after Gandhiji came on the scene with his teaching of truth and non-violence. The outlaw Bahar made his appearance in 1917, and instead of making any considerable endeavour to arrest his activities, punitive police was imposed on two villages which were considered to be guilty of having sheltered him. They found later that the punitive police was useless, the District Magistrate himself having admitted in a letter of the 13th April 1922, that the punitive police "do not even serve

the purpose of preventing crime in the villages as the murder of Shilbhal in Jogan" (one of the villages punished) "in daylight proves, to say nothing of the attack made on similar parties in Golel." But the Superintendent of Police was of opinion that the punitive police should be continued in the two villages. The Mamlatdar—the man on the spot—was at the same time of opinion that "any more burden is likely to drive most of the backward classes to despair and induce them to leave the villages. In recovering last year's *fala* (Pole tax) we experience a lot of trouble not because they are contumacious but because they are too poor to pay the Head tax." The Magistrate however felt that the whole Taluka must be held responsible for "failure to supply information and are probably guilty of actively assisting Babar with food, arms or information. What the Patanwadias do from sympathy the others do from fear, from selfish desire to save themselves immediate trouble." The upshot was that in June last the Government resolved to continue the additional police in respect of the two villages referred to above. Later however the district Magistrate seems to have succeeded in persuading Government to his view, and in October a punitive police was imposed on the whole Taluka. The gravamen of their charge against the people is that they refuse to furnish information. It is a baseless charge, as the special correspondent of the *Times of India*—very likely the District Magistrate or the Superintendent of Police—in his long letters to the paper written a day before the promulgation of the order, proves almost in spite of himself. Babar has to his credit about 22 murders, most of his victims being the informants. The *Times* correspondent himself says: "It is stated that his (Babar's) hatred against police informers is so intense that he does not spare even his nearest relatives". How then can the Government seriously allege that the people have given no information? Babar has not spared his nearest relatives, who he suspected were giving information against him. How much have the Government done and dared? And which is the greater of the two, the duty of the people to furnish information, with the sure prospect of death before them, or the duty of the Government to protect the people? They not only failed in their duty, as Mr. Vallabhbhai has shown; they aided and abetted a dacoit who was known to have killed a Borsad Vakil in cold blood in broad daylight. That is the people's charge against the Government. But the lake is too far advanced in his progress to perceive the seriousness of any charge. The latest report from a village in Borsad cites some specimens from the Mamlatdar's advice to the people: "If you cannot pay this tax, steal, beg or borrow. Do whatever you like, but pay our tax. Your lands and houses will be auctioned and you will be ruined. Pay up the tax." The people are equally determined and are allowing their material possessions to be ruined, in order that their souls may be saved. Reckless organised loot in Borsad—That is the Bombay bureaucracy's greetings to the new Governor.

Mahadeo Desai

The Registrar's Report

[We summarize below the statement, reviewing the activities of the Gujarat Vidyapith during the last three years, submitted by the Registrar, on the occasion of the second convocation on Tuesday last:—]

By a resolution dated 29th July 1920 of the 4th Gujarat Political Conference held at Ahmedabad, wherein after reciting that it was desirable to organise National Educational Institutions, and to found a Gujarat Vidyapith for carrying out that purpose in Gujarat, a National Education Committee was appointed.

The Preliminary work of the Committee consisted (i) of making appeals to the proprietors and teachers of schools, and the guardians of students to non-co-operate, and to the well-to-do class to provide funds for the Vidyapith (ii) of making arrangements for the opening of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, and (iii) of framing the Constitution of the Gujarat Vidyapith.

By a constitution passed on 19th October 1920, members of the Committee (including those co-opted by them) constituted the first senate with Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Gidwani as respectively the First Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor. *Su Vidya Ya Vimuktaye* (That is Learning, which contributes to Liberty), and "*Al hikmatu Zallatuul mawmine Fahaaso Vajdah Alboo beha*" (Learning is the lost property of the Mussalman, and it is his right to take it, from wheresoever it is found) were accepted as the motto of the Gujarat Vidyapith.

First important function was the opening of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya by Mahatma Gandhi on 15th November 1920, with 59 students on the roll. The number of students in the current session is 206. Shortly after the opening of the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, Colleges were organised at Surat and Bombay, both of them taking affiliation in the Gujarat Vidyapith. The Surat College having been only a Primary College, it does not work at present. There are 72 students at the Bombay College.

The scheme of the Mahavidyalaya at present provides for the following schools of study: (1) Arya Vidya Mandir (Oriental Culture) (2) Samaj Vidya mandir (Social Sciences) (3) Bhasha Mandir (Languages) (4) Mathematics (5) Commerce (6) Philosophy (7) Applied Chemistry (8) Art.*

The Provincial (i. e. Gujarati at Ahmedabad, and Gujarati and Marathi at Bombay), and the National Language (i. e. Hindustani with either Devanagari or Urdu script) are compulsory subjects in all the Mandirs.

All students, except those for Applied Chemistry and Art, have to receive instruction at one of the Colleges, for 3 years after the First Year Examination.

Soon after the opening of the College, Vice-Chancellor Gidwani, who was moving in the student world all over India, felt that it was necessary for the Vidyapith to arrange for examining N. C. O. students from the other provinces of India, on the same courses of studies as they were ready for. Accordingly, under the auspices of the Vidyapith, examinations were arranged in different centres of India in April-May of 1921. 734 students in Metric, 170 in Inter, and 110 in B. A. were examined at that time.

*This latter is not a subject for the degree.

Thanks are due to the Tllak Maharashtra Vidyapith and the Board of National Education, Punjab, who conducted, on behalf of the Vidyapith, all the above examinations excepting those for Bombay and Madras, and granted diplomas to the successful candidates. The Madras students received their certificates from the Gujarat Vidyapith. Nine candidates, whose degrees remain to be conferred, are included in to-day's list. The last convocation was held on 12th June 1922, under the Presidentship of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel when degrees were conferred upon 66 candidates.

In obedience to the call of the Congress several students had non-co-operated on the eve of their final examination, and had, without waiting for National Colleges or diplomas, plunged in National service. It was not thought fit to oblige them to appear at an examination, as that would have necessitated in some cases the cessation of National work. Consequently it was resolved by the senate to grant to students, who had non-co-operated from the senior B. A. class, and had engaged in National work, the same degrees to which they would have been entitled on the passing an examination. 16 such candidates received their degrees at the last convocation, and 15 more will be recipients to-day.

Thus 35 students having completed their courses, and 15, in consideration of their splendid national service—in all 50, are the recipients of diplomas, at this convocation. The Vidyapith also conducted various minor examinations during the last 3 academic years. 1117 students in all got through them.

Shortly after the opening of the Mahavidyalaya Gujarat Puratattva Mandir was founded (12-12-1920). Its aim is to make research studies in Ancient Indian learning. It has hitherto published 8 books on ancient Indian culture and 4 are in the press. A quarterly magazine is conducted by the same Mandir.

On 1st May 1921, a College for training teachers for Primary schools was opened. The plan was to train a batch of 40 teachers within every six months. Accordingly 114 teachers were trained from the school in 4 batches. As the plan, however, did not appear satisfactory the College was closed on 12-2-23.

In addition to the above institutions, the Vidyapith manages directly a full Primary school (Navl Gujarati Shala) at Ahmedabad, another Primary school at Nava-Vadaj and a night school at Kochharab. (The latter two are Ahmedabad suburbs). The Vidyapith also manages a Primary school at Mangrol, from an ear-marked fund.

Another activity of the Vidyapith is the publication of text-books. The Vidyapith has set forth as one of its objects that all knowledge must be imparted through Gujarati. The object has succeeded in some of the Mandirs of the Mahavidyalaya; in some schools, it has not succeeded partly for want of suitable text-books, partly for want of teachers who command sufficient power of expression in Gujarati—most of them being non-Gujaratis. The Vidyapith has published hitherto 25 text books.

In response to the resolutions passed at the 4th Gujarat Political Conference, and the Congress sessions at Calcutta and Nagpur, 10 high schools withdrew their recognition by the Government, and joined the Vidyapith. The number of students therein at the time of N. C. O. was over 3,000.

At the same time several new primary and high schools came into existence. Some of these have since been closed either for want of funds or internal dissensions; three of the schools have re-joined Government. The present situation in brief is as follows:—

Affiliated to the Vidyapith are 2 Colleges, 12 High Schools, 15 part High Schools, and 43 Primary Schools, with 277, 4506, 1386 and 2700 pupils in them respectively. Most of the institutions are run with the aid of Vidyapith and Provincial Committee grants and other subscriptions specially raised for the purpose.

Owing to resolutions rejecting Government grants passed by the Municipal Committees of Nadiad, Surat and Ahmedabad, the latter two were suspended, and all the cities were obliged to run their primary schools nationally. Accordingly 44 schools in Ahmedabad, with 9453 pupils, 11 in Nadiad with 2746 pupils, and a certain number (not available) in Surat with 8700 pupils, are conducted by the national education committees of these three places.

There are other Gujarati schools in and outside Gujarat not formally affiliated to the Vidyapith. It is not possible to ascertain exact details about these. But the number of students therein cannot be less than 700 to 800. The most important of these are the national schools at Wadhawan, with about 300 students on the roll.

Thus the total number of National students in Gujarat (or in Greater Gujarat) exceeds 30000. On the calculations made on available figures, their annual expenditure is estimated roughly at Rs. 3, 42,775 and their annual income (from all sources) at Rs. 2,19,405. Most of the schools depend for their income either on special subscriptions or the Congress Committees. With the exception of the Proprietary High School, (Ahmedabad), no school is able to maintain itself on fees simply; and naturally therefore, a good deal of anxiety is felt generally by the teachers and managing bodies of schools.

The number of National teachers is estimated at over 800. The remuneration of only a few of these may be called satisfactory. A few make their ends meet with great difficulty. With regard to some it is difficult to imagine, how they live. Though from an educational point, the scarcity of able teachers is always felt, still it must be observed that at several places the maintenance of the schools is entirely due to the sacrifice of teachers. Besides the economic pressure, teachers have to face other difficulties, such as, the immense ignorance of the villagers, or their apathy due to want of feeling in the matter, want of necessary materials; or, in the absence of all these the apathy of guardians, or high expectations entertained about educational equipments and curricula, far beyond the means of the school.

Every school expects grants from the Vidyapith. It has been resolved to spend a sum of Rs. 30,000 by way of grants to high schools, during the year under report. A liability of Rs. 21,500 has already been accepted. Vidyapith is obliged to decline aid to the Primary schools, although they need it extremely. Until the Vidyapith gets richer in funds, this state of inability must prevail.

At the time of the institution of the Vidyapith Diwali had drawn near. Mahatma Gandhi was free. He moved from place to place and asked children, youths and the aged, male and female to contribute his or her mite. Ladies, in response to his appeal, presented to him the ornaments on their body. He went to gaol thereafter. Subsequently the managing body of the Vidyapith issued an appeal to the Gujarati speaking public for a sum of ten lakhs, in response to which the public promised 12 lakhs. The labour of the collectors was considerably lessened by Dr. P. J. Mehta who subscribed Rs. 2½ lakhs. After the promises were made, a heavy depression in the market of shares made the task of the collectors slow and difficult. Up to the end of Diwali last, nearly half the promised amount has been realised and the work of collecting amounts is going on.

Three special donations have been received for distributing prizes and medals.

The duly audited accounts for Saurat 1978 have been published before. The balance in hand with the Provincial Congress Committee on last Diwali was Rs. 1,34,801-13-3. In addition to this there is on hand with the same Committee a sum of Rs. 90,517-13-9, being the balance of Rs. 1,70,000 set apart for building expenses. The monthly expense of the Vidyapith in all branches taken together is estimated at Rs. 12,000 for the current year.

A site has been purchased for locating the buildings of the Vidyapith at the cost of Rs. 27,798-6-0. It is about a mile from this place (i. e. meeting ground for the Convocation). A Hostel is being constructed thereon. A kitchen, bath rooms and a granary have been already raised, and the foundations and plinth of the hostel are ready. The expense incurred so far amounts to Rs. 72,387-2-3.

Amongst special events of the year, the laying of the foundation stone of the Hostel by Sh. P. C. Roy on 20th March 1923, may be noted.

Such is the state of the Vidyapith at the end of the third year. The gratitude due to those who have helped her either by service or funds cannot be adequately expressed. But greater nourishment is needed. It is in the hands of the servants and donors of Gujarat to nourish or impoverish her as also to make her useful or burdensome.

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Agents for Young India in all the principal places of India. Full particulars about terms can be had on application from:

Manager, Young India,
Ahmedabad.

Khadi Notes

Two-handed Gin-charkha

The Gin-charkha found to be the most efficient and handy one has been described and illustrated in one of the previous issues of this journal. Efforts to improve upon it are still going on; and the technical Branch of the All India Khadi Department is doing all it can to guide these efforts wherever they are made in the right direction. A carpenter of Jamkhandi in Maharashtra had constructed a pedal gin-charkha with an idea to increase the output. An inspector was sent by the Technical Branch on invitation from the constructor to examine the machine; and according to the report submitted by him it was found that the gin, if accurately constructed might probably yield more work, but would be difficult to work without steam, gas, or electric power.

It should be borne in mind that while making an improvement in any of our old implements it would not do to overlook the extent of man-power. That instrument only would be useful in India which could be worked by an average man for 8 to 10 hours without much strain. On the contrary the one which might give a greater output but would leave an operator unfit to enjoy even his rest at the end of the day would prove to be a deadly thing for the people.

An improvement effected in any of the old implements with the above fact in mind so as to enable a worker to work on it for a longer time, but with a greater ease could only bring welfare to the people.

In the gin recommended in a previous issue one could work only with one hand, that is to say, the right hand which has got to turn the handle for all the time has a severe strain upon it, while the left hand which has got to feed seed-cotton to the rollers has a very light work to perform.

Realising this, the Technical Branch devised to put a handle to the left-hand side also and after a good trial found it to work with satisfaction. In the beginning habit will have to be acquired to turn the handle with the left hand and to feed the cotton with the right hand but after a couple of days' practice, no difficulty will be felt. When the practice is acquired and a change is given to each hand every two hours, it will be found very easy to work upon the charkha even continuously for 8 to 10 hours.

The improvement is a simple one, but not unimportant. It is effected by keeping the left hand side tenon of the wooden roller about 3 inches longer. It only means an additional cost of 2 or 3 annas for wood as well as labour. In an old gin when its wooden roller has been worn-out and is to be replaced by a new one, a roller of the above description can be refilled.

Maganlal K. Gandhi

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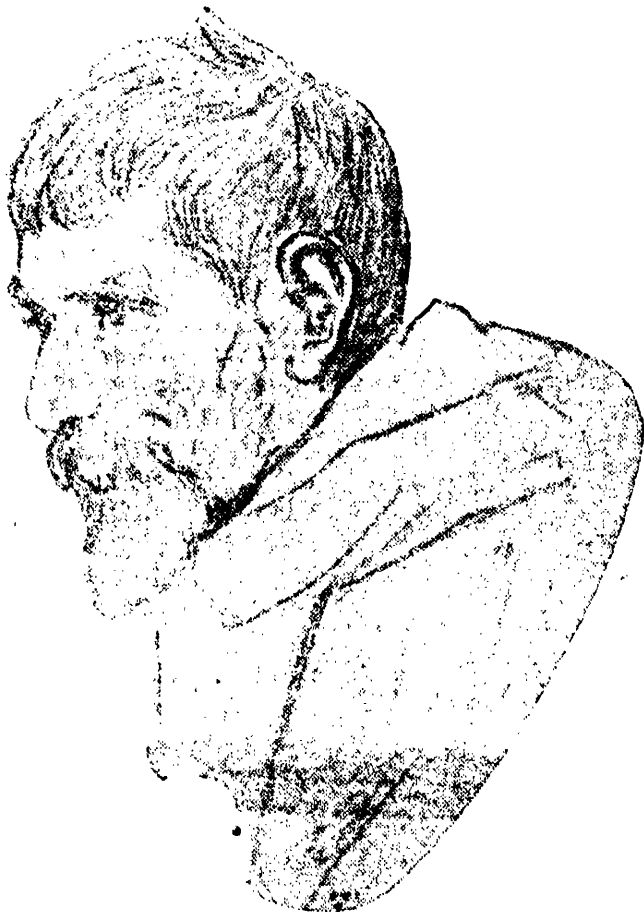
Ahmedabad, Thursday 27th December 1923

No 52

The Call of the Charkha

[We summarise below the magnificent address of Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray, which was delivered on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the All India Khadi Exhibition on the 25th instant at Coanada:—]

At the very start I must express my annoyance at one thing, and I am this time going to speak out, it is in the lip-homage that it has now become the fashion to pay to Khaddar; in the neglect and apathy that is again growing on apace about Charka in particular, and silent, serious, solid constructive work in general; in the drowning of the musical hum of the spinning wheel, in the more uproarious din of the market-place and polling-booth. Annoyance is not the proper word,—deep anguish creeps on my soul when I find that our former, age-long inertia and listlessness are invading us again; and that the splendid inspiration and lead that was given to the nation by our august leader, Mahatma Gandhi, is ebbing fast away and getting lost in the morass of sporadic outbursts and fussy sensations. If there is not the solid background of real, unobtrusive work done by and for the rank and file of the people, then all these sensations ultimately degenerate into farce, to the infinite chagrin of the patriot and the merriment of the enemy. These remarks are being wrung out of me by the sight that the country now presents—the paralysis of well-nigh all our constructive work—the endless wrangling about the pros and cons of Council-entry that has been our favourite occupation for the last year and a half, as if that were the only thing that mattered—and Charka and Khaddar and National Schools and untouchability and aspiration and village organisation, all relegated to the scrap-heap, or at most, verbally mentioned in mock reverence and then brushed quietly aside.



Of the various items of constructive work that lie before the nation, and on which so much emphasis was laid by Mahatma Gandhi, the most important and the most urgent for the economic prosperity of the people is the universal adoption of the Charka. What method is there which is available to everybody, even the poorest and the weakest, and which may enable every one, man and woman alike, to add substantially to his daily income? Such a method can only consist in removing the indispensable wants which everybody feels and which can be accomplished by means within everybody's reach. And what other method is there which supplies all these desiderata excepting the homely Charka, which even the feeblest women can use and even the poorest can procure or manufacture and repair for themselves, and which would double the average daily income of the Indian proletariat, or if you prefer reckoning in kind, would do away with the peasant's cloth-bill altogether and also leave some margin behind? There is absolutely none other, in the nature of things there can be none other, excepting agriculture, and agriculture does not exhaust all the energies and the time of the peasant. At the most generous calculation, it occupies him for not more than eight months, in some parts of the country considerably less, and the remainder of the year is practically spent in idleness and wasted. So much for the men-folk; as for the women-folk practically throughout the year they can devote some little time to spinning, which would more than

suffice to clothe the whole family for the year. Even from the argumentation point of view, this sounds convincing enough; but here I can say from personal experience during the organisation of relief-works in connection with the Khulna famine and the North Bengal floods that this is not mere theory but the barest practical truth. Had the ryot an alternative and supplementary means of livelihood to fall back upon, he would not have been at his wits' end for the failure of a single season's crop. And when we have tried to introduce spinning by the supply of Charka and of cotton, the poor peasants, men and women alike, have simply looked upon it as a God-send after observing the actual results.

That I have not exaggerated a bit will be evident from a few very simple figures. What is the average annual income of an Indian? Naoroji, Digby and Romesh Dutt have discussed the question threadbare; and Lord Curzon after having joined issue with them came to the comfortable conclusion that the Indian, prosperous under British rule, can boast of the magnificent income of Rs. 30/- per head annually. Lord Curzon's reputation for veracity is well-known; let us therefore not doubt the correctness of this estimate. Even with this Viceregal estimate, however, the daily income works out at about an anna and a quarter, or five pice per day. Let us now see what addition to this income can be made by the adoption of the spinning-wheel. If a Charka is worked eight hours a day, then a practised spinner can earn 2 annas. If, to be more cautious in our estimate, we reduce the number of hours as well as the rate of production, even then there is not the shadow of doubt that the daily income is doubled.

I need not dilate upon this point. The figures speak for themselves. Another point should also be remembered. Spinning does not stand by itself; if it is universally adopted as a home-industry, it lends a fillip to and keeps moving a host of other simple village industries. When an entire village takes to Charka, the weaving-loom also becomes brisk; side by side, the dyer, the carpenter also find occupation. In fact, spinning may be regarded as the key industry of village life, the only home-industry par excellence, and it goes far towards making the village self-contained in the matter of our indispensable requirements. The spirit of enterprise, and briskness and self-reliance that such an organisation connotes would soon bring new life into our villages, and would prevent them from falling into the decay that is at present gradually overtaking them.

If we translate these figures from the individual to the national scale, then the effect seems staggering. Taking the population of India to be roughly thirty two crores, the total income according to Lord Curzon's computation would amount to nine hundred sixty crores of rupees per year. Now if only one fourth of the population would spin 2 hours daily then the national annual income will be increased by ninety crores. This is on account of spinning alone without taking into consideration the increase due to weaving, this yarn and also the additional income accruing to other professions, the carpenters and

miths, for supplying the accessories. And as a mere element in this stupendous whole, the annual drain abroad of sixty to seventy crores of rupees on the score of piece-goods would stop and would remain in our country to enrich and nourish the life-blood of our half-starved peasantry.

Some people may ridicule these figures and say that their staggering magnitudes themselves prove their absurdity. One can only pity them. The narrow grooves along which their ideas travel make it very difficult for them to visualise the gigantic effects of an industry that is universally adopted—even the much-inflated and over-capitalised joint-stock companies, trusts, and combines can be nowhere near approaching them. This universal adoption is what makes such an industry potent.

The question of distribution is of very great importance. If it had been simply a question of stopping the drain of money outwards and of keeping the money somewhere in the country, then the purpose would have been equally served by big capitalistic concerns, by the creation of a number of giant electric-power mills, and so on. But for the purpose of distribution, mills and big manufacturing concerns are wholly incompetent. Mills can only reap profits, they cannot distribute them. And the problem of distribution is not a whit less urgent than the problem of production. What do we gain if the millions of our countrymen starve while the few fortunate mill-owners fatten on their unnatural gains? Only inequality in wealth will be created; the spectre of hunger and unemployment will stare us in the face in an uglier form; and a class-war, of dimensions the most appalling, will inevitably ensue, adding another most complex element to our already sufficiently complex problem. I need not be understood as saying by this that all big-scale industries are to be smashed—the thing cannot be disposed of so airily—and I could not even if I would. But surely you will agree with me that if the same result can be brought about by means much the less harmful, surely that were preferable. This work of distribution is, as I said, done almost automatically by the adoption of the Charka. As Mahatma Gandhi once very beautifully put, "No amount of human ingenuity can manage to distribute water over the whole land as a shower of rain can. No irrigation department, no rules of precedence, no inspection, and no water-cess. Everything is done with an ease and gentleness that by their very perfection evade notice. The spinning wheel, too, has got the same power of distributing work and wealth in millions of houses in the simplest way imaginable."

An easy, healthy and natural process of increasing the wealth of the country, and a smooth and automatic way of universalising the incidence of that wealth—that is what the Charka represents. And it is not, to tell the truth, a new and untried system invented by quacks for the cure of our economic distemper. The spinning-wheel is not an innovation in India; it is, on the contrary, perhaps the longest-standing industry, next to agriculture, in India's history. Not even a century ago, the spinning-wheel was the rule, and not the exception, in every village household.

It has been emphasised that the Charka is a rank, economic heresy in these days of steam-driven, electricity-driven, petrol-driven machinery; that it

would be nothing short of a disaster to civilisation if modern up-to-date time-saving methods were again to give place to these crude, primitive methods; that the adoption of such inefficient methods would be sheer waste of time which might have been much better utilised in other ways; that it is practically impossible even had it been desirable, for the Charka to live in competition with mill; that not merely in India but in every other part of the world, the spindle and the hand-loom were in vogue before the Industrial Revolution, but that everywhere they had died a natural death as instruments of mass-production, and if we might judge from history, the result could not be otherwise in India; that the Ganges cannot be forced back to Gangotri; and similarly in these days of rapid communication and easy transport, in these days of telegraphs and telephones, of giant ocean-liners and railway-trains, airships and motorcars, the vision of snug, little self-contained villages ensconced in their quiet meadows, living by themselves and for themselves is a Utopian vision—gone for ever and never to return.

The objections are formidable enough; they do not frighten me, however, for I do not dispute the truth and force of most of these statements; only I feel that this solid battery of arguments is somewhat misplaced—for I do not dream of emulating the achievements of Don Quixote of famous memory. I am not out to tilt at wind-mills, I have not taken a vow of ridding the fair bosom of mother India of the unsightly spectacle of whirling dynamos and smoking chimneys—my plans are not half as ambitious. Indeed, my antecedents, I venture to think, are guarantee enough that I am not likely to suffer from a particularly virulent type of anti-machinery obsession, or anti-Western bias. I have visited Europe four times and have lived altogether eight years in England. And in a manner it has been my privilege to be instrumental in introducing in Bengal at least one aspect of Western civilisation. Close upon a century ago, the great German Chemist Liebig laid down that the index of civilisation of a country is the amount of soap it consumed and he further asserted that the industrial progress of a country was measured by the output of its Sulphuric Acid. And it so happens that I am intimately connected with several concerns—one of which manufactures soaps in large quantities and which I trust invites competition with imported stuffs—and another, the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., bids fair to be the biggest producer in India of Sulphuric Acid and its accessory products. With these certificates and testimonials duly laid before you, I think you will concede that when I plead for the Charka and the hand-loom as the means of the economic salvation for our unhappy motherland, I do so with my eyes wide open and with full consciousness of what modern machinery can achieve.

I am in this respect in a much more fortunate position than Mahatmaji, whose life was rendered almost miserable by his critics for his alleged vendetta against Western civilisation. But in this matter, even he speaks out in no uncertain voice that whatever his individual notion of ideal social economy might be, he had declared no *jihad* against mills. He said:

"Do I want to put back of the hand the clock of progress? Do I want to replace the mills by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? Do I want to replace the railway by the country-cart? Do I want to destroy machinery altogether? These questions have been asked by some journalists and public men. My answer is: I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do at the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out of India, and distribute them in our cottages. This I cannot do unless and until the nation is prepared to devote its leisure-hours to hand-spinning."

Really this question of competition, this economic bogey that is paraded by theorists, we do not contemplate. If it comes to the commercialisation of Khaddar, of selling in the market like any other commodity and buying by strange customers, then I confess that there is very little chance of competing in point of price with piece-goods turned out in large quantities by up-to-date machinery with its labour-saving devices. What then do we mean? We mean this, that spinning be taken up as an essentially domestic programme, worked in every household, out of cotton grown in the cottage compound, the thread woven into cloth either by the family or by the neighbouring village-weaver on the payment of a nominal remuneration, and intended for the use of the family members themselves. Just as kitchen-work is undertaken in every household by the members of the family and eatables are not indented or purchased by cash-payment from any huge hotel or restaurant, in exactly similar a fashion should the clothing be provided for. The question of sale and purchase, of price and competition, would simply not arise. At the present moment, when cotton cultivation has not yet been universally resorted to, the cotton of course will have to be purchased. But even this should not be allowed to continue; the aim should be to plant cotton in every householder's grounds, and out of the product of those plants the family's clothing should be manufactured. This should be the method of work: prepare cloth, at least ordinary everyday cloth, as you do your food, as a household requirement; abolish it as a marketable commodity, a subject of sale and barter. The competition bogey would then vanish into thin air.

Of course, if surplus yarn is turned out, and if cloth is woven out of that, naturally that will go to the market and people who want cloth will buy it. There will not be any dearth of buyers because there always will be people who have not got the time or the leisure to prepare their cloth for themselves—they may be engaged in more profitable occupations, in more arduous professions—they have no other alternative but to buy cloth. This mention of people who have no leisure to spin and who find it much more profitable to utilise their energies in other ways, reminds me of a very cheap ridicule that is sometimes flung at the exponents of Khaddar—viz. that we want everybody to give up all other work, and to devote his time to spinning alone. Even "The Nation", the famous London weekly which is remarkable for its breadth of outlook, once wrote:—

"To go back to the spinning wheel is a retrogression. The attempt is pitiful and even ludicrous, when young men who should be studying at the University are invited to do with their hands and feet, the work of dull toil, what a machine would do as well in one hour."

Of course, the remark is quite justified if one seriously calls upon all young men to do so. But that is not what actually happened. When a new movement is initiated, the intelligentsia must take it up before it can filter down to the masses. The educated classes must set the fashion; and the masses will not look upon the work as degrading and menial, and that is why in the beginning of the movement, everybody, students and professional men alike, were asked to devote some part of their time to spinning. When we come to the question of a practical programme, however, it is easily understood that this message of Charka is essentially a message for our peasants and workers, the teeming millions of India, who have got their leisure time to devote to this work. And as I have pointed out already, this labour, which brings a profit that means a mere pittance to the favoured few, spells to them the difference between semi-starvation and a full meal. It is the salvation of the Indian proletariat.

When the ideal that I have envisaged comes to pass, when the spinning wheel is humming in every house, when it is catering for the cloth in every family, the complaint of high prices will no longer be heard—in fact the question of prices will not crop up at all. There need not then be the fear of competition with cheaply turned out foreign piece-goods.

Those of us who think that the deficiency can be made up by the starting of a number of high-power mills are quite welcome to do so—I have not the least quarrel with them. Only as I have pointed out before, they solve only one part of the problem—viz. that of production: they leave the question of distribution exactly where it was. Still, let those who believe in mills start them. But such big establishments require millions of money and cannot be called into existence for the mere asking—they require time to organise. While therefore capitalists are thinking about the setting up of big mills, the country cannot wait—we must set about putting our houses in order, we must see that the cloth-problem is solved at the earliest possible moment and no other method can do that except the introduction of home-spinning. Apart from all the other considerations that have been set forth above in favour of the adoption of the Charka, from this very commonsense and practical point of view also the urgency of the step is clear.

I think, my friends, you will now agree with me that, after all, the good old Charka is not such a rank economic heresy as we might be tempted to think at the first glance. It cannot be dismissed with a contemptuous sneer as a crude mediæval anachronism. The cult of efficiency and labour-saving which came to be regarded as sacrosanct in the first glamour of the industrial revolution has now come to be regarded with a bit of suspicion. Machinery which nearly threatened to supplant man, the twentieth century has succeeded in taking down from its false pedestal, at least in theory, and relegating to its proper place as the servant and not the master of man. The tedium, the dullness, the drab uniformity, the soulless grinding, the thoughtless centralisation that machinery leads to, has now been recognised—the cry has now been openly

raised—"Back to the man! Back to the villages"! The reposeful activity, the healthy variety, the fine individuality of the village worker, working in the bosom of his family amidst his quiet surroundings has now extorted its due meed of praise even from the most dry-as-dust economist. Even in industrial England so early as fifty years ago, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain representing sooty Birmingham along with his henchman Jesse Collins stood up for "3 acres and a cow"; and while I am writing these lines, my attention has been drawn to Premier Baldwin's plea for the preservation of small cottage industries. Listen to what he says:

"Government proposes not only to keep men in rural districts, but to do something to prevent destruction of small but ancient industries throughout the countryside, the industries of the Blacksmith, the Wheelwright, the Saddler and others."

If that is the outlook even in England advocated by the greatest thinkers and statesmen there, how infinitely more necessary is it in India where the traditions are entirely for the cottage industries? In our blind veneration for dogmas about economic progress, not overmuch applicable to our social economy, we cannot afford to risk our all.

The reign of the machine has not been much of an undiluted success even in the West where it has grown naturally, is it likely to be a success in India where it is only being transplanted as an exotic? Look at America, the paradise of Modern Croesuses. Only the other day, I was reading an account of the congested slums of New York—the city of skyscrapers—where the children of the working classes are on an average 15 lbs. underweight for being brought up in rank Mephistophelean atmosphere. With painful and fatal precision, a homeless, propertyless, soulless, debased and demoralised proletariat dogs the footsteps of an unbridled industrialism.

This aspect of modern civilisation has also been very vividly described by Dr. R. Austin Freeman. Contrasting the gracelessness of modern civilisation with the healthy charm of hand labour, he mentions the very item of our present discourse—home-spun cloth—and he proceeds:

"If we chose to clothe ourselves in home-spun which would last half a life-time instead of in cheap machine-made garments which wear out in two or three years, one old industry might be revived. There is much to be said for making national dress reform a practical question. We ought to accustom ourselves to think of the conditions under which everything that we buy is produced. We should then take much more pleasure in a hand-made article with some individuality in it, than in a standardised product of a great factory, which speaks of nothing but soulless, tiresome labour. We are now suffering from standardised minds as well as from standardised commodities; and they suit each other."

The learned Doctor has hit the right nail on the head—our disease is that of standardised minds. Unless and until we can shake this off,—shake off this habit of thinking to order—and begin to look about for ourselves and get into touch with the real heart of things, we cannot hope to attain salvation, economic, political or otherwise. Mental paralysis must go—we have heard a great deal about slave mentality—this is slave mentality, and this must be abjured.

(Continued on Page 433)

Young India

27-12-23

The Choice

The Indian National Assembly which commences its annual sessions at Cocanada to-morrow will be called upon to make its final choice between constitutional action and Non-co-operation. The Congress cannot have two such inconsistent policies. It has of necessity to choose only one of them and ought not in its own interest to have both, which is merely to say, none at all. It can adopt one of two clear-cut courses that lie before it; either accept the original policy of Non-co-operation with all its necessary implications or reject it for the plan based on action within the Councils. The Congress can no doubt work any truthful programme or policy, whether it be one of political embarrassment or of non-violent suffering, but it can work only one programme at a time. It is obvious that ideas of retaliation cannot co-exist with those of Non-co-operation, they both being so fundamentally apart. If both were put together, the result would be the prolongation of the present stifling and smothering uncertainties of policy.

Either Non-co-operation goes to the wall or it survives the attack of constitutionalism. There is no middle course. The triple boycott will have to be endorsed or thrown out. The Congress which in 1920 witnessed the first mighty surge of non-violent resistance in the revolutionary movement of Non-co-operation has now to face the ebb of reaction in the shape of a militant Parliamentarianism. The present position is so hopelessly confusing that even a great institution like the Congress has to content itself with an embarrassing lack of policy. If the "triple boycott is dead" for all practical purposes, even as our great leader Lalajee asserts, the Congress ought certainly to say so in the interests of sound political progress in the country. If on the other hand, the Congress still finds the necessity to hold to triple boycott as its sole policy, it will have to reiterate in clear terms its disavowal from institutions like the legislatures through which the Government seeks to consolidate its own influence.

As we may not enter into defence in law courts so long as the boycott of courts remains part of the Congress plan, so too we may not have any association direct or indirect with the legislatures so long as Non-co-operation continues with the Councils. The permission to enter the Councils given to the Swarajists at Delhi may or may not be followed up at the coming Congress with an appeal for continuing support from that body. It will still be necessary for us to ask for the reiteration of the boycotts as a policy. Our action cannot be made to depend upon what others may or may not do. To irritate or thwart the Swarajists is far from our thoughts. Those who are now in the Councils are as free to experiment in obstruction even as their predecessors did in co-operation. The advantage of the Delhi resolution is fully secured to them in their recent victories

at the polls and any clear declaration of policy by the Congress at this stage cannot possibly take away from it. The reason why the demand for such an unequivocal declaration by the Congress is insistently made by the Non-co-operator is very simple; it is this: he is so convinced that the relinquishment of Non-co-operation either in whole or in part can only lead to further dependence and helplessness in the nation and not to strength and emancipation. The Congress stands to lose much by maintaining its present *non possumus* attitude for any length of time, for by that it would have helped to stultify itself effectively.

Non-violence no less than Non-co-operation needs to be safeguarded against attack. The country is now faced with such a crisis that it has reluctantly to go back to the affirmation even of first and root principles. As it is, fundamental truths are in danger of perishing under the stress of a constitutionalist reaction, now in the ascendant and bound in the future to struggle for complete mastery over the Congress. Boycott of British goods is pitted against Swadeshi, obstruction against Non-co-operation and retaliation against Non-violence. The Congress will have to indicate its preference as between these, the implications of two opposing courses of action. It can adopt only one of them, while extending the fullest tolerance to all pursuing the other course.

The Constructive Programme

Though it is true that there is not one person among us who does not emphasise the present necessity for directing all national effort towards the fulfilment of the constructive programme, yet hardly a few seem to have any knowledge of the many obstacles that lie in the way of its successful working. It is probably this fact that explains why in spite of the indefatigable iteration, which all our public bodies and and the press have indulged in, the work of construction has not progressed to any considerable extent. Almost the first feeling that strikes one in regard to the constructive programme seems to be, that that programme has too often been damned with faint praise. Ever since its inception there has not been much genuine appreciation of its significance. Various views prevailed regarding its scope, extent and nature. Some spoke of it almost in tones of derisive neglect as an innocuous non-political plan which would not, even if tried for years, affect in any measure the existence of the present administration. Others opined that it had very restricted application to the work that lay in front of us and urged its adoption solely as a means to prepare for civil disobedience. There were still others who took to it in the spirit of the Master as a vast national programme which contained within itself everything that could bring about the final freedom the nation so impatiently pines to.

It is not sufficiently realised that the constructive programme is an integral part of the original plan of Non-co-operation. The deplorable tendency to treat it as something wholly unconnected with the essential ideas that underlay the campaign inaugurated at Calcutta in September 1920, has been not a little responsible for the slackening of effort and depression these last few

months. The constructive programme properly envisaged is nothing less than the positive side of Non-co-operation. It is an effort of supreme political intrepidity, daring and resource to build up a self-reliant Indian nation. In itself it constitutes a standing warning against the incurable sterilities of constitutionalism. To take only one of the several items in that programme of action, a Khadi-clad India would not merely mean some crores of rupees saved for our land but also a net-work of disciplined organisations spread out all over the country working smoothly and harmoniously, all the same totally independent of Government. In short it is easily the most efficacious plan to displace the existing alien administration.

Conceived as such the constructive programme ought to be capable of being worked to fruition given the three indispensable conditions:—faith in ourselves, arduous and patient toil on the part of our workers, and most important of all, the freeing of the popular mind now unfortunately distracted by vain outbursts of intellectual violence and by futile suggestions of Conciliar action. The tormenting confusion in the present ordering of our political affairs has brought over the country various moods of profound exhaustion and melancholy which tend at times to shake the faith even in ourselves. The scintillating idealism which we witnessed in that long file of shining and happy days preceding Mahatmaji's incarceration is no longer there, at any rate in the same degree as before. The moral ardour and the faith inextinguishable that were in times of sunshine and energy have not stood unaltered under the stress of langour and gloom. To revive the faith that still survives in us, though dormant for the time, is the first condition of our success. If we start on our mission with a full measure of self-confidence and with the will to freedom strengthened once again, the task of rearing up an independent life for the nation ought to present no serious obstacles in the way. Patient toil and persistent effort on the part of the workers are as much necessary to its accomplishment as the re-vitalising of general faith among the people. The workers will have to scorn delights and live laborious days. It has to be remembered that the constructive programme offers no exciting enthusiasms and that it is as hard and trying to work "as lighting a fire with damp sticks". It has also to be equally borne in mind that there is no absolution from that very programme if we will have Swaraj.

This leads us to the third and vital condition whose importance is widely missed. It is this, that the successful prosecution of constructive work cannot progress without the back-ground of Non-co-operation being carefully preserved and kept alive. At present the political atmosphere in the country is surcharged with an amount of futile mental violence which expresses itself unmistakably in such resolutions as those advocating "force and relentless" obstruction inside the Councils and retaliation in the shape of a boycott of British goods, so much so that not only Non-co-operation but even non-violence as first assimilated stands gravely threatened with extinction. It would be nothing short of a national calamity to allow vicious notions of purposeless embarrassment and retaliation to get the better of the root ideas of self-reliance and self-suffering. The virtue of conscious and voluntary abnegation seems almost lost in the yoke of mental hate. Besides there is also

the ravage wrought by the constitutionalist reaction within the Congress. Popular psychology has been largely affected by suggested possibilities of action through the Councils. And that fact is the first and almost insuperable impediment to any attempt at constructive work. The recent elections have visibly disturbed the public mind by raising in it false hopes as to the successful practice of political embarrassment from within the Councils. They have effectively unsettled the back-ground of Non-co-operation on which alone the constructive programme can thrive and prosper. The people now more than ever need to be told off the temptations of Conciliar action. It must be made clear to them that Non-co-operation cannot in any measure survive in the mephitic atmosphere of the Councils. Lingerings doubts as to the efficacy of constitutionalism have to be set at rest. An unambiguous lead from the Congress in regard to the attitude of dissociation from the Councils therefore becomes an imperative necessity if the work of construction is to be rescued from the peril of falling into decay. Such a lead will have to recognise the need not only to reaffirm the original plan of Non-co-operation but also to make every honest endeavour towards realigning all national activity in the light of that plan. To draw off the popular mind from the deleterious attractions caused both by the suggested possibilities of Conciliar action and by the throwing out of vague ideas of general immediate civil disobedience would in the view of Non-co-operation be almost the first thing to be done at the Congress Sessions at Cocanada. The constructive programme, as is admitted on all hands, will have largely to be the immediate work before us requiring a concentration of all national energies, and it is not too much to demand of Congressmen that they should do all in their power not to jeopardise the success of that programme but to push it through by safeguarding the original plan of Non-co-operation.

Notes

There is nothing strange in Lala Lajpat Rai's complaint that the set-back to the national movement was mainly caused by the Bardoli decision. It has been repeated by several others before him. Says Lajpat: "Just at the psychological moment the leader failed, because he pitched the ideal of non-violence too high for practical purposes." The most convincing answer to this oft-repeated charge is furnished by one of Mahatmaji's letters brought to light for the first time by Mr. Prakasam and which, written soon after the Bardoli halt, constitutes at once the most telling exposition of the true inwardness of non-violence, a part of the movement as integral as Non-co-operation itself, and a brilliant defence of the decision, putting a temporary stop to all aggressive activities, assailed on all hands by sulky, angry and doubting friends. Here are extracts from that letter:—

"Your first question is whether the requisite non-violent atmosphere can at all be attained and if so when. This is really a question as old as Non-co-operation. It puzzles me to find some of the closest and most esteemed of co-workers putting the question as if the requirement was a new thing. I have not the shadow of a doubt that if we can secure workers with an abiding faith in non-violence and in themselves, we can create the non-violent atmosphere required for the working

of Civil Disobedience. The discovery I have made during these few days is that very few understand the nature of non-violence. The meaning of the adjective "civil" before "disobedience" is of course "non-violent". Why should the people not be trained to refrain from participating in activities which are likely to throw them off their balance? I agree that it will be difficult to get 30 crores of people to be non-violent, but I refuse to believe that it is difficult if we can get intelligent and honest workers to make people who are not actively participating in the movement remain indoors.

x x x x

"Certainly a peaceful Tahsil at the foot of the Himalayas will be affected by a violent hamlet situated near the Cape Comorin if there is a vital connection between the two, as there must be if they are both integral parts of India and your Swaraj flag is to dominate both. At the same time for mass civil disobedience in Bardoli I would certainly have thought nothing of anything happening in an out of the way Tahsil which had not come under the influence of the Congress and which had not resorted to violence in connection with any Congress activity. You cannot predicate any such want of connection about Gorakhpur, Bombay or Madras. Violence broke out in connection with a national activity. You have the forcible illustration of Malabar. There it was organised and sustained violence offered by the Moplahs, and yet I did not allow Malabar to affect any of our plans, nor have I altered my views during all these months. I can still distinguish between Malabar and Gorakhpur. The Moplahs themselves had not been touched by the Non-co-operation spirit. They are not like the other Indians nor even like the other Mussalmans. I am prepared to admit that the movement had an indirect effect upon them. The Moplah revolt was so different in kind that it did not affect the other parts of India, whereas Gorakhpur was typical, and therefore if we had not taken energetic steps the infection might easily have spread to the other parts of India.

"You say that individual civil disobedience being withdrawn there will be no opportunity to test the temper of the people. We do not want to test the temper. On the contrary we want the people to become immersed in industries and constructive work so that their temper is not exposed to the constant danger of being ruffled. A man wishing to gain self-control instead of exposing himself to temptations avoids them though at the same time he is ready for them if they come to him unsought and in spite of his wanting to avoid them.

x x x

"We certainly have not suspended any item of Non-co-operation. This you will see clearly brought out in *Young India*. I am satisfied that our success depends upon our cultivating exemplary self-restraint and not disobeying even unwritten orders of prohibition of meetings. We must learn to conduct our campaign in spite of prohibitions and without civil disobedience. If the people want

excitement we must refuse to give it to them even though we have to risk unpopularity and find ourselves in a hopeless minority. Even a few hundred chosen workers scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country solidly following the programme will create a far more lasting impression than a haphazard mass movement undertaken in order to truckle to the multitude. I would like you therefore to become introspective and to find out for yourself the truth. If you still consider that there is a flaw in the reasoning I have put before you I would like you to combat the position I have taken. I want us all to think originally and to arrive at independent conclusions. A drastic overhauling of ourselves and of the movement is absolutely necessary. I do not mind having finally to find out that non-violence is an impracticable dream. If such is our belief it will be at least an honest belief. For me there is but one thing. I would love to contemplate the dreamland of non-violence in reference to the practicable reality of violence. I have burnt my boats, but that has nothing to do with any of my co-workers. The majority of them have come into the movement as a purely political movement. They do not share my religious beliefs, and I do not seek to thrust them upon them."

The letter quoted above has more than a mere historic interest. It is of vital and abiding interest as an explanation of the fundamental principles underlying the movement offered by its own author when faced with the storm of doubt and scepticism which had been raised in the public mind by the peremptory halt he then ordered. There is nothing in it that will serve to show up "the no-change bigot nailing Gandhism on his lips," no indication that the leader had himself advised "as far back as Bardoli a drastic overhauling of the entire programme" which is very different from "a drastic overhauling of ourselves and the movement". If citations from Mahatmaji were at all needed to strengthen the no-change position, this very letter would do that most effectively, making at least four essential positions clear beyond the shadow of a doubt.

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First, that at Bardoli no item of Non-co-operation was suspended. The programme was kept intact but the movement was sought to be given a new direction by imposing a temporary ban on aggressive activity so that the rising temper of the nation could be effectively restrained and subdued.

Second, Mahatmaji's belief that he would rather be content with a few hundred workers "solidly following the programme" than lead a haphazard mass movement undertaken in order to truckle to the multitude. Yet just the opposite of it is concluded when it is asseverated frequently by friends that Mahatmaji would have adapted the programme of Non-co-operation to new situations either by breaking down its so-called rigidity or by lowering and relaxing its "many hard tests of competence" merely to take in as many into his movement as he could. It was the spell and the winning charm of his personality

that made many a doubter willingly follow him into the plan of campaign for national emancipation; but he never contemplated a lowering of the ideal merely in order to popularise or strengthen numerically his movement. It is doubtless true that the men who came after him were unable to reproduce the magic effects of that miracle-worker. But yet the main fact now remains that with the threatened loss of the programme of Non-co-operation the level of national character, which Gandhi did so much to exalt, elevate and to refine is slowly but surely being undermined.

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Third, it will be seen that Mahatmaji was resolutely opposed to programmes of excitement as such. Yet witness what followed after his arrest. There was seen an attempt to substitute programmes of excitement for programmes of action. Every one raised a deafening clamour for a stimulant of some kind or other which would rouse the people from apathy and political slumber, and when fatal insistence was laid on the need for stimuli, ideas of vain retaliation and pointless embarrassment slowly forced their way into the national programme. That was the very consequence which Mahatmaji wished to guard and provide against.

Fourth and the last, Gandhi is emphatic that at Bardoli there was need for "drastic overhauling of ourselves and the movement." That statement has as much application to-day as it then had. There is more need now than was present at Bardoli to rehabilitate both non-violence and Non-co-operation. The meaning of Mahatmaji's words is not that he pleaded for a wholesale revision and scrapping of one or all the items in the programme as it then existed, but that he was anxious to invest an angered and excited nation with a wholesome mood of self-introspection. Temper then ran so high and "few understood the meaning of non-violence." The ideal was gradually being sundered by notions of subdued hate permeating imperceptibly into it. There was need to make the people realise that non-violence could alone be the impregnable foundation of all their activities. Mental if not physical violence seemed then the present danger. The anger of impetuous hearts burst forth occasionally into mad exhibitions of mob-fury. There was need "to overhaul the movement," to accustom the people to work a dry programme of action without the exciting atmosphere of "disobedience". The infection in the environment, a sure sign of which was afforded at Gorakhpur, had to be counteracted. With unexampled courage and intrepidity Mahatmaji immediately ordered a halt on the march. With a creative energy all his own, he also then gave to the people a perfect programme of constructive work laying for the time more emphasis on the positive than on the negative side of Non-co-operation.

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There was no alteration in the original plan, no suggestions of a drastic overhauling of the programme as Mr. Prakashin concludes. On the contrary it seems to have been Mahatmaji's intention to make the workers follow solidly the programme. Neither Non-co-operation nor Civil Disobedience was once and for ever abandoned as is now sought to be represented to us in some quarters. For present situations, it is true, one has

to seek present remedies, and not rely merely on past advice. As we find it there is more need to-day to safeguard Non-co-operation than there was at Bardoli. Non-co-operation as it now survives has had to submit to being invaded and breached for once by a fierce reaction in the Congress in the shape of a militant constitutionalism. The ideal of non-violence is being likewise threatened almost with extinction by the insurgence of mental hate. The Congress has moved so far inside of two years after Mahatmaji's arrest as publicly to voice the desire "to build on hatred, not on love." No wonder the so-called "do-nothing puritan" section in the Congress has come to feel that the time is now to ascertain if that body is finally to abandon Gandhism for fresher, more novel and exciting creeds.

(Continued from Page 432)

We are apt to hear in season and out of season that India is an agricultural country. But it is not true; she was an industrial as well as an agricultural country.

But she was reduced helplessly to the condition of having to depend entirely on agriculture. How it was brought about is a matter of common knowledge. The literature of the Victorian period of British Rule teems with facts and each one of the indictments is serious enough to make one shudder with horror at the barbarity practised to throttle a nation's source of wealth and production. In the days of the Mussalmans, India prospered. Just on the entry of the East India Company in India and about the time of the dismemberment of the Empire of the great Moghuls, India was full of wealth and life.

Instead of giving protection to the Indian industries, England used her utmost skill and power to ruin her industries. It is painful to go through all that England deliberately did to injure India. The policy of making England thrive at the expense of Indian industries still continues unabated.

I would now ask the educated men of India to consider if they would still stoop to be clothed at the hands of the same Lancashire in whose interest our country has been so far degraded and rendered destitute? Would not the fine pieces of foreign cotton goods hang heavily on our body? I utter not these in hatred to Lancashire but out of love to the millions who would get a morsel of food if you, educated men, would cease to be clothed by foreigners, for your example will filter down and help to usher in a new era in our industrial, economic and also assuredly in political life.

As I conclude, my eyes are turned to the Yeravda gaol—inside the iron-bars of which lies encaged the mortal frame of the patriot-saint of modern India, the purest and noblest soul that ever drew breath, he who thought out and preached and lived the gospel of India's salvation. Though to our infinite sorrow and shame his mortal frame still lies there, we know his spirit is ever with us, ever ready to rouse us and inspire us whenever we are lapsing into inertia. May that spirit and that shining example ever lead us on in our quest for freedom! May we ever be worthy of our great Exemplar! MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAY!

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